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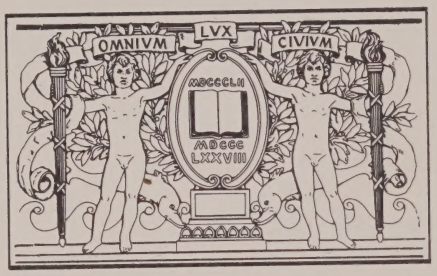


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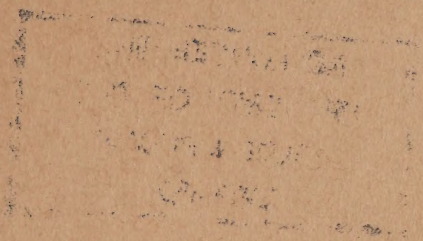

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*EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.*

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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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# THE GENERAL ARBITRATION TREATIES

BY CHARLES CHENEY HYDE

It was an after-dinner speech of President Taft's, delivered at Washington on the seventeenth of December, 1910, that held out to Europe the hope of concluding with the United States general arbitration treaties providing for the settlement of all classes of legal differences not otherwise capable of amicable adjustment. The response on the part of England and France was immediate and friendly. There was an exchange of views, negotiations followed, and the result was the Anglo-American treaty and the Franco-American treaty, signed on August 3d of the past year and submitted to the Senate the following day. They now await its approval.

The acceptance of these conventions by the United States may be of such far-reaching consequence that the matter of the advice and consent of the Senate is one of vital concern to the nation. For that reason the merits and defects of the plan proposed deserve careful study. To that end it is well to examine certain objections raised by the Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, presented by Mr. Lodge, as well as the opposing views expressed by Mr. Root in behalf of himself and Messrs. Cullom and Burton.

The issues between the President and those Senators who

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oppose the treaties are twofold and distinct in kind. They involve, first, the constitutionality of certain provisions, and, secondly, the policy or expediency of what is offered. The objections as to policy are directed against both the scope of the conventions and the process of ascertaining what that scope may be. The constitutional objections seem to be of so much less weight than some of those based upon grounds of expediency that the former may be abandoned if certain causes for the latter are removed. That those causes may be removed without detracting from the value of the treaties, or lessening the scope which the President believes them now to possess, is the firm conviction of the writer. The purpose of this paper is, therefore, merely to indicate bases of agreement between those who share the treaty-making power of our country.

At the outset it is well to observe to what extent the United States is bound at the present time to have recourse to arbitration. As a signatory to The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of 1907, the United States has generally agreed to use its best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences. Apart, however, from the undertaking to have recourse, "as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers," before an appeal to arms, there is no definite agreement to adjust future controversies by any specified process. The employment of neither courts of arbitration nor commissions of inquiry is made obligatory, notwithstanding the wise and elaborate provision for the use of both. The arrangement to maintain the Permanent Court of Arbitration, established by the Peace Conference of 1899 and relating to arbitral procedure, is declared to be for the purpose of facilitating recourse to arbitration when diplomacy fails. The Hague Convention renders a highly useful service in encouraging signatory Powers to bind themselves by general treaties to invoke the aid of the Permanent Court when differences may arise.

In 1905 certain general arbitration treaties with Great Britain and other Powers were signed by Mr. Hay, and duly submitted to the Senate by the President. They provided that differences of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the contracting parties should, if not settled by diplomacy, be referred to the Permanent Court at The Hague. These conventions reserved from

their operation questions affecting the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the contracting parties, as well as the interests of third States. One proposal aroused vigorous opposition on the part of the Senate; the implication that the special agreement to be concluded in each particular case, defining the matter in dispute and the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, was to be made by the Executive. The Senate by amendment added the requirement that such agreements should in each case be submitted to that body for its advice and consent. The President declined to ratify the conventions as amended.

In 1908 the President, yielding to the stand taken by the Senate, submitted for its approval general arbitration treaties with France, Great Britain, and certain other States. These conventions were similar in scope to those of 1905, but contained express provision that the special agreement should in each case be submitted to the approval of the Senate. The treaties of 1908 are now in force. It is to supersede and extend the scope of those with Great Britain and France that is the object of the pending conventions. At the present time, therefore, the United States is in agreement with several nations to arbitrate differences of a minor character, retaining its independence with respect to grave disputes that might lead to war; and the Senate maintains the right to pass upon the special agreement preliminary to each case. Notwithstanding the narrow scope of these conventions, an important precedent has been established. The treaty-making power duly exercised by the President and the Senate has bound the State to adjust future and unknown differences, under certain contingencies, in a particular way. A duty has, therefore, been assumed to render the treaties operative, should cases arise thereunder, by assenting to special agreements necessary to make arbitration possible. By binding itself in such manner the United States has made but ordinary use of the agreement-making power. To assert to-day that the President and the Senate cannot validly bind the nation to adjust future and unknown differences by arbitration, or by any other appropriate process, is to ignore precedent and to impute to the framers of the Constitution the intention to deprive the Federal Government, if not the State as a whole, of a highly useful right commonly enjoyed and exercised by other nations.

The new treaties with Great Britain and France are sub-

stantially alike. Differences in their preambles and in matters relating to Canada and other self-governing dominions may be disregarded. Without attempting an abstract of the several provisions, attention is called to those indicating the scope of what is made arbitrable, the establishment of the Joint High Commission, and the recognition of the rights of the Senate. Article I. declares that

"all differences hereafter arising between the High Contracting Parties, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, relating to international matters in which the High Contracting Parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other arbitral tribunal as may be decided in each case by special agreement."

The same article provides that the special agreement preliminary to an arbitration shall in each case be submitted to the Senate for its approval. Thus in every possible arbitration sought to be undertaken pursuant to the general agreement that body retains broad rights respecting the organization of the court, the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, the question at issue, the terms of reference, and the procedure thereunder.

Later articles make elaborate provision for the creation of a "Joint High Commission of Inquiry," to be composed of three members designated by each party. The Commission may, however, be otherwise constituted in any particular case. The function of the Commission is of a twofold character. It is intended, primarily, as its title indicates, as a body to which shall be referred for impartial investigation any controversy between the parties, whether or not the issue is one that falls within the scope of the agreement to arbitrate. Arrangement is also made that a reference before the Commission may be postponed until a year after the request therefor, in order to afford opportunity for diplomatic adjustment of the question at issue. The function of the Commission, as an investigating body, is to facilitate the solution of disputes by elucidating the facts, to define issues presented by such questions, and to make appropriate recommendations. The reports of the Commission are to be purely recommendatory in character, and are not to be regarded as decisions of the issues involved.

Secondarily, the Commission is empowered to act in a judicial capacity and to render a decision which, under certain circumstances, may be of the utmost significance to a signatory Power. According to Article III., in case of controversy as to whether a particular difference is arbitrable under Article I. the question shall be submitted to the Commission, whose decision that the issue falls within the scope of the treaty, if not opposed by more than one member, shall cause the question to be arbitrated. Thus the Commission may be called upon to interpret the general agreement of the parties.

In a word, the treaties provide for the arbitration of all "justiciable" questions; the institution of a Joint High Commission for purposes of investigation and advice; the clothing of that Commission with power under certain circumstances to interpret the scope of the treaties; the assurance that the terms of each arbitration shall have the approval of the Senate as well as of the President.

Let us turn to the views of the majority of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. It is declared at the outset that the Committee assents to the arbitration of all questions embraced within the scope of Article I., and there described as "justiciable." By reason of the definition of that term it is said that "there is little or no limit to the questions which might be brought within this article, provided the two contracting parties consider them justiciable." It is asserted that as no question can be referred to arbitration unless there be agreement that the controversy is justiciable, the most vital point to be decided would be whether a particular difference was of such a character. Obviously any general arbitration treaty, however narrow its scope, demands that the contracting parties shall decide whether particular disputes, as they may arise, fall within the provisions of the convention. Such a decision in each case calls for agreement. Possibility of disagreement cannot be prevented, but the likelihood of disagreement may be rendered remote by the exactness or precision with which arbitrable differences are described. In the pending conventions those differences are declared to be issues which are "susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity."

No objection is made to the plan for the institution of a Joint High Commission for purposes of investigation and

advice. The suggestion is made, however, that the confining of membership therein to " nationals instead of to wholly disinterested outsiders " is a retreat from the theory of The Hague Convention of 1907. It must be admitted that the value of the findings or recommendations of disinterested persons, or of the majority of a commission having one or more neutral members, would be of value greater than that of a body comprising solely representatives of parties to the dispute. Because, however, the Commission might be called upon to perform also another altogether different function, which the President doubtless believed that the Senate would be unwilling to intrust to disinterested outsiders, that membership was confined to representatives of the signatory Powers, and thus alike for all purposes the Commission was given a joint character.

The majority of the Committee makes its chief objection to the provision that empowers the Joint High Commission, in case of disagreement between the parties, to decide whether a particular difference is within the scope of the treaty, and hence arbitrable. Almost all opposition to the treaties is centered on this point. There are three distinct sources of criticism. It is contended that the provision is unconstitutional; that its operation is fraught with danger to the State; that the arrangement for membership in the Commission is unwise. Let us examine them separately, considering first the constitutional objection. It is said that:

" The constitutional powers of the Senate are taken away *pro tanto* and are transferred to a commission, upon the composition of which the Senate has no control whatever." It is contended that " to vest in an outside commission the power to say finally what the treaty means by its very general and indefinite language is to vest in that commission the power to make for us an entirely different treaty from that which we supposed ourselves to be making." Because it is concluded that the provision implies a delegation to an outside body of the treaty-making power devolving upon the Senate under the Constitution, the Committee recommends that the clause be stricken out.

The answer of Mr. Root in behalf of the minority is definite and, in the judgment of the writer, conclusive. He asserts that there is no abandonment of the constitutional powers of the Senate, " except on the theory that all general treaties of arbitration involve such an abandonment, and

no one thinks that is so." He adverts to the fact that according to such conventions, like those of 1908, the President and Senate agree that all cases falling within certain described classes shall be submitted to arbitration. He declares that the provision in the pending treaties to empower the Joint High Commission to decide, under certain circumstances, whether a particular controversy is arbitrable under the treaty " is not delegating to a commission power to say what shall be arbitrated; it is merely empowering the commission to find whether the particular case is one that the President and Senate have said shall be arbitrated." He calls attention to the habit of Congress of imposing upon some outside officer, as in the case of revenue laws, the duty to decide whether a particular article falls within a dutiable class.

It is true that there is danger lest the Commission, abusing its power, might place a forced construction upon the language of the treaties. Such a danger exists whenever any tribunal is called upon to interpret any document. The minority of the Committee is not, however, of opinion that the grounds for the fear expressed suffice to justify the radical amendment that is recommended. But it must also be clearly borne in mind that fear lest the Commission might unwisely or improperly construe the treaties affords no support for the assertion that the Senate lacks the power to permit the Commission to exercise such a function. It may be dangerous to allow the Commission to pass upon the scope of the conventions, but it is not for that reason constitutional to authorize it to do so. If, however, apprehension as to the practical operation of the plan be removed, or at least rendered fanciful, it is not believed that Senators will seriously maintain that they are forbidden by the Constitution to empower the Joint High Commission to interpret the scope of an international agreement.

Let us now consider the objections based upon expediency or policy. It is asserted by the Committee that the institution of a joint commission to pass upon the scope of the conventions would encourage foreign signatory Powers to demand the arbitration of issues not justiciable, and thus serve to foment conflict. It is even declared that " such an invitation would be a breeder of war and not of peace, and would rouse a series of disputes now happily at rest, into malign and dangerous activity." This is a serious reflection

on the good faith of friendly States which solemnly and openly profess a desire to agree to adjust their differences by amicable means. It is not believed that Great Britain and France seek to conclude arbitration treaties with the United States as a means of provoking conflict. On the other hand, the importance of the objection raised must not be underestimated on account of the unhappy terms in which it is couched. Certain classes of controversies are mentioned concerning which fear is expressed. These are issues arising from the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine, controversies concerning the right to exclude aliens from the national domain, and those affecting the territorial integrity of the State. Senator Bacon would add to this list issues concerning the alleged indebtedness of any State of the United States. It will be remembered that the Committee has assented to the arbitration of all justiciable differences. Hence, if any of the foregoing forms of controversy may be fairly regarded as of such a character, the objection is hardly consistent with the earlier admission. And if they clearly possess such a character, there is little ground for belief that the President would decline to have recourse to arbitration should it be demanded. A question can only arise before the Commission at the instigation of a foreign signatory Power, when the President believes the issue to fall outside of the scope of the treaties. The President has met Senator Bacon's objection as to controversies arising from the alleged indebtedness of any State by the declaration in a recent speech that "such a question would not come within the treaty, for the treaty only affects cases hereafter arising, and the cases of the Southern bonds all arose long ago." As the right of a State to regulate immigration is universally recognized, the exclusion of aliens is not a matter in which foreign interference is to be anticipated, "unless," as the President has likewise recently said, "it is covered by a treaty; and then it may properly become a question of treaty construction. But in the absence of a treaty it is not an arbitrable question." The United States has for more than a century been confronted with territorial disputes, many of which have assumed grave character. In a long series of differences respecting land and water boundaries the issue involved has been found to be susceptible of decision by the application of known rules of law. It is not believed, therefore, that a President familiar with the experience of his country would hesi-

tate to agree that a territorial dispute, in so far at least as it concerned the determination of a boundary, was justiciable by its nature, and hence arbitrable. Objection, therefore, to the arbitration of such a difference is one that is aimed at the scope of Article I., rather than at a problem likely to confront the Commission.

We come now to the Monroe Doctrine. Is there, in fact, danger lest a signatory Power might assert that an act of intervention on the part of the United States, under cover of the Monroe Doctrine, was internationally illegal, and therefore a matter for arbitration? Is there the further danger, in case the President and Senate should decline to regard the issue as justiciable, that a conscientious and fearless Joint High Commission might be convinced that the controversy fell within the scope of the treaty? President Taft has expressed the opinion that differences arising under the Monroe Doctrine, being questions of purely governmental policy, are excluded from the operation of the conventions; he has also stated that Sir Edward Grey has publicly expressed a similar view. Let us pursue the inquiry further. It has been seen that according to Article I. differences which are justiciable, and hence arbitrable, are those which are susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity. Whether a particular controversy is arbitrable is not, therefore, dependent upon its freedom from a political tinge, or upon its being unrelated to a fixed governmental policy, unless it be admitted that political questions are inherently incapable of solution by the application of principles of law or equity, or unless the generally accepted rules of international law commonly fail to stamp as legal or illegal those acts of a State that express an essentially national policy concerning the affairs of some other. The consequences of such a failure would be appalling. A State might, pursuant to a purely governmental policy, interfere at will with the political independence of its weaker neighbor and still be guilty of no internationally illegal conduct. The acts of intervention, however shocking to the moral sensibilities of the outside world, could not be denounced as illegal, because not contrary to any law of general acceptation. Happily the experience of nations has led to a different result. As a consequence of a universal sense of the need of respect for the political independence of States there has grown up a body of rules of national conduct that are widely known and

generally observed, and which impose a duty of non-intervention upon the several members of the family of nations, save under very exceptional circumstances. Thus the legality of a broad class of national acts expressive of governmental policy may be commonly tested. For that reason international differences arising from such acts would seem to be justiciable as that term is defined in the treaties.

It is important, however, to observe that, with few exceptions, States have been unwilling to attempt to adjust such controversies by recourse to arbitration. Thus in 1904 the United States was urged by the Government of Colombia to agree to arbitrate before the Permanent Court at The Hague the question as to the propriety of the acts of intervention of the former in Panama, and which resulted in the early recognition of that country as a State. Mr. Hay replied that the grievances of Colombia were of a

> "political nature, such as nations of even the most advanced ideas as to international arbitration have not proposed to deal with by that process. Questions of foreign policy and of the recognition or non-recognition of foreign States are of a purely political nature and do not fall within the domain of judicial decision; and upon these questions this Government has in the present paper defined its position."

Arbitration was, therefore, declined, not because of the absence of known rules of law, by reference to which the propriety of the acts of the United States might be tested, but because the policy of the nation respecting Panama was fixed, and therefore not to be subjected to the possible criticism of an arbitral tribunal.

Mr. Hay's position illustrates well what has hitherto been the usual method of drawing the line between arbitrable and non-arbitrable issues. The test has been based upon expediency rather than upon the existence of rules of law applicable to the case. The inquiry has not been whether or not a particular controversy was justiciable, as that term is employed in the treaties, but whether it concerned a matter of purely governmental policy. The President and the minority of the Committee on Foreign Relations, as well as the majority, are agreed that political questions, so called, should be excluded from the operation of any general arbitration treaty. They realize that issues arising from the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine belong to that class. There is no disagreement as to policy or expediency. The difficulty is one of interpretation. The majority seems to have the

stronger position. As Article I. makes justiciable all differences which are susceptible of decision by the application of principles of law and equity, the test of what is arbitrable is broader than that announced by Mr. Hay. The clause in question implies that the existence of a known rule of law applicable to a particular dispute renders the issue susceptible of decision. If that is true, certain political questions, such as those arising from acts of intervention, respecting which there is a recognized body of law, must necessarily fall within the scope of the agreement. A foreign signatory Power, still less a courageous and learned Joint Commission, might be unwilling to admit that a controversy arising from the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine was outside of the realm of the accepted law concerning intervention.

The real reason for the issue between those who agree that controversies arising from the Monroe Doctrine should not be referred to a court of arbitration is the difficulty in finding terms that express with exactness the scope of what is sought to be arbitrated. From his recent utterances it appears that the President and his associates undertook to render arbitrable all classes of controversies capable of solution by reference to known principles of law or equity provided they did not relate to matters of purely governmental policy. The language of Article I. is not believed to be entirely successful in expressing that intention. The description of justiciable differences seems to warrant an inference that excludes the President's proviso. With seeming appreciation of the reasonableness of such an interpretation, Mr. Root has proposed that the Senate advise and consent to the ratification,

> "with the understanding, to be made a part of such ratification, that the treaty does not authorize the submission to arbitration of any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions or other purely governmental policy."

If the description of justiciable differences requires explanation or restriction, there would appear to be no reason why the necessary words should not be attached to the clause that purports to fix the scope of the treaties. Inasmuch as the conventions are to become models for proposal to other friendly States, it would be desirable to offer a draft expressing with exactness in its main provisions the understanding of the United States. It is believed that the fol-

lowing clause added to the reference to justiciable differences in Article I. would suffice: *provided they do not arise from acts of intervention or other expressions of purely governmental policy.* If, however, Mr. Root's proposal is acceptable to his colleagues, there should be no objection offered to its adoption. The explanation is broad enough to render improbable any controversy whether or not a particular difference arose under the Monroe Doctrine. It would greatly diminish the danger of any dispute concerning the justiciable or arbitrable nature of a pending controversy. In case, however, of an issue on that point, the problem of interpretation imposed upon the Joint High Commission would be relatively narrow and definite. In a word, the treaties, if restricted by this process or by any other, from application to essentially political questions, would be free from what is the chief source of objection to their present scope.

Let us now consider the objection of the majority of the Committee to the provision for membership of the Joint High Commission. It is said that that body "may consist of one or more persons, which may be composed wholly of foreigners or wholly of nationals." It is contended that through the right of appointment "the power of indirect control remains in the hands of the President, and in his hands alone." The President has recently expressed entire willingness that the Senate should exercise the right to confirm the appointment of all American representatives on the Commission. According to the supplementary report of Mr. Burton, it always lies within the power of the Senate to demand and exercise the right of confirmation. No doubt it is contemplated that the Commission, when passing upon the scope of the general agreement, shall consist of not less than six persons. It is believed, however, that in order to remove the possibility of doubt there should be definite provision to that effect. Inasmuch as the problem of interpretation is intrusted to persons who are representatives of the parties to a dispute rather than to disinterested outsiders, the writer ventures the suggestion that the representatives of the United States be, under all circumstances, members of the Senate. Such a requirement would dissipate fear lest the Commission might improperly declare that a particular issue was justiciable, and hence arbitrable. That two Senators would agree with their three

foreign colleagues that a controversy was justiciable which might be fairly regarded as outside of the scope of the agreement is highly improbable. It is true that, as the *Nation* has pointed out, there is nothing in the conventions to prevent the President from appointing Senators to membership in the Commission. Provision, however, confining American representation to such persons would accomplish more. It would serve to remove the stress now laid upon constitutional and certain other objections. It would insure the safest possible American membership on a board to be called upon by a foreign State to take issue with the President as to the arbitrable character of a particular controversy. Furthermore, an amendment embodying such a provision would not be objectionable to any other signatory Power.

The cause of peace has been so persuasively advocated by President Taft that it is unnecessary to dwell upon the desirability of enlarging the scope of the existing treaties of 1908. One aspect, however, of the present movement deserves attention. It has not been the fear of war that has led statesmen in Europe and America to favor general agreements for the arbitration of grave differences. It has rather been a sense of the folly of war, if justice could be obtained without it. The experience of States within recent years has given solid proof that justice may be had by amicable as well as warlike means, even when controversies affect vital interests and national honor. The solution of the disputes concerning Bering Sea, the Alaskan Boundary, the North Sea Incident, and the North Atlantic Fisheries may be cited as instances. Justice has been obtained in these and numerous other cases because of the existence of a body of law generally accepted by the family of nations, the rules of which have been well known to the courts, and upon which, therefore, aggrieved States have found it possible to rely. According to The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of 1907, respect for law is said to be the basis of international arbitration. It is respect for law, as a vital force regulating the conduct of States and determining the propriety of their acts, that is the foundation of the new treaties. Arbitration is contemplated, not with a view to delegating to neutral judges the task of compromising differences on grounds of expediency, but for the adjustment of controversies susceptible of decision by the application of those legal

principles that the signatory Powers have themselves labored to establish. The signing of the new conventions is an expression of the faith of the Governments of Great Britain and France, as well as of President Taft, in the sufficiency of those principles for the adjustment of grave controversies that may endanger peace. It is furthermore a token of confidence in the pledge of the signatory Powers to have recourse to arbitration when such differences arise.

The American people already feel the significance of what has taken place, and they are becoming increasingly opposed to the idea of amendment. Nor is the Senate less profoundly impressed. It will not render the treaties abortive by emasculation. It will not withhold approval of the arbitration of all justiciable differences so long as it is clearly understood that political questions, such as those that might arise from the operation of the Monroe Doctrine, are definitely excluded. Finally, it is believed that, undismayed by the constitutional objection, it will be prepared to accept the full provisions for the Joint High Commission if the American representatives, when interpreting the scope of treaties, are to be not less than three in number, and themselves members of the Senate.

CHARLES CHENEY HYDE.

# THE NEGLECTED DEPARTMENT

BY JUDGE GEORGE C. HOLT

THE original organization of the courts of the United States, which was accomplished by the Judiciary Act of 1789, was an unusually successful piece of legislation. The system thus established remained unchanged for many years, and, with certain unimportant modifications, still constitutes the national judicial establishment. But, as the business of the Federal courts has developed with the extension of their jurisdiction and the growth of the country, additional legislation has been necessary from time to time to provide for the new requirements of the judicial service. This necessary legislation has generally been adopted; but in some instances, especially in recent years, it has received inadequate consideration or has been wholly neglected. A few members of Congress seem to be hostile to the Federal courts. Many are uninterested in them and indifferent to them. And from various causes for many years there seems to have been a tendency in Congress, whenever it has become necessary to add to the regular judicial establishment or to provide for the permanent requirements of the established courts, to make inadequate provision for those objects, while, on the other hand, the creation of new and special tribunals to pass on particular classes of cases appears to be especially favored. This tendency is not entirely a recent development. Nearly twenty years ago a change in the Federal judicial system, more important than had ever occurred before, was caused by the establishment of the Circuit Courts of Appeals. The business of the Supreme Court had been for many years badly in arrears. To relieve the congestion it was determined to create a system of intermediate courts of appeal. The obviously proper thing to have done would have been to establish new and distinct courts, made up of a proper number of judges, having no

connection with the courts subject to their appellate jurisdiction. What was actually done was to create courts of appeal to be held by the existing circuit judges, with power in them to call in any of the district judges when necessary. The number of the judges constituting these courts is usually three, and they habitually sit in review of each other's decisions. This system, owing to the high character of the circuit judges, has worked well so far as the decision of the cases is concerned, but the whole scheme was fundamentally objectionable. The number of the judges constituting the court was too small. It is generally recognized that an appellate court, exercising an important jurisdiction, should consist of not less than five, and preferably of seven or nine judges, and that they should have no connection with the courts from which the appeals are taken. By this system a heavy burden of additional work was put on all the Federal judges. In the larger circuits the entire time, and in all the circuits most of the time, of the circuit judges had for some years past been occupied in appellate work. The result has been that they could take little or no part in the original trial of cases in the circuit courts, and most of that work has been done by the district judges in addition to their regular work in their own courts.

Under the new act, going into effect on January 1, 1912, transferring the original jurisdiction of the circuit courts to the district courts, the district judges will continue to do substantially all of that work. In striking contrast with this spirit of parsimony in organizing these important appellate courts has been the action of Congress in establishing various special tribunals. About the same time that the Circuit Courts of Appeals were created the Board of General Appraisers was established. Before its creation all claims of importers to recover from the Government duties alleged to have been illegally exacted were determined by actions at law against the Collector, tried by a jury. Such a tribunal was a good one to try customs cases. On the one hand, it did not incline to favor the Government, as is the tendency in all administrative boards; on the other hand, it usually contained some importers who paid their just duties and who were interested in having other importers pay theirs also. Judge Brown at that time was the only district judge in the Southern District of New York. The amount of labor that he had

to perform became more than one man could accomplish, and an additional judge was required. Acting on the theory that the cause of the congestion in the Federal courts in New York was the great number of customs cases on the calendar, Congress proceeded to create a board of nine general appraisers to determine the questions previously decided in customs cases by trials at law. It was true that there were thousands of customs cases awaiting decision on the calendar, but hundreds of such cases were precisely alike and were habitually determined by one test case. There was no real congestion in the customs cases, and the appointment of nine appraisers afforded but little relief to the court. One new judge would have accomplished the real object in view; nine new officials were appointed with salaries larger than those of the judges.

The same spirit in legislation has recently been shown in the creation of the Court of Customs Appeals and of the Commerce Court. The jurisdiction of both these courts was formerly exercised by the Circuit Courts of Appeals. None of them was in arrears. They have always heard and decided all the cases on their calendar each year. There was no congestion in the appeals in customs cases or in the appeals from the Interstate Commerce Commission. There was not only no necessity for the creation of such courts, but there are weighty objections to the establishment of any tribunal to decide exclusively a special class of cases, and particularly cases in which the Government is a party. Any court dealing constantly and exclusively with a special class of cases has a tendency to grow narrow and rigid in its decisions. It is especially important that any appellate court should habitually deal with a large variety of cases involving different principles of law, and should bring to the consideration of any particular case a knowledge of the general rules of jurisprudence and the habit of applying them in other cases. Moreover, there are special objections to the establishment of special tribunals sitting at Washington to determine Government cases. These cases are prosecuted by officials who are not infrequently too eager to succeed; and there is no higher obligation on the Federal courts than to protect the just rights of the defendant in suits brought by the United States and to prevent the zeal of the prosecuting officials from bringing about unjust results.

In the discharge of the duty of making reasonable provision for the proper requirements of the Federal courts in their ordinary administration, there is shown, in certain cases, the same indifference in Congress. Take, for instance, the continual refusal to authorize the employment of stenographers and interpreters for the Federal courts. Stenographers are now universally salaried officers in all other courts in which testimony is taken orally. Stenographic records in cases are a practical necessity in modern litigation. But no provision has ever been made by Congress for their appointment in the Federal courts. In criminal cases the district attorneys engage them and pay them, and such payments are allowed as disbursements of the district attorneys' offices. In civil cases the parties voluntarily employ them when they are employed at all. In a large number of cases there is no need of having the stenographic notes of a trial written out; the principal necessity for such a record is for use in an appeal, and when no appeal is taken a transcript of the stenographic notes is usually useless. When stenographers are appointed by law and paid a salary, the salary presumably pays for the labor of taking the notes. An additional amount is paid for a transcript of the notes by any one ordering it. The result is that no party to a suit is expected to take a copy of the testimony unless he has especially ordered it. But when there are no duly appointed court stenographers, and there is a special employment of them by counsel, they usually assume that copies of the evidence are ordered, and transcribe their notes, and the parties find themselves under an obligation to pay for them whether they need them or not. The omission to provide official stenographers in the National courts practically imposes a heavy, and, in most cases, a needless tax on the litigants.

In the same way no official interpreters are authorized for the Federal courts. The district attorneys employ interpreters in criminal cases, and the parties in civil cases in the same way as stenographers are employed. In a large number of the suits in the National courts, and particularly in criminal cases, witnesses who speak English very imperfectly or not at all are constantly called. It is of the greatest consequence in such cases that the evidence of foreign witnesses be translated accurately by an experienced interpreter. Frequently in trials, when a foreign witness is

called, no interpreter is at hand and considerable delay often occurs in obtaining one. Objections are often made to the persons proffered as interpreters or to the accuracy of the interpretation of the evidence. The persons produced as interpreters, although usually familiar with the language, often have had no experience in interpreting; and it is very striking how marked the difference is between the work of an experienced interpreter and one who has never before acted in that capacity. The very large and increasing number of foreigners in this country makes the absence of official interpreters a great defect in the organization of the Federal courts. In almost all State courts held in large cities, interpreters are authorized and salaried officials, and the necessity of providing such interpreters in the National courts has long been obvious and has frequently been urged upon the authorities at Washington. But all attempts to have such officials appointed have been fruitless.

A similar defect in the practical administration of the Federal courts is the neglect to make any adequate provision for the transfer of prisoners in criminal cases between the prisons in which they are detained and the courts in which they are tried. In almost all the cities or towns of considerable size in the country in which the State courts are held the sheriff is provided with a prison van for the transfer of prisoners between the court-house and the prison whenever such transfer is necessary. The use of such vans for such purpose is so universal and is so obviously necessary and proper that it seems incredible that the United States marshals should not be provided with them by the Government. But, although urgent applications have been made to Congress to authorize the purchase and use of such vans by the marshals, such applications have always been disregarded. The prisoners awaiting trial in the United States courts are always detained in some State or city jail, under arrangements made for such detention between the State and Federal authorities. Such jails are always some distance away and frequently are a long distance away from the Federal court. The consequence is that whenever it is necessary to have a prisoner produced in court—as, for instance, to attend a preliminary examination before a commissioner, to plead to an indictment, or to attend the trial—a deputy marshal usually leads him handcuffed, on foot, through the street on his way to and from the court. Such

a proceeding is very humiliating to the prisoner, particularly to a man of previously decent life, is offensive to the public, affords a temptation to the friends of the prisoner to attempt a rescue, and subjects the marshal to a heavy responsibility from the constant possibility of an escape.

The practice upon the final transportation of a convict after sentence to the prison in which the sentence is to be served is even worse. Formerly there were no national prisons, and all United States convicts were imprisoned in State prisons under contracts between the National Government and the States. But there are now two national penitentiaries—one at Leavenworth, Kansas, and one at Atlanta, Georgia. All persons convicted of crime in the Federal courts and sentenced to more than one year's imprisonment who are not so young as to be proper subjects for a reformatory are now sent to one of these penitentiaries, the convicts from the eastern part of the country being sent to Atlanta. But no prison car is provided. A prisoner sentenced at New York to be imprisoned at Atlanta is handcuffed at the Tombs to a deputy marshal, with whom he usually walks through the city and over the ferry to the train for Atlanta at Jersey City. The two there take seats in a car and ride handcuffed together to Atlanta, a railway journey of more than a day and night. It is said that the deputy marshals are not anxious to be designated for these trips. As a system of national prisons has been adopted, they should be established at convenient points. There should be one somewhere in the northern and eastern part of the country. But in any case, if convicts are to be sent to prison in railway trains, and particularly if they are to be sent such long distances as from the Northern States to Atlanta or Leavenworth, the Government should provide a car fitted up with a secure compartment for the convicts and a comfortable place for the marshals accompanying them. The present system will almost certainly result at some time in escapes or in dangerous attempts to escape. Many Federal convicts, such as counterfeiters, for instance, are among the most hardened and desperate criminals that exist; and it is grossly unjust to the marshals to impose such a responsibility upon them when by very simple measures they could be relieved from it. Moreover, it is indecent to subject prisoners to such public humiliation.

But perhaps the most conspicuous instance of the neglect

of the national judiciary by Congress is the existing system of buildings for the uses of the Federal courts and the entire inadequacy of some of them for present requirements.

It has always been the practice of the Government to include in one building the necessary accommodations for the postal service and the Federal courts. This was originally a very natural arrangement. Every city and town requires a post-office. In those cities in which the Federal courts are held it was a simple method of providing the necessary rooms for their use, when the business of the courts was small, to set aside rooms up-stairs in the post-office building for that purpose. The custom therefore grew up of having, even in the largest cities, a Federal Building, the lower stories of which were used for the postal service and the upper stories for the judicial service. In the small cities separate buildings for the courts and the post-office would probably have involved unreasonable cost. But the court business, particularly in recent years, tends to concentrate more and more in the large cities; and in the large cities, where the courts sit for long periods or continually, the establishment of the courts in the post-office buildings is essentially objectionable. The post-office should be, and usually is, situated in the business center, and therefore in the noisiest part of a city; the courts should be held in a quiet and undisturbed part of a city. Moreover, it is useful to have the community reminded that the Government has a judicial establishment and that it respects its courts. The building in which the Federal court sits is always known to the people as the post-office; and very few persons, even in the cities in which the Federal courts are continually held, ever see anything that suggests their existence.

In New York particularly there are many special reasons for a separate court building. In the first place, the post-office accommodations in the present building are grossly insufficient for the requirements of the postal service itself. For years past the men working there in the postal service have been excessively overworked and overcrowded, especially in summer. The whole building now could well be occupied exclusively by the New York Post-office. Undoubtedly upon the completion of the new post-office building up-town the congestion in the present office will be somewhat relieved. But there will always be a necessity for a large down-town post-office in New York. All the foreign mails

will always be distributed there, and most of the domestic business mails. If the building were turned over exclusively to the use of the postal service, and there should be at first some portion not required for that service, it would not remain so long. The postal service, like every other business in New York, grows constantly and rapidly; and if at any time there should be any unoccupied rooms in the building there would be sure to be some Government uses for them. Many years ago, when the building was first built, a number of Government inspectors and other officers unconnected with the postal or judicial service were permitted to use rooms there; but they were all forced to leave long since by the constant growth in the business of the departments for which the building was primarily designed.

Moreover, the original design and arrangement of the upper part of the building for the purpose of the courts is fundamentally and irremediably wrong. The Government architect who designed it entirely omitted the usual arrangements which should exist in all court-houses, by which the judges and court officers have access to the court-rooms and to their own chambers and offices by passages distinct from those used by the public. In the present building all the judges and court officers pass between their rooms and the court-rooms through the general corridors in the building. Judges habitually, after sentencing a convict, pass back to their chambers through an angry and weeping crowd of his relatives, friends, and often, perhaps, of his confederates. The lighting and ventilation of the building is generally poor; that of the rooms on the interior court is very bad. Many rooms, originally designed for purposes for which they are not now employed, are either too large or too small for uses to which they are now put. Large spaces are wasted; and the whole building shows a general absence of any architectural skill or capacity in its original design and arrangement.

But the original faults of the building are of slight importance in comparison with the inconvenience resulting from its present overcrowded condition. When the structure was erected Judge Blatchford was the district judge at New York and was the only judge sitting permanently in the building. Judge Benedict came frequently to New York to try criminal cases, but his chambers were in Brooklyn. Judge Johnson, the circuit judge, who lived at Utica, sat

occasionally in New York, but he was in ill health and absent during much of his term of service. Judge Blatchford performed substantially all the work except the criminal trials. He did all the bankruptcy business; he tried all the admiralty and forfeiture cases; he attended to all the extradition, *habeas corpus,* and naturalization business; in the Circuit Court he tried substantially all the common-law and customs cases with a jury, and substantially all the equity cases, including the patent cases, without a jury. Since that time, in a period of only about forty years, the judicial business in New York has grown until, in the place of one circuit and one district judge, there are now four judges of each court living and sitting constantly in New York City, and they cannot by any means do all the work without assistance. All the judges from the other districts in the circuit sit in New York, from time to time, whenever they can be spared from their own districts. With all this additional aid, it has been impossible to prevent congestion in some branches of the court, and probably it will soon be necessary to appoint more judges. The result is that it is now very difficult to obtain the necessary rooms in the building in which to do the business of the courts, and if more judges are appointed it will be a serious question whether court-rooms or chambers can be provided for them in the building. All the existing court-rooms are now constantly in use. There have been various occasions lately when judges from the other districts who could have sat in New York were prevented from doing so by the fact that there were no court-rooms available. The Interstate Commerce Commission, which often sits in New York and which formerly was usually granted the use of some unoccupied court-room in the Federal Building, has for some years past been generally obliged, at great inconvenience, to obtain a place elsewhere in which to hold its sessions. The chambers provided for the judges appointed in recent years are very inadequate and inconvenient. It has been difficult to find such rooms at all. Those selected have been originally intended for other purposes, and are, in various respects, illy adapted to the use of the judges. The out-of-town judges, most of whom sit in New York for many weeks each year, have practically no chambers at all. They occupy in common one long, ill-lighted, and wholly unfit room in which are four or five desks and chairs, one of which is allotted to each judge. It is impossible, under such cir-

cumstances, for any of them to transact any private or confidential business with any one or to dictate a letter or an opinion without annoyance to the others. The clerks' offices are in a still worse condition. With the constant growth of business the necessary number of assistants has constantly increased, and the rooms for their use are excessively crowded. The space for filing records and papers is almost entirely filled, and the clerks find constant difficulty in obtaining additional room for them, a condition which constantly increases the possibility of having important papers mislaid and of mistakes in recording. The condition of the district attorney's office is equally congested. Three or four clerks frequently occupy a single small room, and all the work of that important office is done under constant embarrassment and obstruction. The marshal's office is equally crowded.

The important work of the naturalization of aliens suffers especially from the want of adequate rooms in which to transact the business. There has been great and just complaint, particularly since the present naturalization law went into force, of the defects of the existing system of naturalization. The present law is, in its essentials, a good one, although the practice prescribed by it is, in some respects, perhaps too elaborate and complicated. But if the clerks had adequate rooms which they could appropriate to that work, and were afforded sufficient clerical assistance for that branch of their duties, most of the difficulties which have arisen under the existing act would disappear. For years past all applicants for naturalization papers have been obliged to stand in line in the public corridor outside the clerk's office while waiting their turn to enter, because the clerks have no rooms in which to receive them while waiting. The long period of standing in line is hard upon old or feeble applicants, and the line itself is a nuisance in the building. Such a method of dealing with a large crowd of aliens tends to disorder and breeds abuses of various kinds. It is especially important that all the proceedings in the naturalization of aliens should be conducted not only in an orderly, but also in a dignified and, in a certain sense, an imposing manner. The proceeding should impress the applicant with the importance of the step he is taking and with the seriousness with which it is regarded by the Government which admits him to the high privilege of citizenship. Until proper

facilities are afforded by the Government for the process of naturalization, however, our new citizens will not be impressed by it with the gravity of the proceeding or with the dignity of the Government itself.

The defects in the present Federal Building to which reference has been made are fundamental. A correction of them in some way is an absolute essential to the proper administration of justice in the Federal courts at New York. But there are many other things lacking, not so important perhaps, but which ought to be found, and are expected as a matter of course to be found, in a properly arranged courthouse. There is, for instance, no room for the use of the members of the bar; no waiting-rooms for witnesses, and particularly for women witnesses; no rooms for consultation between counsel and client; no room for representatives of the press; no proper room for the detention of prisoners awaiting trial; no suitable accommodations for jurymen; no restaurant, not even the stall of a vender of light lunches, in the building. Everything about the building is inadequate, inconvenient, overcrowded, and inferior even to most of the arrangements for the Federal courts in other cities in the country; and something should be done, and done at once, to remedy the existing conditions.

There are several ways in which this relief can be accomplished. The usual remedy suggested is to have a large portion of the building now occupied for the postal service turned over to the use of the judicial department as soon as the new post-office, to be built up-town near the new Pennsylvania Railroad station, is completed. But the postal business in the down-town office, even after the completion of the up-town office, will probably require nearly as much room in the building as is now occupied for postal purposes. The men employed in the post-office have long been working in extremely overcrowded and unhealthy rooms and have the first claim to the benefit of any new room afforded by the change. Moreover, the requirements of the service will constantly increase as the postal business develops in future years. Its growth in the past has been steady and rapid, and it is certain to continue; and in a short time, if not at once, the entire room in the building will be needed for postal purposes.

Another remedy suggested is to lease rooms outside for the use of some or all of the court officials, such, for in-

stance, as the clerks, the marshal, and the district attorney. But such a separation of the courts from their essential officers would be extremely inconvenient to the public and to all the parties concerned. Moreover, the leasing of Government premises from private parties has always proved an extravagant and unsatisfactory method of obtaining premises for the use of public officials.

Another remedy which has been suggested is to have the United States Government enter into some arrangement with the city of New York by which a part of the space in the proposed new County court-house should be assigned to the use of the Federal courts. This would be, in some respects, a convenient arrangement if it could be effected; but, for obvious reasons, it seems to be impracticable. The United States and the city of New York could hardly erect a building in joint ownership, or, if it were erected by one of them, make a satisfactory arrangement for its joint use.

The simplest and most satisfactory course to take is for the United States to acquire in New York a convenient, adequate, and quiet site, and to build upon it a court-house large enough for all the present requirements of the judicial service and so situated as to be capable of future enlargement whenever required by the growth of business. The best solution of the question would appear to be to have the Government sell back to the city the present post-office premises so that the city can remove the building and restore the site to the City Hall Park, and then for the Government to erect two buildings, one for a down-town post-office and one for a Federal court-house. But if the United States shall retain the present post-office building on its present site, it could be wholly used for postal and governmental purposes other than those of the judicial department, and a separate building for a court-house is therefore desirable in any point of view.

A weighty consideration in favor of the erection of separate Federal court-houses in this country is the importance of developing in the public a respect for law and for the tribunals which administer it. For every other department of the Government public buildings have been provided, most of which are appropriate and dignified, and some of which are magnificent. At Washington the legislative branch has its Capitol and its large new office building; the executive branch has its White House and the great buildings erected

for the use of most of the executive departments. No American visiting Washington, as he looks on these splendid public buildings, fails to feel a pride in his country for having provided for the public service such creditable structures. But the judicial department of the Government has never had any buildings provided for its exclusive use. The Supreme Court sits in a cramped court-room and occupies an inadequate and inconvenient set of rooms in the Capitol. The Department of Justice has always occupied shabby quarters leased from private owners. A new building for the use of this department is about to be erected at Washington, but no steps have been taken for a new building for the Supreme Court. All the Federal courts and judicial officers out of Washington occupy rooms over the post-offices in the cities where they sit; and there is no building in the entire country which suggests to any one that such a thing as a Federal Court of Justice exists. Why should there not be erected at Washington a dignified and noble building, like the splendid "Palaces of Justice" seen in many of the great capitals of Europe, devoted to the use of the Supreme Court and the other courts which sit at Washington? Why should there not be constructed, at least in the great cities in which the United States Circuit Courts of Appeal hold their sessions, Federal court-houses which would be recognized by every passer as the outward representation of that great department of the Government which deals with the administration of justice? At all events, one such court-house should be built in New York City. Most of the revenue of the Government is collected there; more litigated business is done in the Federal courts there than in any other city in the country; and the accommodations provided for the use of the courts there are inferior to those in most of the other cities of the country. The last Congress appropriated about $55,000,000 for the construction and repair of public buildings, principally in small cities and insignificant towns. Why should not a reasonable expenditure for such purposes be made in the metropolis of the country, in which probably a larger amount of Government business is done each year than is done in all the cities and towns for which the appropriations of $55,000,000 for public buildings have been made?

George C. Holt.

# THE PLACE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY REAR-ADMIRAL A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N.

In the preceding articles of this series the attempt has been to sustain the thesis that the inter-relations of independent States are not susceptible of full establishment, nor of all necessary adjustment from time to time, upon a basis of law. This is partly because law, whatever the method of its development, whether by custom or statute, cannot be so systematized beforehand as to cover all cases; partly because unforeseen conditions arising, or gradual changes of conditions evolving, existing law is by them outgrown. Thus law often lags behind conditions, and often overlives them. In either case there results an inapplicability, from which the attempt to decide by law would work actual injustice.

The Monroe Doctrine, frequently cited because peculiarly American, illustrates both phases. During our colonial era and for thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution, European powers colonized, conquered, exchanged territories in the American hemisphere, without eliciting from the United States serious opposition based upon a recognized principle. Throughout the period named the conditions which gave origin to the doctrine were unforeseen. These conditions were the revolt of the Spanish-American colonies, involving a future independence of a large part of the American continents, and the intention of the so-called Holy Alliance of continental European States to reduce them to their former allegiance by force of arms. In resistance to this attempt Great Britain and the United States acted in common, though not in concert, and with distinct purpose to use force, if needed. The purpose of the Holy Alliance was not in contravention of law as law then was, nor, as far as I know, as law now is; but in more than one point it traversed

the policy of the United States and of Great Britain as determined by the changed conditions. That policy was partly one of particular national interest, as understood by each of the protesting nations; partly one of common sympathy with peoples struggling for relief from a very real oppression. There can be little doubt on which side law lay, nor on which justice was. Right was sustained by policy, and by a conviction of rightfulness; the instrument of sustainment being diplomacy through its ordinary channels, backed by force.

The unforeseen conditions which diplomacy and force met thus successfully, and to which law as it then stood was inadequate, were followed by gradual changes. These changes were chiefly in the growing population and wealth of the United States, and in the recognition by her people of the expediency of excluding European quarrels from propagation to this hemisphere; on the same principle that a man is disinclined to see a fire spread in the direction of his own house. As remarked by a New Zealand paper quoted in my last article, we objected to "storm centers at our doors." Upon this view, at the very moment of pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine, we based the assertion that the American continents were not in future to be open to further European colonization. This determination to maintain the *status quo* of the moment received gradual extension afterward; the denial of colonization being advanced to the denial of the appropriation of American territory in any manner, by conquest in war, or by sale, or by exchange—a further change of conditions. Each of these processes of transfer is a common international transaction, and perfectly lawful by to-day's accepted standards of international law; witnessed, for instance, by such recent events as our own purchase of the Philippines, the conquest of Algiers by France, her military occupation of Morocco, and, incident to the latter, the exchange of African territories between her and Germany.

In America conditions continued to change. At the first Great Britain had rejected the pronouncement against colonization. Hence the coincident action of the two governments against the European alliance had been merely one of momentary expediency, based on divergent motives. British opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine continued, and was protracted throughout the duration of intestinal strife over slavery. This weakened the vigor which

otherwise might have been shown by the United States, in virtue of her steady increase in power and of her favorable geographical position. Of this instability of policy the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 was in its day the exponent. Not till the national unity had been consolidated, by the results of the War of Secession, was the diplomatic contest with Great Britain maintained with a resolution which issued in the formal supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty by that of 1901, known as the Hay-Pauncefote.

Doubtless changing conditions in Europe as well as in America, and changing phases of national sentiment, inclining the English-speaking peoples more toward co-operation and less toward opposition, had their part in the general result, favoring the long-established policy of the United States which has been considered. The course of events has been thus summarily outlined, not to revive old antagonisms, but to illustrate that the happy issue has been reached by diplomacy, which deals in arrangements, not by law, which dictates by decisions; and that law throughout was incompetent to deal with situations as they changed. This has been so because there was no law, nor at present does there exist any law, to which the United States could have appealed in support of a position she was determined to maintain. All precedent, all the general custom of nations, has been and is against a course which undoubtedly has contributed to the security of the western world; because it has settled that it is useless for either of two European belligerents to seize an American dependency of the other, unless prepared to encounter also the armed resistance of the United States.

In this particular, the law of nations had overlived the conditions of colonial America and those of the first forty years of national existence of the United States. Conditions had changed, and law had not kept pace with them. Only by specific treaty, accepting the doctrine as binding on both parties, could it be given a statutory position recognizable as determinative by an arbitral court. But no such treaty has been made, nor at the critical moments could have been negotiated. Whether a long-continued acquiescence, or at least absence of contestation, and if so, how long, could be construed by such a court to constitute an established custom, equivalent to a law, I am unable to say; and I fancy the court itself would be puzzled to decide, in view of the cor-

respondence on the Venezuela boundary in 1895. Even if such a point has been reached now, which is more than doubtful, it certainly had not during by far the greater part of the period of dispute. The final adjustments have been by diplomacy, unaided by law, yet influenced by force.

The Monroe Doctrine is a policy, not a law, and behind it has always lain force; not the less real, because not flaunted. The most characteristic illustration of this was in 1866, when the hundreds of thousands who had fought the War of Secession were still in the prime of their vigor and experience. Then the United States compelled Napoleon III. to evacuate Mexico, but without moving a soldier or expressing a menace. Indeed, force is never more operative than when it is known to exist but is not brandished. Of this General Schofield's mission in 1865-66 afforded an interesting illustration. The object was "to see if the French Emperor could not be made to understand the necessity of withdrawing his army from Mexico, and thus save us the necessity of expelling it by force." * The intimation was conveyed, and the result obtained; but in a manner so void of offense that the ultimate agent, force, can scarcely be said to have appeared. It is often asserted that the existence of the armed forces of Europe, one over against the other, is provocative of war. They might be, they probably would be, if during negotiation or in a moment of excitement they were paraded in threatening manner. Sensible men, however, know well that other sensible men will avoid a known danger, unless circumstances are such that avoidance may be taken to show a yielding to fear; and therefore, unless desirous of collision for specific reasons, as Bismarck was in 1870, they prefer to carry their point by discussion, in which the factor of force is ignored, yet understood.

Can then force, broadly considered, be regarded as an inevitable factor in international adjustments and in the maintenance of the general international balances? The point is interesting, especially at this present moment when the apparent inclination of public sentiment throughout that which we esteem the civilized world, the world of the highest development in material progress, and in artistic and literary culture, is tending toward the elimination of that active display of force which we call war. May it not be that in confounding force with war we are simply ignoring

* Schofield's *Forty-Six Years in the Army*, p. 382.

a fact of not only general but universal existence? Law, itself, which its extreme advocates desire to see installed in place of War, is, in last analysis, simply force regulated—a most desirable end—but inadequate for the very reason that it is only one manifestation of a power which is manifold in its exhibition. Not only does law for its efficacy depend upon force, as is shown by the entire paraphernalia of justice from the single policeman to the final court of appeal, but under law and within law force continually controls.

In this country we have recently been passing through, and have not yet emerged from, a period in which force, astutely managed and directed, has largely controlled the business relations of the entire community. The force of concentrated capital is as real and as material as the force of an organized army, and it has the same advantage over a multitude of unorganized competitors that an army has over a mob. At times well within memory the contest has narrowed down to a conflict almost personal, at times quite personal, between concentrated financial powers, ending at times in a disabling reverse or disastrous overthrow to one or the other. As the disadvantage of such contests has become apparent to the greater competitors, there has succeeded a disposition to co-operation, corresponding to alliance between political entities for their mutual benefit. Coalescence of force dominates more and more, until the mass of individuals constituting the community realize that such force menaces their independence, and must be opposed by other force; the force of money by the force of votes expressing itself in legislation. This is the condition to-day, the condition of regulation. Yet it is realized that for the benefit of the whole the force of concentrated capital must be permitted free play, within certain limits which are fixed by the opposing forces of the ballot-box.

The States of the world of European civilization, in which America is included, in their organized national activities represent among themselves an international community of competing business organizations. They recognize that the general benefit depends ultimately upon the welfare of each and all; but nevertheless the aim of each is to compass for itself—that is, for its people—the utmost preponderance of advantage possible to be secured. Of this aim and effort, Protection, technically so called, is the most evident and the crudest manifestation. Protection is simply the use of

force, of national power recognized as legal, to secure commercial advantage; but it becomes immediately apparent that, so far as the system is economically sound, the greater the area that can be embraced within it—that is, the larger the concentration—the more effective is the operation.

Hence results inevitably the attempt to enlarge the national boundaries, in order to include and to administer to the national advantage as much territory at least as can be securely held and profitably exploited. The motives thereto, though not purely economical, are largely so; but undoubtedly there does co-operate the perfectly human and universal motive of enjoyment in mere possession. This must be taken into account, as a real and influential national factor. It is a mistake to argue that because nations and peoples are largely animated by self-interest, self-interest alone moves them; and it is a blunder to infer that there is inconsistency in maintaining the predominance of interested motive, and at the same time affirming the existence of other and competing impulses. Both classes exist. If there be inconsistency here, as is sometimes asserted, the inconsistency is not in the statement, but in the human nature concerning which the statement is made.

The wars of the past half-century bear witness to this, for it may safely be affirmed that self-interest, especially of the pecuniary order, bore in them a relatively small part. The American War of Secession was with both parties one mainly of sentiment; on the one side the objection to see its country dismembered, on the other the instinct of self-preservation, as misunderstood, and of independence as essential to self-preservation. Bismarck's wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870 were motived, doubtless, by the interest of Germany; but they embraced a conception of German racial unity consolidated into political unity which, while assuredly a utilitarian end, was certainly not devoid of a lofty nobleness to which German sentiment responded with an exaltation that ennobled the wars themselves. The war of Russia against Turkey, in 1877, no doubt took account of Russian ambitions concerning Constantinople; but the determining impulse, which constrained even the autocratic Tsardom, was popular sentiment inflamed by sympathy with the oppression of nearby kindred peoples. A similar impulse dictated the war between Spain and the United States; the transfer of the Philippines, the chief material gain, if

so it can be called, not only was not an object of war, but was accepted with reluctance, under an unwilling sense of duty, as one of its unfortunate results. Various motives, some of them sordid, may have entered into the transactions preceding the war between Great Britain and the Boer republics; but the shuffling, invidious handling of the Uitlander franchise by the Boer Government was the predominating factor. The author of *The Great Illusion* shows clearly enough that much is now done in South Africa contrary to the views of the British Government, an inevitable result of local self-government, especially where there is a color question; but the constitution of South Africa establishes equality of suffrage, in its basis and in its exercise, among all adult white males. Union and equality are thus the outcome of war. The war between Japan and Russia I believe to have been felt by Japan one of national self-preservation; that sentiment prevailed among her people, and not without reason.

It is, I believe, the cardinal mistake of the author of *The Great Illusion* that nations now go to war, or are preparing for war, under the impression that there is financial profit in injuring a neighbor. His other proposition, that the extension of national territory—that is, the bringing a large amount of property under a single administration—is not to the financial advantage of a nation, appears to me as illusory as to maintain that business on a small capital is as profitable as on a large. It is the great amount of unexploited raw material in territories politically backward, and now imperfectly possessed by the nominal owners, which at the present moment constitutes the temptation and the impulse to war of European States. The difficulty of the situation, from the point of view of the peace advocate, is that law is not competent to the solution, while diplomacy is; and that in diplomacy force is always a factor. The recent difficulty between France and Germany, and its method of solution—in fact, the whole Morocco question during the past ten years—illustrates this series of propositions.

As the motives of these several wars rose far above a mere financial advantage, so their results have been beneficial from a nobler point of view. The preservation of the North American Union, with the abolition of the degradation of mankind in slavery, and of the disastrous economical condition of slave labor; the welding of the German race into the German nation, followed by the great industrial and eco-

nomic advance, which only a unified administration could have insured; the detachment of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria from the rule of Turkey, the benefit to the inhabitants of those provinces, attested by the results and newly witnessed-to in the past years by the miseries of Albania under continued Turkish rule; the advantage to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines from the substitution of American influence, or American control, for that of Spain; the opportunity of Japan, and her national security, purchased by the successes in Manchuria at a money cost far exceeding in proportion that of any of the other wars named—all these are instances of benefits secured by war, and which could not have been secured by law, for in no one of the cases was there a law which could have accomplished the specific result.

Law could not have abolished slavery; could not have given the impetus which achieved German unity; could not have dispossessed Turkey of her misgoverned territories, nor Spain of hers; could not have extorted from the Kruger *régime* fair treatment for the foreigner, nor established equal rights in South Africa as it was; could not have vindicated the natural rights of Japan against the encroachments of Russia in the Far East. Diplomacy using force accomplished that to which law was unequal, and could not but be. The great objection to law, however, is not merely that it is inadequate, but that in most of the above cases it is inequitable—perpetuates injustice by sanctioning outworn conditions or inapplicable principles.

The extension of national control in order to further national advantage, or to flatter national self-esteem, is a natural outcome of Protection. That the same disposition is observed in the great non-protectionist State —Great Britain—shows how deeply the fundamental idea of Protection is rooted in human nature. But here enters that other universally recognized factor—that forces take the line of least resistance. Probably no State in Europe at the present time seriously contemplates the acquisition by force of the European territory of a rival. In this assumption I do not reckon Turkey as European. Alsace and Lorraine are probably the last examples of such transfer. The reason is plain. Such acquisition cannot be so valuable industrially as to compensate for the expense of the conquest. The armaments of European States now are not so much for protection against conquest as to secure to

themselves the utmost possible share of the unexploited, or imperfectly exploited, regions of the world; the outlying markets, or storehouses of raw material, which under national control shall minister to national emolument. The case is much like that of the ownership of ore-fields by the Steel Trust of which we have heard so much; the natural, and certainly not unwise, wish of the manufacturer to command his own sources of fuel and raw materials.

But while the scene of such acquisition is elsewhere than in Europe, it is in Europe that the battle is fought. The whole dispute about Morocco is one about colonial empire, as contributory to the advantage of the nations concerned. The solvent is force, because there is no basis of law upon which the question can be settled. As regards the administration of Morocco, the only law applicable is that of the right of the present possessor, which, if capable of maintainment, would simply relegate the territories in dispute to the barbarous anarchy and inutility which has been their lot for centuries past. The redemption to mankind of Algiers, Egypt, India, is the warrant in equity for the forcible suppression of those who occupied and controlled, but failed to justify their possession by results. "Cut it down. Why cumbereth it the ground?" Even the author of *The Great Illusion* holds that co-operation in the subjugation of the planet, the utilization of its resources, is the true warfare of man, and, if I rightly understand him, admits that communities which do not contribute to this may be taken in hand gently and administered temporarily to that end.* But what decides which among several competitors shall be the administrator? Force simply; not only the military force of organized armies and navies, but force of position, or of previous incidents which have given one or another a certain priority of intervention, or advantage of neighborhood, as of France against Germany in the Morocco imbroglio. In the adjustments which take place, armed force, and that in distant Europe itself, has the casting vote, either to maintain or to reverse; and in Europe, not in the remote dependency, would collision take place.

The Open Door, a modern phrase, is another outcome of this desire to increase area in order to gain economic advantage. The Open Door is the reply of other parties to the intervener and appropriator, and the Open Door depends

* *The Great Illusion*, p. 247.

for maintenance upon force. The Open Door might be defined briefly as the international retort to Protection. Equality of opportunity is demanded, but the demand rests upon force; force possessed with the purpose to use it, if necessary.

It is to be noted in this connection that the outward impulse of the European nations results naturally from the internal competitions of Europe itself; from the settled conditions of political ownership, and from the overtaking of resources by population through a diminution of the one and an increase of the other; both of which are the inevitable result of continued peace and industrial advance. The very high development of corporate efficiency characteristic of Christian civilization as a whole, an efficiency partly political, partly industrial, partly, it is probable, composed of some third factor not so easy to name or define, not only requires ampler fields, but is from its own very nature impatient of surrounding inefficiencies, and disposed to disregard such figments as legal right, based upon mere useless prior occupancy, of unimproved property.

In short, competition for control is extending its sphere from the scene of European civilization to that of extra-European, and exists not only between the European peoples themselves in these exterior regions, but between the present occupants and the intruders. It is a competition not merely of nations, as in Europe and in America, but of civilizations; and of the religions which have stamped their essential characteristics upon the nations professing them. Of the Christian religion the great constituent is power; which in another shape, easily assumed, becomes force. Force is power in action. We are prone to assume, because the personal ideal of the individual Christian, exemplified above all in the Master, is abnegation of self, that therefore power and force are alien from the Christian scheme of character. The history of the Master Himself refutes this. The distinction between the Christian conception and that of its strongest rival in the outside world—Islam—is that of the entrance of the human will into the Divine accomplishment. The conception of Christianity is not the arbitrary will of the Creator, the kismet of the Mohammedan, but the purpose of the Creator conditioned by man's energy in willing co-operation.

Abnegation of self evidently finds its correlative in social

impulse. The one implies the other. Hence the co-operative impulse, the disposition to efficient organization, as distinct from the personal qualities, however effective, of the individuals of an ill-organized race, proceeds logically from the conception of man's part in the regeneration of the world. To right what is amiss, to convert, to improve, to develop, is of the very essence of the Christian ideal. Without man's responsive effort, God Himself is—not powerless—but deprived of the instrument through which alone He wills to work. Hence the recognition that, if force is necessary, force must be used for the benefit of the community, of the commonwealth of the World. This fundamental proposition is not impaired by the fact that force is best exercised through law, when adequate law exists. Except as the expression of right, law is an incubus.

To such a view aggression, in its primary sense of onward movement, is inevitable. Those who will not move must be swept aside. They may be drawn into the movement by moral forces, as Japan has been; but if not, they must be brought despite themselves into external conditions favorable to their welfare and the general good, as has been done in India, in Egypt, and in the Philippines. As toward conviction of the intellect, upon which religion depends, force is inoperative and the use of it therefore wicked. Christianity as a religious system rests, consequently, upon a different power—a spiritual. But to Christianity as a political system, force, the sword if necessary, is incumbent, if required to remedy environment, to amend external conditions; just as the force underlying law is used to ameliorate social evils.

Recent organized attempts to convert the Church of Christ in this land into a political engine for control of political results in a reported difference of opinion between the Executive and the Senate, call for some plain speaking as to the attitude of Jesus Christ toward the use of force for the remedy of evils. The question is thought to be decided by the application to Him of the title "Prince of Peace." This is a pure begging of the question. Not only is there much imagery associating Him with actual force, even with war, but the phrase cited occurs but once in the Bible, in a Jewish prophecy which the Church has delighted to apply to Christ; but the context shows that the person to whom the words immediately refer is a deliverer whose justice reposes upon power, and by whom, or for whom, a forcible

deliverance has been wrought from the yoke of an oppressor. Moreover, this conception dominated the thought of the Jews who accepted the prophecy. The peace of Jesus Christ, as He distinctly said, is not as the world giveth. It is the inward peace of the individual resting upon God. This He called emphatically "Mine." The sway of this will be co-extensive with any community so far as the individuals thereof seek it. But in the presence of evil the genius of Christianity is aggressive.

The progress of the changes which the impact of Christianity on the world produces will probably be gradual. It has been so in the past, with a recent accelerated pace—little by little; conditioned by the *vis inertiæ* of the exterior peoples, by the active opposition aroused in them, and by the contemporary rivalries within the Christian commonwealth. Two principal influences will characterize the movement, as they have from the beginning—the influence of ideas and the influence of force. In broad generalization, the Christian Church falls within the first category, the Christian State within the second. Missionary effort is the exponent of the one, armament of the other. The two are too easily confused in discussion, particularly of the philanthropic order. Their spheres are different; and when the Church, as Church, interferes with the State, as State, whether in men's thoughts or in their acts, evil follows. The people of the United States scarcely realize what a potent political agency a Church may be made; and the Christian Church scarcely realizes the injury it will do itself by diverting any of its none too great activity from spiritual ministration to political agitation.

In the past, in other lands, the Church not infrequently has evoked the sword of the State. To-day she seeks to shatter it. In either case she errs. The present discipline of the sword in international relations keeps alive armament and the organization of force—the power of the sword which alone centuries ago checked and rolled back the Saracenic and Turkish invasions. Upon this depends the ability to use force in the great conflict with the powers of political evil in the external world. In days not long past I have written of this as prospective. To-day it is upon us. In it the disarmament of the States of European civilization, the abandonment of the energies of force, will mean the downfall of that civilization.

A. T. Mahan.

# THE ALASKAN PROBLEM

BY RALPH S. TARR

So much has been written about Alaska in the last year or two that it has been with considerable hesitation that I have ventured to enter the field. My apology for doing so is that, though having traveled widely in Alaska during four summers, I have absolutely no financial interest in it, never have had, and never expect to have. I can, therefore, approach the subject without the influence of personal interest; and no magazine or paper has sent me to Alaska for muck-raking purposes. My interest in the territory has been purely scientific, and I have viewed the country from the standpoint of its geography, which, of course, involves the human responses to environment. This may, perhaps, serve as sufficient excuse for my attempting an analysis of the Alaskan situation as it exists, an examination of the causes that have led to this situation, and, in the light of such a discussion, a consideration of the future.

As to the existing situation, it is no exaggeration to say that, whereas three years ago there was every reason to look forward to continued and rapid progress, now nearly everything is at a standstill. In places retrogression has replaced progress. The towns of Alaska, with hardly an exception, have lost population, and vacant houses and stores exist by the score. People are closing up business and leaving and there is general despondency, especially in the coastal portions, which have been looking forward to the impetus that should result from the building of railroads and the development of the coal-fields.

Alaska and Alaskans have been made the victims of a combination of stupid land laws, awakened public conscience, the clamor of the unreasoning mob, and politics. Since the very earliest days of our national existence the United States Government, one of the great land-owners of the world, has

been the consistent victim of the land-grabber, and the people have been delightfully indifferent to it, condoning the offense, if they thought of it at all, on the theory that there was plenty for all and that the country was being "developed." With a lack of wisdom that seems almost inexplicable, land laws were passed that were wholly inadequate to the needs of the western country and that very often could be made useful only by evasion. A cattleman could neither buy land for his range nor lease it; he could only have it given to him in small parcels. So with irrigable lands; until Newell's broadly intelligent methods were employed our Government was in the position of an owner of land and water with potential value that it would neither develop itself nor allow any one else to develop. The forest lands of western Washington could neither be purchased nor leased in sufficient quantity to permit lumbering operations. Who would think of starting a lumber-mill on the basis of ownership of a few score acres of timber land? Some have said that the people interested should have seen to it that new and better laws were passed. How easy that sounds! How simple it would be to interest and secure the vote of the Senator from Maine or Louisiana!

The stupidity of our land laws has forced men either to evade them or else to get out of the country; and the laxness of our execution of these laws has encouraged evasion until it has come to be generally believed that such evasion is not only necessary, but right. Location for others by power of attorney, location of adjacent lands by friends and relatives, perhaps with the object of ultimate combination, have been so common and have been passed upon favorably so often and so long that people have looked upon such methods of obtaining control of land as a matter of course. Thus the land has been secured, the country has been "developed," and fortunes have been made out of it, while the Government has not received enough direct return to pay the expenses of the land transfer.

Alaska had begun to be developed under the influence of this system. Land laws wholly inadequate have been in vogue there. People who have never visited the territory have had gold, coal, and other claims located for them. Group locations have been made, sometimes pre-empting the placer gravels of an entire creek or an entire hillside supposed to contain gold-bearing quartz. If such methods of

location have been deemed necessary and correct in gold location, how much more so is it in the case of coal? Who would think of locating a small patch of coal land in Alaska with the expectation of working it? Yet the Government will neither sell, lease, nor give away enough land to make a coal-mine possible.

Combination is the only visible solution, and combination under Government land laws has been practised for so long a time that it has been considered to bear the stamp of Government approval. Is it correct for a man with power of attorney to locate for his brother or friend or for two or a dozen friends? If so, can there be a written agreement to combine interests? Or a tacit agreement? Or a combination after location? To this day the prospector does not know exactly what is permitted under the law either with reference to coal location or gold claims.

The greater number of locations have been made in good faith and in the light that the prospector had concerning land laws. There is no class of men who are more frank or honest in their dealings than these brave, hardy men. They wish to live up to the law, and the vast majority of them have thought they were doing so and still think so. They feel aggrieved. Granting that some have been deliberately fraudulent and that others have been guilty of evading the law with or without realizing it, there remain others who have done no wrong either intentional or unintentional; and yet these are suffering equally with the most guilty as a result of our hasty, unconsidered action. Men who have spent ten or a dozen years of the best period of their lives, discovering and proving the value of these coal-beds, buoyed by the hope and expectation of ultimately reaping a return either for themselves or their families, find their hopes dashed, their energies wasted, and their time and money gone to no purpose. No, not that, for they have discovered, developed, and proved the value of these "priceless possessions of the sovereign people of the United States." Their reward is abuse and the brand of "thief." It is not right, and no action of the United States Government will be right, that does not involve adequate compensation for these pioneers.

Out of our long period of lethargy there has come an awakening, and the public mind has been fired with the word "conservation." We will no longer leave the stable-door

open, even though most of the horses are gone. Hail to conservation, I say, even though it has come a full half-century after it should. But let us fully understand what it means, and before applying it let us devise some way in which it can be made workable and effective, and certainly let us see to it that it does not become an instrument of obstruction and destruction. There is danger lest it become a quack medicine that will kill and maim instead of being the cure-all it is proclaimed to be. Even continued exploitation may be preferable to unwise conservation. In Alaska it has so far checked progress, and no immediate prospect of relief is in sight; in the mean time the resources are being effectually "preserved for the future."

It happens that the conservation movement has been essentially contemporaneous with the hue and cry against corporations; and one of these bogies opportunely appeared in the Alaskan field. A great "corporation octopus" settled down on Alaska and its tentacles spread out to the rich and extensive copper deposits of the interior (but the public does not know much about that), and out toward the Controller Bay coal-fields, about which the public has been given a vast amount of exaggerated misinformation. "Alaska in the grasp of a monopoly, its resources pre-empted, the public despoiled of its valuable possessions": this has been a good rallying-cry at a time when "trust-busting" is a popular hobby. In the effort to checkmate the designing syndicate in its move toward the coal-fields the western idea of how to develop new countries clashed with the newly-born eastern ideals of conservation, which, rightly or wrongly, are commonly believed in the west and in Alaska to be ill-judged, impractical, and academic. Then the public was treated to one of the most bitter of political rows, which in some of its aspects bordered on the disreputable. Conservation won, the corporation was halted, and Alaskan progress was checked; for how long a time and how effectually only the future can prove. The only good that has come to Alaska so far has been a wide advertisement, as a result of which people have at last learned something about it; but they have also been told many things that are not so.

Muck-raking and politics have played so large a part in the Alaskan controversy that it is a question whether the public has been given a fair view of the facts in the case of the corporation octopus. The corporation has discreetly

kept quiet, for now is not the time for a corporation to defend itself. I must confess that I do not know the facts concerning the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate and its operations; for I have not the honor of acquaintance with any of the principals, and I have no means of gaining and have made no attempt to gain exact information concerning either their motives or their plans. Such facts as I do possess leave me to take, on the whole, a rather favorable and charitable view of this syndicate and to seriously raise the question whether it has had a "square deal"; and I wish to state this view as a possible alternate hypothesis to the theory that it is composed of diabolical schemers whom it is the duty of every true citizen to fight and crush.

In new countries it is commonly recognized that effective development demands the expenditure of large sums of money. It is common in such countries to grant concessions to *induce* capital to provide the facilities for adequate development, and the concessions to syndicates often include valuable rights. Even in our own country this custom has been followed in the case of certain railways; and had it not been possible to secure rights indirectly, and perhaps even fraudulently, the history of development and expansion of our western country would have been far less spectacular than it has been. At a time when most citizens of the United States thought of Alaska as an ice-bound land with a few golden streaks in it, the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate had the keen business foresight to see that Alaskan copper was a valuable asset, provided it could be brought out to the coast; and it is quite probable that it also fully realized the value and significance of the coal deposits. It proceeded to secure and invest millions of dollars in providing the necessary transportation facilities from the copper-mines, building the Copper River Railway, one of the most remarkable and difficult pieces of railway construction in the world.

It has only recently become a sin for a syndicate to open up a country, and it was not a recognized sin when this particular scheme was financed and begun. It is quite conceivable that the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate was actuated by perfectly honorable motives in its plans to provide for the development of the Copper River region, and that it expected its profit to come from mineral deposits which its financial genius made of value and by methods in no way

different from those that have been in vogue for a century in this country. If the corporation has been guilty of fraud it certainly should be prosecuted, and one could not object even to confiscation of its fraudulently acquired property; but the public clamor has been solely that this great octopus is proceeding to devour the Alaskan riches. If this is all that it has been guilty of, then it is being seriously and unjustly punished; for it has invested money which, by a sudden and unannounced change in governmental policy, threatens to be a loss.

For the ultimate benefit of the people as a whole temporary retardation of progress may be justified and even injustice to individuals and corporations excused. It is my belief that ultimate good may, by the exercise of wisdom, yet develop out of the Alaskan situation. If only we can quiet the muck-raker and remove politics from the problems, giving candid consideration less to past mistakes than to future benefits, we may accomplish in Alaska such results as to teach us how mistaken our previous land policy has been. Perhaps in the settlement of the problem finally reached the injustice to individuals can be rectified and even the hated corporation be treated fairly. The plans should, however, soon be formulated so as to avoid unnecessary retardation of development, though even delay is preferable to crude experiment or to inadequate or ill-considered expedients. A definite, broadly formulated plan is needed, and the sooner it is put into operation the better for Alaska and for the country. The key-note to this plan should be rational conservation, which, while checking exploitation, should encourage development. It should include a revision of the land laws, not merely with reference to coal locations, but to correct other evils of location against which the miners justly complain; and it must provide for adequate transportation facilities.

Upon the question of the land laws I do not wish to dwell, for in large part this is but a mere question of detail calling only for honest, intelligent study and decision in the light of experience, of which there is a sufficient body to serve as a guide toward wise revision. With the coal lands, however, a new question arises, and it seems to be quite generally agreed by disinterested persons who have knowledge of the subject that the leasing system is the one of best promise. Any leasing system which is to be successful must give

opportunity for distinct profit. A mere five or six per cent. on the invested capital is not sufficient inducement for operation in that country. There are difficulties, both climatic and physiographic, with which the eastern legislator and even the eastern engineer has no acquaintance. Operation costs will be high, dangers of loss will be heavy, the market is remote and as yet undeveloped, and the compensation expected for industry in a new, undeveloped country is necessarily higher than in the older regions. All these points must be considered in reaching a wise plan for a system of leasing.

No system of leasing or any other reform in the land laws will be of avail unless in connection with it there is provision for transportation; and this presents a problem of fundamental importance and one in the solution of which no mistake should be made. For adequate development a broadly planned and boldly executed *system* of railways is needed. To talk of solving the Alaskan problem by running a short railway from the Controller Bay coal-fields to the shores of Controller Bay is childish for two reasons. In the first place, the mere fact that Controller Bay is the water body nearest the coal is not necessarily proof that it is the proper port. If the Morgan-Guggenheim people have the normal amount of humor, they must have chuckled at the public clamor over the " gobbling up " of the Controller Bay coast, for they, the first to really occupy the field, already *have* their railway terminal on a *good,* protected harbor at Cordova, not on Controller Bay at all, but on a branch of Prince William Sound. From some of the writings and editorials on this phase of the subject it looks as if the writers might have had in mind Boston Bay and the Charles and Mystic rivers as the counterparts of Controller Bay, the Copper and Bering rivers.

Not only must the railway terminal be wisely selected, but, in the second place, the railway system must be adequate. To run a short line to the coal-fields is only a partial and wholly inadequate solution of the Alaskan problem. It may be true that this is all that is needed to bring the coal out for shipment to the outside; but to provide for the use of the coal in the development of Alaska such a road should be merely a part of a system of railways, growing as the demand arises. Without provision for additional railroads Alaska is to be merely exploited and robbed of its coal. The Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate has indicated the truth of

this, for at great expense it has run a railway completely across the coastal mountains; and further extension, either to the coal-fields or into the interior, was henceforward simple and doubtless in contemplation. It has made the beginning of a broad-gauge scheme for an Alaskan railway system; and seeing the problem in its larger bearings and relationships, and having broad business experience, it laid its basal plans wisely and with keen foresight. The Government cannot properly be a party to any scheme less wisely planned.

It is my conviction that an adequate system of railway transportation from the coast to the interior of Alaska is demanded to develop the coal-fields, to open up undeveloped mineral-fields, and to connect interior mineral districts on the Yukon and its tributaries with the coast. That there is this need and that it promised profit, if all went well, is proved by the fact that a private concern entered upon its execution in a *bona fide* manner, while numerous other concerns made more or less ineffectual attempts to carry out a similar plan from Katalla, Valdez, and Seward.

The United States is the owner of a vast area of practically undeveloped Alaskan land with great future possibilities, but at present held in check because of the lack of means of access and transportation. If it were an individual, instead of our Government, that owned such valuable property, he would either provide the transportation himself or make it possible for some one else to do so with an arrangement profitable to both. I fail to see wherein the interests of the people of the United States differ materially from those of an individual in this respect. The fact that the United States Government has brought to a standstill the effort of a private concern to provide the needed transportation indicates either that the nation is to undertake the work itself or that it is not to be done at all.

The reasons favoring Government construction of Alaskan railways are as follows: (1) The land belongs to the United States, and the nation has the greatest interest in rendering it valuable and profitable to individuals and to the people as a whole. (2) The region is one that can never be densely settled and that for a long time to come may be expected to be occupied only in spots, and primarily by a mining population. Railroad-building cannot, therefore, be undertaken by private capital in anticipation of the rapid

extension of a permanent population, as has been done in parts of the United States. (3) Private capital invested in railway properties here must look for quick and abundant profits, and at present these are in sight only in returns from mines owned or controlled by the railways, against which the Government is now opposed.

The United States, on the other hand, can look at the problem from an entirely different point of view, for to it a few years, or even a generation, is an insignificant period of time. Being the owner of the land, it could be content to wait for direct profits from the investment if by it the value of the land is increased and if the requisite settlement and development are made possible. At no time need the Government demand the high rate of interest on the investment that private investors in a new country require. Returns from leases—and leases on gold, copper, and silver prospects, as well as coal, would be preferable to the present system—and growing returns from railway rates would ultimately yield adequate profit if the generally accepted views of Alaska's mineral wealth, in which I concur, are correct. There need never be a period of exorbitant rates; progressive development may be expected; and with wise land laws conservation may at last begin to be really tried out in American territory.

Of course the cry of Socialism is raised against the scheme of Government ownership of railways; but, even granting the claim of the most extreme anti-Socialist against the evil of the system as a whole, it is to be noted that there is here a special case quite different in all its basal principles from the general principle of Government ownership of railways. For the Government to take up and run the railways of the United States would be to substitute one kind of ownership and control for another, on the theory that the new way was the better. In the Alaskan case there is no railway system—only beginnings already checked; and there is no apparent chance of one by private initiative excepting on the basis either of exploitation or of valuable Government concession. The latter is a form of paternalism which we ought to be thankful is passing or past. Neither exploitation nor Government concession ought to be permitted, and the alternatives are either to permit valuable resources to lie idle or for the nation itself to take an interest in its own property and provide for its development.

If this were an altogether novel scheme one might hesitate about the wisdom of undertaking it; and it must be confessed that when one sees how badly we manage our postal system, as compared with other Great Powers, there is reason to fear a new experiment in extensive governmental control of public utilities. On the other hand, we fortunately can look with the greatest pride upon other and more nearly analogous experiments in governmental control, and, with a hopeful spirit, may trust that equally honest, efficient, and energetic methods may prevail in governmental railway control and leasing systems in Alaska. These are our Government experiment in the Panama Canal zone, one of the greatest national triumphs of governmental management the world has ever seen, and also the less well-known governmental experiment in the arid lands which Frederick H. Newell has been conducting with such remarkable efficiency and success. There the Government is acting as a wise steward of its properties and doing what it can to make them valuable and useful even at the expenditure of vast sums of money. Here is a case quite closely analogous to that in Alaska, substituting dams and ditches for railways, and desert land for mineral deposits; and here, as it is to be hoped may be the case in Alaska, great good is being done to individuals and to the nation; and it is done efficiently, honestly, and without scandal. Conservation of the highest type is being practised—that is, the development of opportunity to increase production by making the highest possible use of the existing resources without exploitation.

As a matter of fact, the United States is, and for a number of years has been, engaged in the business of providing transportation facilities in Alaska, inadequate, to be sure, and far inferior to what Canada has been doing in the neighboring mineral regions of Yukon territory. Our Government has been expending money in the building of both trails and roads in order to facilitate access to mineral lands and to provide routes for the carriage of mail. We have already recognized the principle of governmental provision of transportation facilities in Alaska, the natural extension of which is the construction of railways where most needed.

With rational land laws, with adequate facilities for transportation, with suitable provision for conservation of resources, and with the development that may be expected to follow, what is it reasonable to infer as to the future of

Alaska? Whatever is said in this connection is necessarily in the nature of prophecy, and therefore liable to error.

One of the great resources, as yet only inadequately developed and imperfectly known, is the natural scenery. The Inside Passage, with its maze of branches, rivals Norway; its glaciers and mountain scenery far excel the Alps in grandeur; the Yukon trip is one of the great river voyages of the world; and the cross-country journey from the Yukon to the sea is one of the most attractive inland journeys on the continent. As yet only a mere fraction of this scenery is accessible with moderate comfort, and most of the best and grandest is wholly inaccessible to the casual traveler. To him who may scoff at the idea of treating scenery as a resource I need refer only to Switzerland; for, as scenery is one of the great natural resources of Switzerland to-day, so it may come to be the case in Alaska in the future. But as a first essential must come means of safely getting there and opportunities for comfort while remaining there. With good steamship lines, with a properly lighted coast, and with a railway connecting the coast and the interior rivers, there will certainly come a stream of travelers, sportsmen, and rest-seekers.

The fisheries of the coast have already developed to a remarkable extent, for here transportation is simple, cheap, and easy to provide. The salmon fisheries have, perhaps, been allowed to develop too fully, as has certainly been the case with the fur-seal and the sea-otter fisheries. Here is apparently opportunity for conservation by further restriction.

The timber resources of Alaska have not been developed at all, the laws prohibiting exportation, and the local use being only of the most limited nature. Alaskans complain bitterly of the obstructive effect of conservation of the forest resources; and it certainly is difficult to see the justice of a policy of restriction and taxation which renders it cheaper to bring wood up from Seattle than to cut it from the near-by forest. To prevent the wasting of the forest and to avoid the disaster of removing timber that the next generation of Alaskans may find a necessity are, of course, praiseworthy objects; but there are sections where there is so much timber that it would surely be sound policy to cut away a considerable area each year with the assurance that with regrowth a sufficient area of timber would be constantly preserved. With

the German type of forest conservation that encourages use, there is high probability that the timber of Alaska, both in the interior and along the coast, may be safely made to yield a moderate supply of lumber and pulp for export and still leave all that is needed at home. If this conclusion is correct, a continuation of prohibitive conservation is mere stupidity.

Agriculture, normally the basal industry of a country, can hardly be looked upon in this light in viewing Alaska's future. Along the Pacific coast there is no reason why crops should not be raised as freely as in Scandinavia wherever there is suitable soil. The limitations here are not climatic, but physiographic, though it must be noted that there is an excess of precipitation. The difficulty is the limited amount of land sufficiently level, or with sufficiently deep soil, for agriculture. But there are many suitable tracts, and we may fairly look forward to a time, perhaps not very distant, when the coast will be dotted with farms and the hill-slopes cleared for pasture and no longer a uniform stretch of forest wilderness.

In the interior there is an abundance of level land, but the season is so short and frosts are of such frequent occurrence that only hardy crops can be raised in the open; and much of the soil is swampy tundra that in places cannot be economically drained. However, even now one can see as far north as the Arctic Circle flourishing fields of oats, potatoes, cabbages, and hardy fruits and vegetables, though in most cases these are raised merely as a side issue by men whose main occupation is something quite different. These fields prove conclusively the possibilities; and there is certainly the further possibility of successful raising of domestic animals, for the pasture lands are extensive.

With these facts in mind it is a reasonably safe conclusion that the development of agriculture will proceed with the opening up and development of the country. Grant industries that call in a population of sufficient permanence to warrant serious effort to provide food for them, and undoubtedly agriculturists will be found to make the attempt to raise and sell such products as are capable of being produced—namely, some of the main food staples. It does not seem possible that agriculture will lead the way, for the farm crops in such a climate, especially in the interior, can hardly do more than barely support life in the absence of a market for surplus products; nor is it probable that even

with extensive opening-up of the country the farm products will ever equal in value the products of the mines.

Finally, among Alaskan resources, are the minerals, the chief element in the whole situation, and the immediate excuse for the Alaskan agitation. Up to the present time, if we exclude the gold, the mineral output of Alaska is quite negligible. This is not due to absence of other minerals, but primarily to the undeveloped state of the region, to the lack of capital, to the absence of transportation facilities, and to the remoteness of markets. Prospectors have been looking for quick return, and they have sought it in the precious metal, gold, and in those deposits of it which required least capital—of which they have had little or none—and which have promised the greatest return for the time and money expended. These deposits have naturally been the placer deposits—" the poor man's mine "—out of which a man without capital or mining skill might hope to reap a fortune.

Thus we have witnessed the spectacle of a horde of men rushing to the Klondike, then to Nome, then to the Fairbanks district, then to the Iditaroid; and where they will go next season remains to be seen. In the mean time, Dawson has grown and declined, Nome has followed in the same path, Fairbanks is already beginning to decline, and scores of smaller places have come and gone. The population has shifted nervously about, almost a nomadic people, coming in great numbers in summer, and, if the money permits, going " Outside " in winter. Only a limited permanent population has developed, and thus, in spite of the great output of gold, the population has increased less than a thousand in the decade between 1900 and 1910.

Viewed superficially, this fact might seem indicative of the unwisdom of investing money in the effort to develop the territory; but such a conclusion does not necessarily follow from the facts. In the development of the New World, it has been the common preliminary stage for it to be first occupied by a more or less restless body of forerunners who have sought to pick up such treasure as is to be easily had. Later agriculture, mining, and other stable industries have developed and the population has grown. But in the United States proper this growth has in most parts been favored by the climate and quickly supported by the incoming of capital and the development of transportation. Alaska has not as yet induced a very consid-

erable number of agriculturists to settle, the double obstacle of remoteness and adverse climate being present in addition to the lack of a stable local market. The risks attendant upon investment in a new, remote, undeveloped country, plus the general ignorance and misconception regarding the Alaskan climate, have served to check the investment of capital in mining and transportation; and now to this is added governmental interference with the one concern that promised the needed capital.

To these factors is to be added the nature of the prospector's interest and desire. Seeking quick return with little or no capital, he searches the gravel deposits and he develops a certain skill in this phase of mining; but the mineral veins in the rock are of much less interest to him because this kind of mining lies outside his experience, it requires a greater expenditure of capital than he possesses, and a failure after exploration is a far more serious matter than a failure in placer exploration. Furthermore, seeking quick returns and being accustomed to seeing it gained in the placer mines, he expects it also from a mineral vein, if by chance he discovers one; consequently, he is apt to hold his improved "prospect" at so high and prohibitive a figure that no one but a natural gambler will buy it or take part in its development.

To-day mining in Alaska may be said to be essentially in the placer gold stage. About three-quarters of the gold is from this source, and the output of other minerals is so small that, with the exception of a few million pounds of copper, it may be neglected. Yet I have no doubt that there are to-day in Alaska a thousand bed-rock mines of gold, silver, and copper which the owners thoroughly believe to be valuable and which are awaiting either purchase or capital for development. In all probability a very large proportion of these prospects will prove to be of little or no value, but among them doubtless will be found other Treadwell or Cliff gold-mines and other Latouche or Bonanza copper-mines. Some of the mine prospects are along the coast, some just back from it, and some far in the interior and so remote from transportation routes that supplies must be drawn in on pack-horses or dog-sleds, while such labor as is employed must be imported and a wage of ten dollars paid for a day's work.

There are too many of these prospects for all of them

to be failures, but no one can say positively which will be the successful ones until further development work is done; and this calls for capital, which will not come without promise of means of transportation. Lack of transportation facilities is retarding preliminary exploration for prospects, development of prospects discovered, and shipment from mines already capable of producing.

One of the most venturesome kinds of prophecy is that dealing with the value of a mineral vein upon which little exploratory work has been done; but one is justified in going so far as to say that there is every reason for believing that at widely scattered points in Alaska the more stable bedrock mining of gold is on the point of succeeding the placer mining, though that does not mean that placer mining is in danger of becoming extinct. It also seems safe to predict the development of a series of valuable copper mines whenever transportation becomes possible. When such a mine is developed, proved, and capable of shipping ore profitably, it means that a community will develop around it even though far within the Arctic Zone; that freight will come and go; and that other industries will develop, including agriculture, if that be possible in the neighborhood. What a single mineral district may be expected to do toward encouraging settlement finds illustration in the Calumet-Hecla region of Michigan, the Butte region of Montana, and in Alaska in the Treadwell-Juneau district.

If mines of gold, copper, silver, lead, and other minerals are developed, fuel is, of course, of great importance for use in mining, transportation, smelting, and in the houses of the workers. As every one now knows, Alaska has coal of excellent quality and in large quantity, though there is apparently an exaggerated notion abroad as to its extent. Coal is widely scattered, but much of it is of so poor a quality, or so far to one side of the regions of greatest promise in mineral development, that it does not seem likely to be of any great value in the immediate future. But in the Matanuska and Controller Bay fields there are such quantities of good coal as to thoroughly warrant the necessary expenditure for its development for shipment and for local use. This development will lead to settlement in the coal-fields and at the terminals, and it will make possible certain forms of manufacturing, notably the reduction of ores. The extent to which these results are

attained will depend in large part upon the wisdom with which transportation is provided and mine development encouraged, not only in the coal-fields, but in the other great mineral belts.

If this analysis of the situation is correct in its main principles, there is reason to hope for the growth of a series of industries in Alaska, of which the most important will be the mining industries; and with their growth there will naturally develop a stable population, increasing with the development of industry and broadening in its field of activity as time goes on. The one underlying need to make this possible, assuming that the belief in the mineral wealth of Alaska is correct, is the provision of transportation. Without it, as at present, only the richest deposits can be worked and these only at very great and wasteful expense, while truly valuable deposits will continue to remain untouched. As a land-owner the United States cannot afford to allow these deposits to remain useless, and either private enterprise should be encouraged to furnish necessary transportation facilities or else the Government itself should provide them. Of the two plans the latter would seem to be far the wiser and to promise the best results with the greatest economy.

RALPH S. TARR.

# THE CHINESE STUDENT IN AMERICA*

BY JOHN GRIER HIBBEN

THE amount of indemnity for the loss of life and of property sustained during the Boxer rising which China agreed to pay to the United States was found to be in excess of the claims subsequently presented. Consequently, our government remitted a large portion of this indemnity, and China in turn has devoted this sum to an educational fund, the interest of which is supporting a large number of Government scholars in the schools and colleges of our country. During the last year there were upward of six hundred Chinese students in the United States, and recently over one hundred more have arrived in San Francisco. This intimate educational relation between China and the United States is a notable and unique instance of international comity which must have far-reaching results.

It is a fact profoundly signifiicant and impressive that these young Chinese scholars who represent the veteran civilization of the immemorial past should come to this new land of the west to learn of us. And the question therefore naturally suggests itself, What have we to offer them which they cannot find in their own accumulated stores of learning and tradition? I do not for a moment believe that we possess any superior intellectual power, for we have no gifts of mind that are not also richly theirs. The Chinese scholar is justly famed for his extraordinary powers of acquisition and discernment in the labors of knowledge. Nor do we value learning for its own sake any more highly than they, for China is the only land in the world which recognizes an aristocracy of learning. Nor have we chanced upon any mysterious or occult source of truth which fate has concealed from the wise men of the east, that they should come

* Address delivered before the Chinese Students' Alliance at Princeton University, August 30, 1911.

to draw from our wells of knowledge. What then is the nature of this intellectual possession which they would gain from us? It is my purpose to attempt an answer to this question and to indicate what seems to me to be the characteristic features of our western learning which it is their determination in the years they are with us in America to study and to master.

Our body of knowledge has grown to its present proportions and significance through the continuous accumulation of signal inductive achievements. We have been possessed by an absorbing curiosity to understand the causes of things, and we are satisfied with no explanation of causal connection that is not definite and exact, and which does not penetrate to the sources and beginnings of the various phenomena about us. The distinctive mark, therefore, of our intellectual life, as I take it, is its method of investigation and research. We have determined to understand the secrets of nature; by patient observation and resourceful experiment we have laid siege to the very citadel of her kingdom. With us, reason has commanded precedent and prejudice; imagination has waited upon proof, and theory upon verification. We have endeavored to fortify every advanced position, and have learned to push forward into the territory of the unknown with caution, and yet with courage. In this way we have learned to understand nature, and by understanding, to assume rule and control in her realm, making captive her powers and compelling them to do our bidding.

There is also a second feature of our power in knowledge —namely, the increased efficiency which we have gained through the art of organization. As the forces of nature may be combined to produce desired results, in a similar manner human effort may be organized and directed so as to bring about certain particular ends.

I believe, moreover, that the lesson learned through the exact and detailed analysis of physical forces, and the possibility of combining them advantageously so as to serve useful purposes, has proved highly suggestive to the students of nature concerning the significant function of organization in dealing with the forces of human nature also. However this may be, the fact remains that in the history of our race scientific discovery and invention have been always most intimately associated with economic and political

organization. Just as science is systematized knowledge, social progress is systematized activity.

There is a third peculiar advantage which we as a people possess—namely, that we are exceedingly fortunate in inheriting the results of the combined experience of many nations. We are a composite people, with lines of intellectual ancestry running far back into every phase of European history through the past centuries. Philosophy and art have come to us from Greece, law from Rome, religion from Israel, and a destiny of progress from the Anglo-Saxon blood and spirit peculiarly our own. With this racial endowment, with this historical accumulation due both to the failures and the successes of the past, we should possess a wisdom tempered and tested for the needs of the modern day in which we live.

As these young students come to us from China to search out this body of knowledge and endeavor to make it their own, there is a serious danger which will surely beset them, and against which they should be particularly warned. It is a danger to which all scholars are liable; and in their eagerness to gain a working mastery of this new learning as rapidly as possible these oriental scholars may be peculiarly liable. I refer to the danger of a superficial understanding as regards both the content and the significance of knowledge. It will be easy for them, if I mistake not, to acquire from us a certain kind of surface information; but it is sincerely to be hoped that they will not remain complacently satisfied with it. Let them above all things cultivate the habit of penetrating beneath the surface in the studies which they may be pursuing, and sink their shafts to the lower levels of knowledge, so that they may develop minds which shall have comprehensive grasp and profound insight, compelled by ambition to realize the full measure of their possibilities, and also the possibilities of the subjects which they are investigating.

There are many subtle influences which these students will experience and which will tend to induce a superficial narrow-minded view of learning and of life. They have been sent to this country by their Government for a very definite and specific purpose—that of acquiring the particular kind of knowledge which they can put to immediate use upon their return to their own land. Consequently they will be especially alert to seize upon any and every item of informa-

tion which bears upon its face the stamp of utility. In their impatience, therefore, to secure the practical advantages of learning, they will naturally fall into the habit of demanding the obvious use of every phase of knowledge presented to them; and where this demand cannot be satisfied by a surface observation, they may not have the intellectual curiosity to search for the treasure which lies concealed in its deeper parts. There is a certain temper of mind which is impatient of everything which does not yield immediate results capable of practical test and visible demonstration. And it is most natural that young and eager students should insensibly take this point of view; for most of the Chinese students in America, if not all, are devoting themselves to tasks of some special interest. They desire particularly to gain that kind of knowledge which will prove serviceable to them in the great industrial and commercial world in which they are to take their place and play their part. They will be impatient to learn how to do things—how to build bridges and railways, develop mines, improve the prevailing methods of agriculture, superintend works of construction and of manufacture—in a word, to learn how to apply the technical knowledge which they may acquire to the needs and demands of the present age. But while pressing forward to grasp the fruit of knowledge they should not fail to possess themselves also of its precious seed.

It is one thing to learn the definite formula and to master the specific process so that one can imitate the method and duplicate the result which may be desired. It is quite a different thing to be able to comprehend the fundamental principles of a science in whose field one's specialty may happen to lie, and so permanently win the heart of knowledge. These students who will one day return to China must be prepared in their various labors to meet the unfamiliar situations which will inevitably confront them from time to time, and bring to bear upon their perplexities all the devices of inventive skill and practical resource. They will discover in the daily round of their work, whatever that work may happen to be, many a new problem for whose solution the usual and recognized methods of procedure will not avail. Only the mind richly equipped and deeply grounded both in fact and in theory will be found capable of dealing successfully with such emergencies; and it is certain that such emergencies are peculiarly liable to occur in a tran-

sition period of a nation's history such as that upon which China now appears to be entering. In the development of her natural resources, in the control of the vast millions of her people, mysterious in the potential power of their numbers alone, in the beginnings of the nation's second birth of progress, in all the varied needs and demands of the new China, her sons must possess that adequate intellectual power which cannot be imparted by maxim nor applied by formula. They must be able to command whatever they comprehend in such a manner that they will become skilled in the art of adaptation, of readjustment and reconstruction, molding the old material into new forms, as other occasions and other conditions may demand.

Moreover, the scholars of modern China are not to be satisfied merely with the acquisition of that knowledge which the world has already gained. It is quite possible also for some of their number to become original investigators in the regions of science yet unexplored and contributors to the wealth of its treasures. They may sow as well as reap in the field of learning. Why may not the scholars of China, with their natural temperament conducive to the habits of keen observation and reflective thought, become discoverers of truth which will place the nations of the earth under a debt of profound obligation? Let them not overlook the fact that the highest use of knowledge is to promote the progress of knowledge itself. Therefore, with all their getting, may they get that understanding which not merely induces a certain imitative aptitude, but which also begets creative power as well. Such a possibility they may well admit within the range of their imagination, and for a while at least in their younger years allow it to possess their ambition. And to this end, in the pursuit of knowledge let them count nothing insignificant and nothing impossible.

There is a second danger concerning which the Chinese students among us should be forewarned, and it is this, that in an age of transition the good which belongs to the old order may be sacrificed in the eagerness to realize the good of the new. This is a danger against which these young men must particularly guard, for they will become naturally so absorbed in the fulness of the present and so fascinated by the splendor of its possibilities that they will hardly turn their gaze toward the past, their own past, and the glories of its treasures which they can ill afford to lose. China ap-

pears to be facing a new era of great material progress, possibly greater than has yet occurred in the history of any nation of the world. In this period of material prosperity, therefore, there will be a constant temptation to forget the moral inheritance to which the Chinese have been born and which generation after generation has been transmitted through the teachings of their sages and the traditions of their people, and of which they now are both beneficiaries and guardians. There are some things which, however ancient, can never become antiquated and which can never lose point or significance. They remain age after age eternally fresh and vigorous, universal in their application and sovereign in power. Such are the profound moral precepts of the great Confucius, which the new China dare not outgrow. Such are the national characteristics of the Chinese people generally—their commercial truthfulness and honor, their filial piety and reverence for the sacredness of family ties, the spirit of contentment, of courtesy and of gratitude, the simplicity of needs and desires, and those homely virtues of industry, frugality, and thrift. Against such no material resources of any land can be weighed in the balance. Therefore I would earnestly appeal to them by their ancestral reverence to hold fast to these traditions which are the glory of their birthright and the promise of their destiny.

With the increase of wealth and power there will come to them many a temptation to lessen the rigor of moral authority in their life. The clear distinctions of right and wrong may become confused in the haste to increase dividends and to enhance values. The growing complexity of life may induce a restlessness and discontent quite inimical to the dignity which is bred of the simplicity of manner and spirit so conspicuously characteristic of the Chinese race. Upon them there rests a peculiar obligation to remain true to the best that they are in their endeavor to realize the best that they may become. They must learn that art of conservation which is essential to all true progress. This is not in our power to teach them. It is their task and their responsibility.

There is another grave danger, that these students of our affairs and institutions may take that surface view of things which will show them only the possibilities of their own career, and nothing above or beyond it. It is quite natural that their special work in life should absorb their attention and assume exclusive command of their powers. The pres-

ent is for China the period of opportunity; never before and perhaps never again in the history of their nation will young men and women of brains and purpose have so many chances of conspicuous success. The call to-day from their land is for the man who knows. In China to-day intelligence is rated at a high premium. In a certain sense the hour has come in advance of the man. At present there are more openings in the Middle Kingdom than there are persons of training and ability to fill them. Consequently the services of the capable and fit will naturally command liberal compensation and an honorable recognition. For such the future is splendid in possibility; neither fate nor fortune can bar their progress. Their own careers are assured. But is there not a more profound view for them to take of their life and its opportunity? These Chinese students in America are in a peculiar sense the wards of their nation. To the wise foresight and generous provision of their government are due the many privileges of an education which they are now enjoying, and which they will continue to enjoy in increasing measure. They cannot fail to be deeply sensible of the obligation resting upon them to make some return for the superior advantages which thus accrue to them. Henceforth in the years to come they will be marked men—marked by virtue of their intellectual rank, and the various prerogatives of power which they will assume by the native right of pre-eminent ability. However private their occupation, they will never be able to escape the responsibilities of public servants. They will belong to their country during the coming years of active service as well as in the present years of their preparation.

The most imperative need of China to-day is a standing army—a standing army, however, not of soldiers, but of wise and devoted patriots who will give serious thought and tireless energy to the solution of their country's most pressing problems. This is the peculiar vocation of these Government students. The call is not to arms; nevertheless it is a call to heroic deeds of national enterprise and valor. The new China looks to them and to the men of their kind to inaugurate and foster those influences among their countrymen which will tend to produce a more efficient central government. She looks to them to secure the protection of property and person to the outermost bounds of her broad empire, and to make the courts of law the seats of justice and

equity. She looks to them to create a sound system of taxation and of finance; to establish schools and colleges which will assure a free education to all and cause the light of reason to prevail; to devise improved methods of sanitation and hygiene and of protection against flood and famine; to found hospitals, asylums, and public institutions of various kinds for the care of the needy and deficient; and above all things to arouse a public-spirited enthusiasm among all classes, and so develop that sense of national pride and responsibility which is the distinctive mark of a united and progressive people. This is a task sufficiently difficult and varied to provoke the best thought of China's best men. They are to be congratulated who have a part, however small, in this splendid enterprise of the building of a nation.

There is every indication that the development of the new China is to be rapid. It may be slow at first in the process of getting under way, for it is exceedingly difficult to apply an adequate moving force to all parts of this great mass of people; but when once the initial inertia is overcome it will acquire tremendous momentum. And here the knowledge and wisdom of her trained and skilled scholars can enter as factors not only of development but of acceleration as well. For by the contributions which they may be able to make, China may be spared the slow processes of evolution through which European civilization necessarily has been compelled to pass, and be spared, also, much of the evil with which our modern civilization is cursed. It is possible for the men who have found knowledge at the sources to become wise prophets to their people, interpreting the lessons of the past and revealing the possibilities of a new future, they themselves going before, leading the way, and holding high the light for others to see and follow.

We are not so complacent concerning the unmitigated excellence of our civilization that we would wish the Chinese or any other people blindly and unintelligently to copy it. On the contrary, China as a nation is to develop a unique civilization of her own, one which shall realize in a peculiar manner the possibilities of her racial temperament and talent.

Finally I would mention another danger which will surely emerge in the experience of these students upon their return to China—namely, that in the very zeal of their patriotism they may possibly lose that world interest and sympathy

which are necessary to keep them in touch with the great movements of the human spirit as they are variously manifested among the nations of the earth. China is to have a place and a responsibility as a world empire. Her destiny is not merely to guard her shores from foreign invasion, and her affairs from foreign interference. China has also an international vocation to which her development will compel her to respond. Where there is progress there cannot be isolation; it is no more possible for a self-contained nation to be progressive than it is for a self-sufficient individual. There should be a commerce of sympathies and of ideas as well as of trade between the nations. One who is a true patriot must possess some feeling of reverence for man as man and be able to recognize beneath all racial differences the fundamental unity of humanity.

This is the significance of the missionary spirit which has impelled so many of our noble men and women to leave their native land and in voluntary exile to devote their lives to the people of China. The duty which a man owes to his fellows these foreign teachers, ministers, and physicians have interpreted in the most far-seeing and far-reaching sense. They have gone to the Chinese to bring healing to the body, strength to the spirit, and to point mankind upward. In the midst of an alien people they have illustrated what is meant by the love of humanity.

This love of humanity, however, does not always take the form of missionary zeal and enterprise. It may manifest itself in innumerable ways; and so far as it may lay hold upon the spirit of these young Chinese patriots in any degree whatsoever it will tend to broaden their sympathies, deepen their human interests, and enable them to appreciate the significance of life and life's values from a commanding cosmic point of view. Some of their number no doubt will take a prominent part in the affairs of State; they may be called upon in the course of their careers to enter into diplomatic relations with the representatives of other nations. If so, it is to be sincerely hoped that they will cultivate that spirit of justice and fair dealing which instinctively recognizes the mutual rights and mutual duties universally obtaining between man and man, nation and nation, the world over.

America has always stood for the policy of "China for the Chinese." We believe in it, and we are pledged to sup-

port it. But we would not have the students who have learned of us interpret this phrase in a narrow and provincial manner. Let them hold to it as a principle of justice and as the declaration of their rights of territorial possession and of administrative autonomy; but let them not proclaim it as a creed of complacence, or as a challenge of defiance.

I have no sympathy with the piratical policy of "China for the world"—that is, China for the world to invade, despoil, and divide. I do believe, however, most profoundly in the possibility of the "world for China," the world of which China may become an integral part, the world from which China may receive and to which China may give, the world as the field of her opportunity and her responsibility.

In looking over the proof of this address, I feel constrained, on account of the recent dramatic events in China, to quote certain words of counsel from a letter of a Government official in Shanghai to his son, who is in one of our American universities:—"Do not think of returning to us on account of our present troubles. Your duty is to stay where you are; go on with your work, and prepare yourself to serve your country which will need you later."

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

# THE CLOSED SHOP

BY WALTER GORDON MERRITT

THE "closed shop" is a system prevailing in factories conducted under a fixed rule that none but union men in good standing shall be employed at the trade involved. It is called the "closed shop" because its doors are barred against all employees whom the union does not recognize, and it is contrasted with the "open shop," where both union and non-union men are employed, without discrimination against either. The non-union man may be denied union membership; he may have been suspended or expelled, or he may not desire membership, but in either of these three contingencies the fact, and not the reason, that he is non-union is the conclusive disqualification against employment in a closed shop. As the employer cannot review the union's adjudication that a man is non-union, and as in most unions, like all secret societies, an applicant for membership must be approved or voted in and no court or any other authority can review the organization's action in rejecting the applicant, the result is that no man can secure employment in a closed shop except by consent of the union.

The first thought that strikes one is the prevalence of the demand for the closed shop, the almost universal hatred by the unions of the employer and employee who do not conform to it, and the remarkable ingenuity and ability displayed by unions in their effort to drive from the market the open-shop employer, open-shop products, and the non-union man, together with the irresistible power of their extensive combinations for that purpose. Most of their unlawful acts are designed to forward the closed shop. "Show me an injunction granted," says the president of the Carpenters' Union, "and I will show you one more link forged in the chain of open-shop dogma."

Mr. Gompers, speaking upon the subject for the federated

unions which he represents, assumes his customary uncompromising tone and says:

"As the immortal Lincoln said: 'This country cannot long remain half free and half slave.' So say we that any establishment cannot long remain or be successfully operated part union and part non-union."

John Mitchell, another officer of the American Federation of Labor, in his optimistic view of organized labor, apparently expects that all the country will eventually pay homage to the closed shop and that the rights of the independent worker will to that extent be abandoned. He is author of the statement that

"with the rapid extension of trade-unions the tendency is toward the growth of compulsory membership in them, and the time will doubtless come when this compulsion will be as general and will be considered as little of a grievance as the compulsory attendance of children at school."

The criticism of the closed shop lies not so much against this *régime* in the isolated cases where it might be mutually and voluntarily sought and desired, but to the penalties and difficulties with which employers and employees are confronted for refusing to conform. For this reason one cannot form an intelligent judgment on the issue until familiar with the methods employed to secure its adoption.

The strike is usually the first weapon employed to unionize or close a shop. Court decisions which condemn such a combination state that if this attitude is aimed at some unskilled or truly undesirable associate the combination is justified and legal, but the mere fact that a man is non-union affords no excuse for a movement of such coercive power to deprive him of employment. By methods similar to this non-union workmen have been followed from one position to another and their discharge successively dictated by the same threat addressed to their successive employers.

In cases where strikes fail of their purpose the American Federation of Labor, with a constitution providing for boycotting, has elaborate and powerful boycotting machinery available to each affiliated union in its efforts to enforce the closed shop. The Federation has a total membership of nearly 2,000,000 members, controlling a purchasing power of 10,000,000—over a tenth of our entire population. This membership is enjoined to observe all boycotts under penalty of fines or expulsion, and is divided and subdivided into national trade unions, some 30,000 local unions, over 500 city federations, and some 30 State fed-

erations. The 500 city federations are local federations of all the unions in a particular city, while the State federations hold the same relation to all the unions in a particular State. Thus the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, of which there are about 1,400, and the organizers of the different trade unions can at any time command the entire organized force of all labor unions in a city, or all labor unions in a State, in their efforts to prevent a local dealer handling merchandise produced by an open-shop employer. With agents in every trade center of the country and local federations of all trades to act at their commands, with traveling agents going from city to city, and spies to detect open-shop shipments and telegraph the information to the unions at the place of consignment, we have a phenomenon hitherto unknown in either democratic or despotic States, with its branches like veins throughout our entire society. When we reflect on the utter impossibility of escaping from the observation and tyranny of this movement in any remote section of the country where it may choose to pursue, and remember that it is largely designed and manipulated to eliminate the non-union worker from industry, our feelings change to alarm. All other attempts at secret orders and societies or the conduct of organized feuds pale into insignificance before the ramifications, power, and aspirations of this institution. The idea staggers the imagination, for it discloses the irresistible machinery of an army of well-disciplined men against which the non-conformist is helpless.

Unfortunately, the use of the union label is another example of the same tyranny and intolerance, for had it not been for this general persecution by organized labor and its desire to exclude the unorganized workers the union label would never have been brought into operation. It is another way of discriminating against the employer who harbors the non-conformist. In practically no instance does it appear that the union label stands primarily for such legitimate purposes as skill, hours, wages, sanitary conditions, and other conditions of employment which it is right and just that the workers should fight for. The only universal test of the right to use the union label is the agreement to discriminate against the non-union worker.

The American Federation of Labor publishes what is called a union label gallery, which gives in pictorial form the labels of about one hundred trades, all of which have the

indorsement of the American Federation of Labor and the powerful machinery of all its branches to support them. In this way these labels become passports to the market which assure wholesaler and retailer that they may safely purchase the goods, while their absence stamps the merchandise as the handiwork of non-union toil and, therefore, to be shunned and boycotted, or purchased at one's peril.

Another effective way of discriminating against the non-union worker is shown by the methods employed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, which is probably the most powerful trade organization in the United States. It has adopted a regulation whereby each of its 200,000 members is forbidden under penalty of ten dollars to handle or work upon any materials which come from an open shop. The manufacturers' customers, or those who might be customers, are told that if they purchase the products of these open shops strikes will be called upon the buildings which they are constructing. If the customer desiring to utilize open-shop materials should employ non-union men to perform the work of installing them, which the union men refuse to perform, he is confronted by another rule that no union carpenters will work for him or any other contractor on any building where non-union men are employed.

So effective has this combination become on the island of Manhattan that practically no wood trim which is produced or worked upon by any non-union woodworker can enter into the construction of buildings on that island. Most of the large builders, in order to avoid the constant repetition of strikes against open-shop woodwork, have entered into a formal written agreement for a period of years not to purchase it, although it can be secured at prices twenty-five to fifty per cent. cheaper that the union material.

Recently a more formidable combination than these two just cited has been formed to further this same attack upon the rights of any worker who does not subscribe to the union principles. Some ten national organizations, including the machinists, sheet metal workers, and molders, have formed a separate department of the American Federation of Labor in order that, among other things, they may assist each other in carrying out work of this kind. This department has issued notices from its headquarters, Washington, D. C., to the various unions belonging to it directing them not to handle or work upon the machinery or other metal work of

particular concerns which have refused to unionize mills and reject the non-union man. As a result of this manifesto strikes have been called in different parts of the country against this class of non-union products.

All of the numerous trades connected with the construction of buildings and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have likewise formed a special department connected with the Federation, which is known as the Building Trades Department. Through its headquarters at Washington it is able to direct strikes and boycotts against the building products of any concern which is not being conducted in accordance with the demands of any of the affiliated unions, and the usual method is to call out all trades on any building where open-shop materials are being used. This department has passed a resolution to aid the Metal Trades Department by refusing to handle any metal products or materials which are not made in closed shops, and the co-operation of these two departments in the work of excluding and discriminating against the non-union worker and non-union products presents a formidable scheme which is most alarming to this persecuted class.

If, according to closed-shop advocates, methods such as we have been examining are to make union membership a necessary qualification for employment, it becomes material to consider under what conditions a man can become or remain a member. No man has an enforceable legal right to membership in any trade union, any more than he has in any private order or society. If he applies for membership, or his name is presented by some friendly member, he may be rejected, or "black-balled," as the expression goes, in the same way that he might be so treated by any private society. In some instances non-union men who have displeased the organization have been admitted on condition that they would pay large fines as a penalty for past "scabbing." Some men who have once been members and withdrawn have been obliged to pay dues on the wages they earned for the years that intervened. Unions have also seen fit to close the doors to all applicants for a given period of time, because it was thought that the membership was growing too large. Other restrictions relate to the years and conditions when a man may join, and state that he must serve an apprenticeship of three years and must begin between the ages of 18 and 21. All older men are thus excluded, except in certain

emergencies where the rules are suspended, and as the number of apprentices is usually limited by the union, even the younger men are often barred except upon the payment of "graft" money to the officers in charge. Some unions discriminate systematically against foreigners. The Carpenters' Union, with 1,900 branches or local unions throughout the United States, will not admit a person to membership except on the majority vote of the members of the local union to which the application is made, and if he is rejected by that branch he cannot thereafter be admitted by any one of the 1,900 locals except by consent of the union to which he made first application and a two-thirds vote of the union to which he made second application. Thus the action of a local union in California, actuated as it might be by a group of members owing the applicant some personal grudge, may keep a man from employment in New York or any other State under the closed-shop *régime*. Such are some of the difficulties which must often be overcome by him who would join or remain a member of the union.

If membership in the union is made synonymous with an opportunity to pursue a trade as it would be in the closed-shop *régime*, there would be no redress from unjust union action which kept a man from his trade by keeping him out of the union. While a private organization may properly control the selection of its own membership, one of the principal functions of Government is to protect liberty and the right to pursue a trade. This truism discloses the fundamental error of the closed-shop idea. If there is one condition incompatible with the principles of democracy and liberty it is a State where the rights and opportunities of pursuing a trade are controlled and monopolized by an irresponsible body of private citizens. Such a condition, maintained though it may be by a combination of working-people, is fraught with the same objections and evils as the despotism of any monarchy or oligarchy.

If a commercial nation in peaceful times cannot protect the rights of its working class to secure employment from those who wish to employ them, it has lamentably failed. If the chance to seek and earn a living is to be vouchsafed by the grace and favor of a private organization, instead of being guaranteed by the Government as in the past, surely that institution will rule in this country, and no other.

Another indictment of the closed shop is that it seeks and

maintains monopolistic prices and, if successful, would be more oppressive to our people in this way than any other monopoly. To-day the carpenter in New York receives five dollars a day, which is more than is paid in most trades; and we are paying twenty-five to fifty per cent. more for the wood materials they erect in order to avoid purchases from open shops. The craft which does not share this monopoly must pay correspondingly more for the rent of buildings which the carpenter erects without corresponding increase in its wages. The non-producer is a similar sufferer. The consummation of the closed-shop scheme would do more than all combinations of capital to raise prices and the cost of living, as the wages fixed by the union *régime,* with complete control over its craft, would furnish a basis for the cost of production above which all employers, however sharply competing, would be obliged to figure some margin of profit.

The general public would also be injured in another way. If labor unions, by the consummation of their closed-shop aims, can command obedience from all workers, the entire body of workers engaged in industry and transportation can and will be marched out in combined opposition on any issue affecting some one man. Such wide-spread disturbances inflict great damage on disinterested parties and threaten the stability of Government itself. But recently all transportation in Ireland was interrupted because a few porters were discharged for refusing to handle the materials of a boycotted firm. The sympathetic strikes of all industries in Philadelphia at the time of the traction strike threatened to become State-wide, and would have become so under closed-shop conditions. The Debs strikes of 1893 paralyzed the service of all railroads entering Chicago because they hauled cars of the boycotted Pullman Company. These sympathetic combinations disrupting satisfactory relations of neutral employers and employees, and inflicting loss and rioting on the public, are among the worst features of trade-unionism to-day, and the main restraint on them is the fear on the part of labor leaders that they cannot make them succeed. Under the closed-shop rule the conduct of men could be dictated without fear of recalcitrancy and the whole country thrown into turmoil over some local complaint.

If the courts should uphold these combinations to enforce the closed shop, the employers could in the cause of self-defense pursue a similar war of discrimination

against all union men until, by their combined power and wealth, they were able to bring about the complete disintegration of all trade-unions. Such a war is to be avoided by judicial protection. The trade-union should be permitted to exist and should be protected against any combination of employers to destroy it by making it difficult for its members to obtain employment. Likewise the non-union man and those who choose to employ him have a right to exist, and a combination to drive him into the organization or out of the trade should be suppressed. Nothing could be fairer than to place upon the statute books in all the States a law which forbids any combination on the part of any class of people, whether employers or employees, to discriminate against a man on the ground that he is or is not a member of a labor union.

If nothing but the closed shop would prevent the oppression and persecution of the working class, it might well be contended that all principles of liberty might better be abandoned than to permit such an unfortunate condition to become established. Most people will believe, however, that it is possible for this nation to preserve the traditional rights and liberties of its people and at the same time properly protect the working class. If labor organizations would adopt the methods and policies of the admirable Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers they would uphold the open shop and make merit and capability the qualifications for membership, so that employers, feeling that it represented the best of the craft, would make generous concessions to it, rather than be obliged to depend exclusively on non-union workers. This is a legitimate and unexploited field of union activity by which it can obtain fair play from the employers. People also forget that protective and powerful weapon, the strike, which has been allotted to organized labor. The history of civilized government affords no parallel whereby law permits a combination of men to enter into a scheme so calculated to imperil and destroy property and personal rights. The organization of a man's factory is usually of more value than the machinery and walls. It is the fruit of years of expense and selection and elimination. There is, moreover, an individuality in the methods and products of most manufacturers to which it takes time for the employees to adapt themselves. The strike by one blow destroys this valuable organization of skilled help, turns the

factory into a kindergarten, and, for a while at least, paralyzes the business and prevents the further fulfilment of orders. It frequently takes a factory years to reach the same standard of excellence in its production after strikes which are never settled, and the loss of customers who during the period of suspended production drift to competitors is sometimes permanent. The public, accustomed to the frequency of strikes and sympathizing with the employees, often fails to appreciate the power of this weapon, but workers vested with the legal right to inflict such destruction cannot well be oppressed. Tremendous forces are also in the field to guard against the possibility of employing men, women, and children under conditions which will produce an anæmic and deteriorated citizenship in the future. Philanthropic men and women are studying and exposing industrial evils. The American Association for Labor Legislation and the National Child Labor Committee are both powerful and well-conducted movements which are successfully securing the passage in all industrial States of numerous laws for the protection and welfare of the employed. In the last year alone they have been influential in securing the passage of over one hundred laws. Employers themselves have become so enlightened that they are introducing many reforms on their own initiative, and large employers' associations have all been urging legislation as to workingmen's compensation. The conditions prevailing in many industries to-day are satisfactory, and the crying evils are limited to certain industries and localities which will be corrected in the near future by forces and movements much more efficacious than the closed shop, and involving no such sacrifice of the principles of liberty. But were this not true, it would be far better for this nation to embark on a course of paternal or socialistic legislation in the form of compulsory arbitration or direct legislative regulation of wages, hours and conditions of employment than to surrender to irresponsible associations having a record such as labor-unions now have, control of the opportunities of securing employment. Such a course would involve swift and certain destruction of the principles of democratic society and the complete abandonment of the grandest concept of modern government—that the individual rights of all citizens are constitutionally protected against even the encroachment of government itself.

WALTER GORDON MERRITT.

# ECHOS

BY EZRA POUND

## I

*(Trecento)*

Guido Orlando, Singing:

Befits me praise thine empery,
  Lady of Valor,
Past all disproving
Thou art the flower to me—
  Nay, by Love's pallor—
Of all good loving.

For thou alone art she
  In whom love's vested;
And branch hath fairest flower
  Where fruit's suggested.

So great joy comes to me,
  To me observing
How swiftly Thou hast power
  To pay my serving.

## II

Two Cloaks

Thou keep'st thy rose-leaf
  Till the rose-time will be over,
Think'st thou that Death will kiss thee?
Think'st thou that the Dark House
  Will find thee such a lover
As I? Will the new roses miss thee?

Prefer my cloak unto the cloak of dust
  'Neath which the last year lies,
For thou shouldst more mistrust
  Time than my eyes.

Ezra Pound.

# THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN NOVEL*

BY ARNOLD BENNETT

## I

Not long since the American novel had only a past; that past was Nathaniel Hawthorne. But recently it has acquired a future, a gem of brilliant water whose rays have dazzled the eyes of England. The old order changes, giving place to a condition of affairs more in harmony with the principles of the Shipping Combine. The old order is symbolized by a few dozen neat and even splendid villas dotted over the face of England—villas of English novelists, built and supported largely out of American royalties. The new order will be symbolized in America by literary palazzos on the Hudson and in the Adirondacks, and in England by inexpensive rows of semi-detached cottages in the remoter suburbs of London. The pendulum will swing slowly, but it will swing. A few years ago the English author dictated terms to the American publisher as a conqueror dictates terms to the defeated host. That was because the lettered population of the United States firmly believed that its native soil was not favorable to the growth of novelists, while the rich loam of Great Britain produced them in abundance and excellence. "So-and-So a good novelist?" exclaimed the lettered population of the United States. "Impossible! He was born in K'ntucky!" And, of course, England did not contradict; to contradict would have been against human nature and against the axioms of good business. Consequently, the advertisements of English publishers contained scarcely any American names save those of Mr. Henry James and Mr. William Dean Howells, and one or two more, and the advertisements of American publishers teemed with the gospel of

* Written for The North American Review in 1903, and now published for the first time.

English genius in fiction. Consider the advertisements of to-day, and you will perceive that the magic slipper is on the other foot.

From a fairly intimate acquaintance with English literary life, I can say that the English novelist has taken his rebuff (I would not call it defeat) cheerfully, even generously. Though it is a fact that the incomes of some English authors have been diminished by from one to three thousand pounds sterling per annum, I have heard little serious complaint. English authors admit that they have been batting on a hard wicket for a prodigious period, and that their innings are over for a time. They accept the situation as one accepts an earthquake or a trade-wind. This is wise of them. That they should in the hour of fiery trial show an intelligent and appreciative interest in the fire that burns them is an astonishing proof of generosity on their part, possibly unequaled in the curiosities of literature. It is, however, no exaggeration to say that at the present moment England is genuinely interested in the phenomenon of American fiction. "Everything happens," said the sagacious Talleyrand—and he was never more sagacious than when he said it—and we recognize that everything may shortly happen in American fiction; in other words, that the Tolstoy of the future is probably now playing baseball, and not cricket. This intelligent interest in American fiction stands quite apart from the notorious and incredible crazes of the last year or two, perhaps because it *is* intelligent. (Still, craze for craze, America may hold her head up; *David Harum* is infinitely nearer to literature that *The Master Christian.*) English writers indubitably display an interest of despair in the fiscal rewards of the heroes of American literary crazes, but their artistic concern is with men and women who are not stars of the first magnitude in the heaven of American public opinion. Writers of the generation of Mr. Henry James they profoundly esteem. And this reminds me of a *mot* of Mr. Barry Pain's in apologizing for the absence of Mr. James at a banquet. "Mr. James," said the author of *The One Before,* "has his own special public all over the world. He can proudly say that he is never read by a stupid man—except, of course, reviewers." But no new departure is expected from the generation of Mr. Henry James. Whereas the future is big with possible developments of the various schools of fiction represented by writers like Mr. James Lane Allen, Mr. Frank

Norris, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, Mrs. Edith Wharton, Mr. Hamlin Garland, and Mr. Theodore Dreiser. These are the American names that interest those people in England who can distinguish between a book and a beefsteak. The two American books which last year created the most genuine sensation among the aforesaid circle were Mr. Norris's *The Octopus* and Mr. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie.* Of the former I shall have more to say presently. Touching the latter, the first exclamation of many people will be: Who is Mr. Theodore Dreiser? Which proves that lookers-on see most of the game. For myself I cannot answer the question as to the identity of Mr. Theodore Dreiser. But the consensus of educated English opinion about his book was too marked to go unnoticed. I am told that this fine and somber work was ignored in America until England began to discuss it, and that even then its reception in the country of its birth was on the zero side of tepid. Yet I am by no means the only English reviewer who has not been more impressed by the work of a new author for years. *Sister Carrie* was forwarded to me for review by the editor of a London literary organ when I was on a holiday, and my attitude toward it was decidedly inimical before I began it. Nevertheless I sent in my review with a note, "This thing is eye-openingly good." The editor replied: "I had read it before I sent it to you, and I also thought it eye-openingly good. But I did not want to bias your opinion by telling you of this." I trust this personal anecdote may be excused, since it illustrates what I may call the "new" English attitude toward American fiction. *Sister Carrie* was one of a special series of American novels issued by an English publisher noted for the fine quality of his fiction. On the binding of that series an American eagle spread its pinions against a background consisting of the Capitol and the risen sun. The eagle has typified much in the past; here it typified an artistic conquest—it indicated that the American novel was aloft.

## II

And there are divers reasons for the uprising of the American novel, some minor and one major. I will deal with the minor reasons first.

Americans read vastly more than Englishmen. None but a nation of convinced, inveterate, and incurable readers could support the sixty-four page Sunday editions of the daily

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papers; a less studious race would sink under that massive weight of letterpress, illustrations, and advertisements. But in addition to being a nation of newspaper readers, the United States is a nation of book-buyers. It is notorious that an Englishman never buys a book; any bookseller in the Strand will assure you of that elemental fact. The greatest book-buyers in the world are the French; after them come the Scotch—Edinburgh is certainly the most literary city in Europe except Paris; and next comes the United States. The population of the United States is less than double that of the United Kingdom, yet the circulation of the most popular books in the United States is three, four, and five times that of the most popular books in Britain. If a book in England achieves a sale of fifty thousand copies, the publisher gets excited; if it reaches a hundred thousand, he takes a full page in the *Athenæum* to announce the miracle; if it exceeds a hundred and twenty thousand, he builds himself a lordly pleasure-house and keeps nine gardeners. But in the United States nothing under a quarter of a million is likely to quicken the pulse, and sales of a hundred thousand are as common as corners in foodstuffs. Whatever may be said by the superior against the literary taste of America, it is incontrovertible that Americans do buy books, thus fulfilling the first condition precedent, in these commercial times, to a worthy national literature. American booksellers are in far better case than their English contemporaries, and even Mr. Charles A. Burckhardt, the New York bookseller who at the second annual convention of the American Bookselling Association complained that he had never heard of a bookseller who could afford to ride in his own automobile, was obliged to admit that the state of the profession was so rapidly improving that before many years every bookseller might possess his car. When bibliophiles ride in autocars, then the chances of a great novel coming along are indeed rosy. It is strange, by the way, that a bookseller, even the most pessimistic, should lament the "enormous output of books," as did Mr. Harry Gregory at the same convention. Mr. Gregory said that, because of this output, "not one book in ten could hope to be remembered one year after its publication." A most excellent thing, too! And was it not always thus? Was there ever a period in the whole history of modern publishing when the average book survived for more than a year? Because Thackeray, Dickens, George

Eliot, and the Brontës wrote forty years ago, people are apt to imagine that the entire literature of that era consisted of immortal works. It is scarcely so. The proportion of feeble books to strong was probably exactly the same then as now. The life of the average book has certainly been somewhat abbreviated of late years; but that is due to the fact that, while money has decreased in worth, the worth of time has been enhanced. Six months of the present are worth twelve months of forty years ago; time is only a metaphysical conception, and in reality the exchange value of a month is no more immutable than that of a five-dollar bill. But my point is that the transitoriness of the average book improves the prospects of the author who is ingenious enough to write a book above the average.

Again, the American is not only more interested in imaginative literature than the Englishman, he is more quickly interested and he is more variously interested. As French is the most artistic and the most uniformly brilliant of all modern literatures, so an intelligent curiosity about French literature is a phenomenon upon which any foreign nation that evinces it has the right to congratulate itself. It is well known that most of the large enterprises in translation which have marked the last decade have had their inception in America. At the present time a twenty-four-volume edition of the works of Théophile Gautier, at three and a half dollars the volume, is being issued, not in London, but in New York. I encountered the other day an English version of the famous sonnets, *Les Trophées,* of José-Maria de Hérédia. It was not an epoch-making effort of translation, but it was a quite creditable essay in the absolutely impossible. The book was published in San Francisco, and my copy was of the third edition. Such things could not occur in London; at least they do not. The profits on the translation of Tolstoy's *Resurrection* were tenfold in America what they were in England. Similar facts might easily be multiplied, but it is not necessary to go further to show that the bookish interests of the United States are free from that "grooviness" which stifles the artistic growth of a national literature.

Another factor which must ultimately "make for righteousness," though the myopic may not think so, is to be seen in the superior shrewdness, enterprise, and daring which characterize American publishing. The methods, and espe-

cially the advertisements, of American publishers cause smiles in Paternoster Row. But I, for one, would not smile at them. The business of the publisher is, after all, to sell; if he sells he succeeds. How he sells cannot affect the quality of his wares; the author must always attend to that. The American publisher's amazing and unswerving determination to sell cannot fail to have a beneficial effect on American fiction. Look back and you will see that the glories of English and American literature have been published by firms who set out to sell and did sell. Such firms naturally fascinate the best authors, and they extract the best that is in those authors. The first thing that genius wants is money, and money he will have. Scott wanted it, Thackeray wanted it, Balzac badly wanted it; they all wanted it. And, therefore, nothing is more likely to foster genius than a set of commercial conditions nicely calculated to give genius its extreme *quid pro quo* in cash. If the success of *Waverley* had not meant money, does any one suppose that we should have had *The Heart of Midlothian?* The causative connection between money and imaginative energy is one of the most intimate and direct known to social science, but people mention it as little as possible. Lastly, in this regard, I should say that the comparatively large number of publishing centers in the United States must assist the development of literature. In Great Britain there are but two centers, London and Edinburgh (perhaps one ought to put it Edinburgh and London); Oxford and Cambridge certainly publish, but only in the Academic or Pickwickian sense, and Glasgow is not sufficiently active to count. In America most cities, even Portland, seem to publish; and this decentralization should decidedly tend to increase the opportunities of budding talent.

## III

But the great argument in favor of the future of the American novel, an argument by the side of which the foregoing contentions are as nothing, lies in the strenuousness, the variety, and the essential romance of American life. A strenuous national life always leads to fine art. The great French romantic movement of the nineteenth century had its roots in the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. It may be more or less true that America, by the ardor of its will-to-live, is gradually becoming a mass of overwrought nerves,

a vast stomach for the reception of patent medicines; but it is infallibly certain that this intensity of competition, this interplay of warring activities, this havoc of operations in Wall Street, these monstrous concatenations of dollars, will lead to enterprises equally prodigious, fierce, and astounding in the region of imaginative art. The material is far too good to be wasted. By a kind of natural economic law the epoch which produces the raw material for art will surely produce the artists capable of using that raw material. In material, as well as in creative energy, the American author must decidedly have the start of the rest of the world. And the importance of material cannot well be overestimated. A considerable portion of Balzac's pre-eminence in the novel of actuality is due to the extraordinary wealth of material that lay to his hand. From 1800 to 1830 nothing happened in France that was not picturesque, disturbing, deracinating, or positively seismic. Financial speculation was at its wildest; the rich became poor and the poor became rich; nobles dizzily oscillated between exile and grandeur; thrones fell and were re-established; luxury increased; and beneath all, supporting all, the old agricultural life of the departments ran on almost undisturbed. What would not Balzac have done with Pittsburg, the sixteen-hour express between New York and Chicago, Wall Street, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, and the wheat-growing States? He would have said: "This country is simply steeped in romance; it lies about in heaps. Give me a pen, quick, for Heaven's sake!" And we should have had a second *Comédie Humaine* compared to which the first was a story by Jane Austen for quietude. Not every one, of course, can perceive the romantic quality of American life. Perhaps most Americans are too close to it. The millionaire who retires to a sleepless couch knowing that on the morrow he will be broken; the impoverished housewife who must give her children dry bread because a beef trust will not disclose its account-books—these and such cannot be expected to see the romantic fun. But none the less the artist will see it; and none the less is the romantic fun fine and glorious because suffering is the the very warp and woof of it. You may say that the same state of things prevails in other countries. It does, but in no other country is there the vivifying, resistless energy, the crude force, the marvelous violence of contrast and diversity of scene that delight the soul of the imaginative writer in the United States. It

is a mere truism to say that while the rest of the world only exists, the United States lives.

All the minute depicting of the thousand forms of local life in America, which is now so prominent a feature of American fiction, is a mere preliminary. It is excellent, admirable, necessary, but it is a preliminary. It is the fiction of States, not of the United States. The great novels of the future will spring from the action and reaction of place on place and activity on activity. They will be big, like American landscapes and fortunes; they must be. They will comprehend everything in one embrace, because only in such a conspectus can the full romantic beauty of each detail be perceived. They will pretty certainly be of two kinds—the two kinds that have always persisted and always will persist—the purely romantic and the romantic-sociological, the Dumas kind and the Balzac kind. Of the former two clever prototypical specimens that have impressed me are *The Short Line War* and *Calumet "K,"* both written in collaboration by Messrs. S. Merwin and H. K. Webster. *Calumet "K"* especially disengages the sheer romance that lies concealed, for instance, in grain elevators, contract jobs, and wheat manipulations. It has faults, but it has the genuine romantic spirit, and it is as modern in material as wireless telegraphy. Of the latter, the Balzac kind, Mr. Frank Norris's *The Octopus* (first of a projected trilogy of novels about wheat) is a notable herald. Indeed, it stands alone. It is almost the only novel yet produced that deals with the activities of modern American life in a manner at once large, serious, and romantic. It is like nothing else, and it succeeds where M. Zola has again and again failed. There can be small doubt that the great novels of the future will run on the lines of *The Octopus,* though one may venture to prophesy that they will contain a little less sentimentality. *The Octopus* is almost fatally vitiated by the sentimentality of the close. And let me finish by asserting that sentimentality is the rock which the ship of American fiction has to steer clear of. The American novelist of the future will do well to bear in mind that life unadulterated is the best possible material for art.

ARNOLD BENNETT.

# THE PARSON-POETS

BY S. G. TALLENTYRE

"HAVE you seen Trench's new volume?" wrote Blakesley to Lord Houghton in 1838. "Here we all think the clergyman has swallowed up the poet."

In the case of Herrick, the Love-poet, and of Thomas Ingoldsby, the Humorist, the poet has swallowed up the clergyman; while with George Herbert, the Saint, the quaint piety of the matter is so exquisitely interwoven with the quaint, sweet music of the manner that one knows not if it be words or melody which have touched the soul.

Robert Herrick was born when the great Elizabethans still filled her spacious times with melody, and son of one Cheapside tradesman though he was and nephew and apprentice of another, lisped in numbers from the first.

He was twenty-two when, in 1613, he became a gentleman commoner of St. John's College, Cambridge, and began writing annual excitable letters to his "most carefull uncle" for ten pounds to buy books. He devised even more ways of spelling his own name in the signature of these letters than he presently devised methods of pronouncing Julia to suit the exigencies of his verse.

He was about nine and twenty—with curly black hair, coarse jaw, and a very prominent hook nose like a Roman emperor's, if one can trust a portrait of the epoch—when he returned to London and, at what he himself called

> "those Lyrick Feasts made at the Sun,
> "The Dog, the Triple Tunne,"

met "rare Ben Jonson," and many of Ben's contemporaries and inferiors. Young Robert knew very well which were the inferiors and was stanch to his devotion to Ben to the end of his life, always filling—it is to be hoped, usually metaphorically—"mighty Bowles up to the brim" that

he might drink to his "Jonson's soule"; and providing his divinity with a niche—also metaphorical—in his church of Dean Prior:

"Candles I'lle give to thee
And a new Altar;
And thou, Saint Ben, shalt be
Writ in my Psalter."

The poets a poet reverences form a very good indication of the sort of poet he is himself. Herrick indeed knew the best when he saw it, in his own Muse as in other men's; through his poems runs the strong assurance, which is never conceit, that his music, to which for two hundred years scarcely any one attended, rang true and "the day would come when men would hear him."

In 1627, when he was not far short of forty years old, he took orders, and as military chaplain accompanied the Duke of Buckingham on the ill-fated expedition to the Isle de Rhé. Two years later he was appointed to the living of Dean Prior, in a small, deep valley under Dartmoor.

No one seems to know the reason of these steps, or of his not taking some others before him. He says himself he was not ordained for the loaves and fishes. He loved London, and addressed his new county as "lothèd Devonshire." One cannot look in his face, or think of the life of wit and wine in which he had delighted in the metropolis, and believe that nature had designed him for a country incumbency. But he started with at least good resolutions. There is an "Ode Upon Parting" in which he takes leave of the lusts of flesh and fame, and a "Farewell Unto Poetry"— that is, all poetry save the "Noble Numbers" of sacred song. He hired an old servant, Prue, or Prew, "my dearest maid"; he surrounded himself with pet animals; and to the pleasures of his new office—the junketings and wassails, May-day fêtes—he attended with immense zest and regularity.

Of his performance of his duties hardly anything is known except that the "oldest inhabitant" said he once threw his sermon at the congregation when he saw they were not attending to it. Once again, "look in his face"—with that determined, protruding eye—"and you'll" believe "it all."

Then he settled down for eighteen years and, Farewells not being of necessity eternal and nature and inspiration being very strong, was first Herrick the Poet and, a great way after, Herrick the Parson.

Whether or no he can be said to be one of the most perfect of English lyrists, at least no lyrist ever interpreted more beautifully the laughter of love who knew nothing of its pangs and its tears.

Robert Herrick touched only the lighter chords in the great gamut of human feeling—and touched them exquisitely. Whether his Julia was Heaven's invention or only Herrick's, one can still see her with her complexion of milk and roses, lustrous dark eyes, hair sparkling with dew

> "Dew sate on Julia's haire
> And spangled, too,"

or "bundled up in a golden net"; and those warm, full charms a Herrick must needs adore. The "Lawnie Films" and "Airie Silks," filled with all the perfumes of Araby; the roses at her breast, the black ribbon floating across a fair arm, the first and last poet who made clothes poetic has described with a naïveté which is not the least of his delights.

Many of his poems are like a Watteau picture—only Watteau's models were the court ladies playing at rusticity and Herrick's are more often the country girls with Devonshire air and damp the only paint their cheeks knew, and with a background not of Versailles, but of a vicarage garden full of blossoms.

In that naïveté he is the Pepys of poetry. When he declared of his mistress

> "Be she bald, or does she weare
> Locks incurl'd of other haire,
> I shall find enchantment there"

Parson Herrick was not at all indulging in a jibe at her expense: he was saying what he thought like a child.

So in his religious poems—it must be confessed the Vicar of Dean Prior continued to be more at home in the exquisite epicureanism of the "Hesperides" than in "Noble Numbers"—he expresses simple facts in simple words without the slightest intention of irreverence. In that beautiful "Litanie to the Holy Spirit," at such verses as

> "When the artless Doctor sees
> No one hope but of his Fees,
> And his Skill runs on the lees,
> Sweet Spirit comfort me!"

the reader may smile, but the writer did not.

His epigrams have the naïveté in a less desirable form: they are the boy—and the boy of a very coarse age—in a passion. One fancies Parson Herrick put into them something of his disgust with a country life and parish vexations, and punished his neighbors for being so dull.

And in a moment the same pen and heart turned to write one of the familiar masterpieces of grace and literature, "To Daisies, Not to Shut so Soon"; "The Night-piece to Julia"; or the two perfect, less-known verses "To Electra":

"I dare not ask a kisse,
I dare not beg a smile,
Lest having that, or this,
I might grow proud the while.

"No, no, the utmost share
Of my desire shall be
Only to kisse that Aire
That lately kissèd Thee."

It is a high testimony to Herrick as a poet that so many of his poems have been set to music; but, after all, few need such a setting—they are immortal music already.

Here and there, but seldom, there are stanzas which bear testimony to the fact that he was aware while he was snug in his Devonshire parsonage with his Prew, his spaniel, his cat, and his lamb, thrones and kingdoms were passing away. For himself he very well knew, in his own words:

"Live by thy Muse thou shalt
. . . . . .
When Monarchies trans-shifted are and gone,
Here shall endure thy vast dominion."

He calmly produced his "Hesperides" in the great warring of nations three months before Charles I. was beheaded.

In 1647, as a good Royalist, he was ejected from Dean Prior; came back, not at all ill-pleased, "to the blest place of my Nativitie," and refuged in poor lodgings in Westminster.

Jonson was dead; the spirit of the age was the spirit of Puritanism—not at all congenial to Parson Herrick, who still enjoyed, one fancies, his "Boules with Sack repleate," and wooed, one knows, a muse not austere. But he was of the disposition which could ever say to fortune:

"Tumble me down, and I will sit
Upon my ruines (smiling yet);
Teare me to tatters; yet I'le be
Patient in my necessitie."

In 1662 came the turn of the wheel. The parson of Dean Prior was reinstated in his cure. He was then seventy-one years old. Old Prew survived him. To be sure—taking time by the forelock—he wrote her epitaph thirty years before her death. He wrote other epitaphs, tender and graceful, but never evincing the deeper feelings which were his lack.

He died at eighty-three and was buried at Dean Prior as "Robert Herrick, Vicker," on October 15th, 1674; and "Robert Herrick, Vicker," he remained till 1796, when "Sylvanus Urban" of "The Gentleman's Magazine" resuscitated a poet.

George Herbert, who was born in 1593, was at Cambridge at the same time as Herrick, but they do not appear to have met—fortunately, as they would have been very uncongenial.

Herbert had the advantage to belong to a good old family, and the greater advantage—it must be advantageous, for such mothers' sons nearly always turn out well—to be one of the seven boys brought up by a devout widowed mother. One of the seven was Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

According to Izaak Walton, even at Westminster School the beauties of George's "pretty behaviour and wit shined," and he seemed "marked out to become the care of Heaven."

Not too easily, however. At Cambridge he was wit, scholar, gentleman; in 1619, Public Orator; of the world and in it; assiduous in attendance on His Majesty King James I. when he came to neighboring Royston to hunt; had, in fact, high hopes of court preferment, "a genteel humour for clothes" and no little pride of his noble birth; while Lord Herbert of Cherbury mentions fraternally that George had also the family hot temper.

Then James I. died, and, says a biographer, "disappointed ambition made Herbert a saint."

No! For there had long been in him a great struggle of the soul—the desire, but not the strength, to come apart from "the ways of Pleasures, the sweet strains, the lullings and the relishes of it," to a better and obscurer destiny. By 1626 he had been ordained deacon, but took up no clerical work. A few years later he retreated into Kent for long thought and solitude; went through, in his own words, "such spiritual conflicts as none can think but have endured them." At last

"Methought I heard one calling 'Childe';
And I reply'd 'My Lord.'"

He accepted the little living of Bemerton, near Salisbury, in 1630—it consisted of a few cottages and a population of about one hundred and twenty souls. Before he died there—only three years later—he had done his life's work, and left his "deare Mother," the British Church, her noblest heritage of verse.

George Herbert, as poet and man, has many surely of the qualities which he loved in that Mother—her sobriety, which is not austerity; her large comprehension of the necessities and failings of human nature, her gentle dignity, and her sound reasonableness. Herbert as parson or poet did not hope to turn his people into angels: only into good men and women. His poems are always true to human nature, and so are true art. Yet he had also an exquisite feeling for lyric style; while, as for the quips, cranks, and oddities which were the poetical characteristics of the age, one can hardly dream his poetry without them, and one loves him for them.

No better compliment has ever been paid to his verse than its neglect by the eighteenth century—which was busily engaged in petting Pope, Shenstone, and Cowley—and that Cowper, in the awful melancholy of disordered reason, declared that though he did not find in Herbert a cure for his malady, "yet it never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading him."

Is every one now always so confident and sanguine that he has no need of the calm, quaint beauty and commonsense of "The Discharge," for instance, which advances Herbert's reasons against worrying over the future?

"Raise not the mudde
Of future depths, but drink the cleare and goode:
Dig not for wo
In times to come, for it will grow.

. . . . . .

God chains the dog till night: wilt loose the chain
And wake thy sorrow?
Wilt thou forestall it, and now grieve to-morrow,
And then again
Grieve freshly over all thy pain?

"Either grief will not come, or if it must
Do not forecast;
While it cometh, it is almost past,
Away, distrust;
My God hath promis'd: He is just."

Not once, but often and often, Herbert's verse falls like showers after a glaring and arid day.

This age—the age of restlessness *par excellence,* of running to and fro, of testing every experience and at the end feverishly asking *Cui bono?*—may find its answer in "The Pulley," that "story of the world written with the point of a diamond," and one of the most characteristic of Herbert's pieces, full of his strong serenity, his play on words, and even that delicate humor that always threads his seriousness.

The Creator is represented as pouring on the creature all His gifts save one—the gift of rest:

> "'For if I should,' said He,
> 'Bestow this jewell also on My creature
> He would adore My gifts instead of Me,
> . . . . . .
> Yet let him keep the rest,
> But keep them with repining restlessnesse;
> Let him be rich and wearie, that, at least,
> If goodnesse lead him not, yet wearinesse
> May tosse him to My breast.'"

There was no time when the conception of the parson's duty was quite so easy and pleasant as in the Early Victorian epoch. Still, then the clergyman was always a gentleman—whereas he now is so sometimes; and the influence of a genial and upright personality, of a kindly and sensible man who was not in all respects the worse for being something of a man of the world, is apt now to be undervalued.

Richard Barham may be said to have been a fortunate person from the first. He inherited Tappington Wood—a little estate in Kent, very familiar to his readers—when he was a small child. He was upset out of the Dover mail on his way to St. Paul's School—in itself a priceless advantage at the beginning of a term to a youth not more enamoured of learning than a healthy-minded boy should be. Then his hand was so much hurt that the doctors thought his life was lost—and saved it by refusing to amputate.

At school he made a most useful friend in Bentley, afterward his publisher; and at Oxford a most congenial one in Theodore Hook. He enjoyed himself at Brasenose as thoroughly and whole-heartedly as any undergraduate who ever lived. The suicide of a friend and an illness of his own sobered his thoughts and first turned them to the Church—a profession in which he was neither useless nor unconsci-

entious, and which gave him the time and, in the friends it brought him, the impetus to his other occupation. He made his happy marriage in 1814. He was upset out of a gig a few years later, and in the enforced idleness of recovery from the accident first became a writer.

Was it not part of his good luck that for his earliest literary effort—*Baldwin,* an uncommonly bad novel—he got £20 down, with hopes of more to follow, dependent, indeed, on those " publishing contingencies " which Theodore Hook used to describe as *things that never happen*?

Next, coming to town to consult a doctor on behalf of one of his children, he met a friend about to drop a letter in the post suggesting to a young clergyman that he should stand for a vacant minor canonry of St. Paul's Cathedral. Barham was just in time to prevent the letter being sent. " Why shouldn't *I* stand instead?" He did, was successful, and found himself in the most cheery, interesting and intellectual clerical milieu in England.

But the first and best of " Thomas Ingoldsby's " claims to be a lucky man has not been mentioned. Like Hume and Mr. Micawber, he was born with " an irresistible tendency to seize on a cheering reflection," a disposition which Hume rightly estimated as better worth having than ten thousand a year.

The expression of his face—stout, lively, vivacious, with its sensible, impulsive look—makes one feel happier for the sight of it; and the record of that social, clerical, literary life in London of the 'thirties inspires the reader with something of the pleasant *bonhomie* which inspired it.

In those days Copleston of Llandaff was Dean of St. Paul's; one of its canons was Dr. Blomberg, fiddler and foster-brother of King George IV., and another, Dr. Hughes, the friend of Walter Scott and the husband of a wife who attracted many literary lights to dark Amen Corner, and, if it be the office of a friend to make one do what one can, was one of the best Barham ever had.

Presently Sidney Smith was appointed to a vacant canonry and one of those substantial, well-built houses in the Corner—Sidney Smith, wit, Whig, and reformer; wanting, if you please, to make reforms in the goodly body of minor canons, who naturally felt themselves entirely satisfactory as they were.

Barham was a mellow Tory of the old school—the " rad-

icalish tone" about *Oliver Twist,* for instance, quite disturbed him. Lord Houghton hints that between him and the greater wit and canon jealousy subsisted. Well, anyhow, the green-eyed monster was not very monstrous. Wit and humorist met perpetually at the most friendly dinner parties in that agreeable and unusually large-minded Close.

To Barham's own table came very often Luttrel, of the *Advice to Julia,* convulsing the company with his epigrams; or Barham's school-friend, Hook, improvised for an hour at the minor-canonical piano. Constantly Barham dined with one of the city companies—he was chaplain to the Vintners and it was among his duties to visit the almshouses of that company at Mile End, where he settled with an admirable wisdom, humor, and patience the differences of the twelve old lady inhabitants—who, of course, *had* to quarrel *pour passer le temps.*

In 1824 he had been made Priest in Ordinary to the Chapel Royal, held with his minor canonry the living of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gregory by St. Paul's, and performed the then not onerous duties of both offices briskly and satisfactorily. At home he was surely the most delightful father in the world, always good for a joke or a ghost story, and without an iota of that awful stand-offishness then thought necessary to maintain parental dignity.

He lost five of his children in their very early lives. No father could have been more warmly affectionate, but his sanguine and his unselfish temperament rebounded even after grief so crushing; and then Mrs. Hughes impelled him to his destiny.

Unknown to the author she sent to *Blackwood's Magazine* the unfinished MS. of his second novel, *Cousin Nicholas.* The appearance of the first chapter obliged him to think of a last.

Three years later there began to appear, in *Bentley's Miscellany, The Ingoldsby Legends.*

Nothing ages so quickly as humor, and the wit which made our fathers cry with laughter often bores their sons to tears of another description. The wit of "Ingoldsby" certainly lacks delicacy, subtlety and *finesse.* But its loud, frank laugh rings—and may ring forever—jolly and true; the redundant, bubbling, farcical wit—the wit which absolutely *had* to let off steam—has in it something which compels one to laughter, though one had decided not to be

amused, and is an admirable picture of the humor of the time in which it was written. Here and there, too, though rarely, there are not wanting signs that to this frolicsome and easy versifier was not denied the last, best gift of the humorist—the gift of tears.

To stay the jest because what seems ludicrous to oneself may be deeply serious to other people was a refinement of sentiment not common in the 'thirties. Barham certainly only intended, when he wrote his broad satire on Rome, to laugh folly and imposture out of court, and would have been astonished and hurt at the suggestion of offense. But in his last days—"As I laye a-Thynkynge, a-Thynkynge"—the idea that he might have given pain where he had meant only to provoke mirth occurred to trouble the kindest heart in the world.

His youngest boy died in the cholera epidemic of 1840, and a year later his friend Hook. From such losses even his elastic spirits could hardly recover. He died in 1845, having left to English literature a work which, whatever its merits, and they are many, and whatever its defects and limitations, and they are not a few, is of its kind unique.

One sees Herrick's muse as the loveliest of country girls, with her arms heaped with flowers, "cloathes" that "are conspirators" to aid her charms, whispering her amorous message in her parson's ear; Herbert's Muse has something of the naïve and grave-eyed simplicity of a child-saint listenening, rapt and innocent, for a heavenly music; and with Barham one sees no Muse at all, but always the white-tied, sensible, round-faced parson himself, with the easy jokes running off the end of his pen, not all unlike the good and jolly monks he depicted with such a rollicking good humor, and always a man and a brother.

S. G. Tallentyre.

# THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN IDEALS

BY PRESCOTT F. HALL

GOBINEAU once said, "America is likely to be, not the cradle of a new, but the grave of an old race." Is there, indeed, a danger that the race which has made our country great will pass away, and that the ideals and institutions which it has cherished will also pass?

It seems to be generally agreed that down to the period of fifteen years or so after the close of the Civil War there was a fairly definite American type, which had expressed itself, not so much in literature or art, as in politics and invention, and in certain social ideals. Washington and Lincoln, however different in some respects, both represented a certain type of English civilization, and both stood for certain political, social, and ethical points of view. The original settlers of this country were mainly Teutonic, belonging to what is now called the Baltic race, from northern Europe, which has always been distinguished for energy, initiative, and self-reliance. Impatient of much government, relying upon self-help rather than the paternalism of the State, this race was none the less firm in its allegiance to certain pretty definite religious and social standards. It insisted from the beginning on general education, and where opportunities for schooling were wanting there was nevertheless a wide training given by interchange of ideas in the home, on the farm, in the church, and in the town meeting. In town affairs every citizen was expected to take part, and usually did so, thus conferring a benefit on the community and receiving something in exchange. The result of this common racial origin and of these relatively homogeneous institutions was, as I have said, the amalgamation of the people into a fairly definite national type.*

* Perhaps the best statement of the proper conditions of race mixture is in Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Foundations of the XIXth Century,*

What has happened since then? To-day, less than one-half of our people are descendants of the original stock and of the early settlers. Since 1820, we have received from Europe and Asia some twenty-eight millions of people. About one-third of these came prior to 1880 and were of races kindred to those already here; in other words, they had a common heritage of institutions if not of language, and were assimilated into the general population with comparative ease. The other two-thirds, the eighteen millions who have come since 1880, have been, on the other hand, of entirely different races—of Alpine, Mediterranean, Asiatic, and African stocks. These races have an entirely different mental make-up from the Baltic race; they bring with them an inheritance of widely differing political and social ideals, and a training under social and political institutions very different from ours. The Slavic races, for example, differ from the Teutonic in temperament as much as the emotional nations of the Mediterranean. The South Italian, which constitutes the largest element in our present immigration, is one of the most mixed races in Europe and is partly African, owing to the negroid migration from Carthage to Italy. The modern Greek is by no means the Greek of the time of Pericles, either in race or temperament. The Hebrew, which constitutes the next largest element of immigration, in spite of long residence in Europe is still, as it always has been, an Asiatic race; while the Syrians, Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus are still more removed from the civilization of northern Europe and America.

This movement of peoples from the Old World to the New is on a scale unprecedented in history, and its effects cannot fail to be profound and far-reaching. What will they be?

Americans have hitherto paid very little attention to this question: first, because they have not considered the difference between hostile and peaceful invasions in history; and second, because they fail to observe that recent immigration is of an entirely different kind from that which our fathers knew. The earlier immigration having been of kindred races and having produced no profound changes, our

vol. i, chap. iv, "The Chaos." He points out that the successful cases of amalgamation have been those where there has been an immigration of kindred races only, and such immigration has continued for a comparatively brief period and then ceased. This was precisely the situation in the United States prior to 1880.

people became used to the phenomenon and took it as a matter of course. At the present time, most of us consider that the movement now going on is similar to that which has been, and anticipate results no different from those previously observed.

If the million people coming every year came not as peaceful travelers, but as an invading hostile army, public opinion would be very different to what it is; and yet history shows that it has usually been the peaceful migrations and not the conquering armies which have undermined and changed the institutions of peoples. To take the classical error on this subject, we have been told repeatedly that, on the one hand, it was the conquering Goths and Vandals, and on the other hand, their own vice and luxury, which cost the Romans their empire. The real cause of the fall of Rome was neither of these things. It was the constant infiltration into Roman citizenship of large numbers of "barbarians"—that is, of races alien in instincts and habits of thought and action to the races which had built up the Roman Empire. For a time, indeed, the mold of political structure and social habit, though cracking, did not break; but the new-comers assimilated the Romans faster than they were themselves assimilated, and in time the mold broke in pieces. In precisely the same way some provinces of France are to-day becoming German, and others Italian, while the Germans are consciously making use of this method in their attempt to Prussianize Poland.

The "barbarians" of the present time, however, do not come from the plateaus of central Asia or from the jungles of Africa; they are the defective and delinquent classes of Europe—the individuals who have not been able to keep the pace at home and have fallen into the lower strata of its civilization.

Formerly, America was a hard place to get to, and a hard life awaited those who came, although the free and fertile land offered rich prizes to those with the energy to grasp them. To-day, the steamship agent is in every little town in Europe; fast steamers can bring thousands in a few days, and wages, often indeed not enough for an American to live decently on, but large in the eyes of the poor European peasants, await the immigrant on landing. There is, moreover, abundant testimony to the fact that much of the present immigration is not even a normal flow of population, but is

artificially stimulated in every possible way by the transportation companies which have many millions invested in the traffic.

Now there are two hopeful attitudes with regard to the possible dangers from this "peaceful invasion." One of them is that we can continue, as we have in the past, to assimilate all this material and turn it into good American citizens. This was the general attitude until recently, and is still the attitude of the average man who does not fear the future. The other attitude is that, although perhaps we cannot do this, although the aliens may to some extent assimilate us, yet the seething of the melting-pot will remove the dross and turn out a product, possibly new, but at any rate as good, if not better, than the old.

It is important to consider the truth of these points of view, because the social and political institutions of any country depend upon the type of its citizenship and are molded by it. Ruskin long ago observed that the only real wealth is human character, and what boots an extended railroad mileage or the fact that all our coal and minerals are dug up or all our trees cut down some years or decades sooner, if at the end our democracy goes to pieces? We have heard much lately of the conservation of natural resources, but the conservation of ideals is surely much more important.

Those who believe that we can assimilate all the aliens who may come usually qualify their belief by saying that, although we may not succeed entirely with the parents, we can succeed with the children, and that the salvation of the situation is the public school. They also point out that many immigrants have had little opportunity for improvement in their own countries and may develop rapidly in a new environment. Now just as the Latin races make a fetish of the State, we Americans are apt to make a fetish of education, and we constantly fail to discriminate between education as the molding of character and education as the imparting of information. Far the larger part of a child's education comes from his home and his companions, rather than from his schooling. Emulation and imitation are the two mainsprings of his growth. We should never forget the somewhat hackneyed truth that education, in general, brings out what is in the man, be it good or bad, and seldom puts much there which was not there before. For this reason it is very questionable whether the small amount of schooling the children of

most aliens receive plays a very large part in the total of influences brought to bear upon them; and it is still more debatable whether it appreciably alters their characters, or does anything more than bring out their inherited instincts and tendencies. Undoubtedly immigrant children crowd our schools because it aids them in the struggle for existence, and is usually paid for by some one else. Undoubtedly, also, many of them obtain high marks and show considerable capacity for storing up information.

Nevertheless, as has been said, schooling is but a small part of the influences to which the child is subject, and the tendency of recent immigrants to crowd into the cities and to settle in racial groups means that a very large part of the influences affecting the children will be those of their neighbors and co-workers of the same race. As in John Bunyan's parable, a small quantity of oil poured secretly and steadily upon a fire will cause it to withstand a large quantity of water poured upon it from all directions. Moreover, to a great extent this water of public-school education will fail to quench hereditary passions, because the latter are so strong that the former will be vaporized, so to speak, and pass off without closely touching them. Dr. Gustav LeBon, in his *Political Psychology,* has thus expressed this phase of the matter:

> "Education merely sums up the results of a civilization; the institutions and the beliefs representing the needs of such civilization. If, then, a civilization does not harmonize with the ideas and sentiments of a people, the education setting forth this civilization will remain without effect upon it; in the same way that institutions corresponding to certain needs will not correspond to different needs."

The result in such a case will be, not a true amalgamation of races, but a mixture of peoples as in Austria-Hungary, living side by side, sharing certain interests in common, but never wholly merging into a general national type.

This is, indeed, what many educators like Dr. Charles W. Eliot expect and rejoice in. Dr. Eliot does not share in the second view—that the melting-pot will fuse the various races into one. And he rejoices because, in his view, half-breeds of any races are inferior to their parents, just as alloys of metals are not as valuable as the metals themselves. And he is right. The evidence on this point is convincing. Dr. Alfred P. Schultz, in his *Race or Mongrel,* gives numerous examples drawn from history, one of the most conspicuous

being that of the Jews, who, wherever they have kept their racial purity, have kept also their fine qualities of energy, push, and mental alertness, but have deteriorated rapidly when intermarried with other races. Humboldt and Darwin have declared the same truth. Agassiz, in a well-known passage, says:

"Let any one who doubts the evil of the mixture of races and who is inclined from mistaken philanthropy to break down all barriers between them come to Brazil. He cannot deny the deterioration consequent upon the amalgamation of races, more wide-spread here than in any country in the world and which is rapidly effacing the best qualities of the white man, the Indian, and the negro, leaving a mongrel nondescript type deficient in physical and mental energy."

The same thing has happened in Cuba, in Mexico, and other countries to the south of us. But is there any danger of this occurring in the United States? It has not occurred in the past because the only race outside of the Teutonic immigrants present in large numbers has been the negro, and the Baltic races have an insurmountable prejudice against intermarriage with the black races. The Mediterranean and Asiatic races, on the other hand, have much less of this feeling. The negro strain in the South Italians has been already mentioned, and there are some examples of intermarriage between negroes and Jews. What would happen if a large Mediterranean population should be colonized in our Southern States and should interbreed with the negro population it finds there? This is not an imaginary possibility, for the dark-skinned races are more likely to settle in the southern part of this country; indeed, it must be so if Major Woodruff is correct in his view that the blond races cannot permanently live south of the fortieth parallel on account of the effects of the light on their nervous systems. Let us assume that some interbreeding with the negroes takes place. Will the descendants of the emotional, fiery Italians submit to the social judgment that a man with a sixteenth or a thirty-second part of negro blood is a colored man who must occupy a position socially, if not politically, inferior? Assuredly not, and thoughtful Southerners are already alarmed by this prospect and have announced through many of their industrial conventions that they do not desire the immigration of southeastern Europeans. The Western States feel the same way about Asiatics, both for racial and economic reasons.

Even if the result of the immigration of southeastern Europeans to the South should not immediately be an interbreeding, the result may be to add other problems to the one we already have there. Mr. Booker T. Washington, who has recently been investigating conditions in Europe, expresses this view when he says:

"I greatly fear that if these people should come in large numbers and settle in colonies outside the cities, where they would have comparatively few educational advantages, and where they would be better able and more disposed to preserve their native customs and languages, we might have a racial problem in the South more difficult and more dangerous than that which is caused by the presence of the negro." *

But whether the result be an amalgamation or a mixture, it is evident that the nation will be profoundly altered by the addition of large numbers of persons with alien habits and ideals, and that the social and political structure will be changed accordingly. Dr. LeBon, in the work above quoted, says:

"A preponderating influence of foreigners is a sure solvent of the existence of States. It takes away from a people its most precious possession—its soul. When aliens became numerous in the Roman Empire it ceased to be."

And again:

"It was a very sure instinct which taught the ancients the fear of strangers: they well knew that worth of a country is not measured by the number of its inhabitants, but by the number of its citizens."

Can we not already see certain effects of the newer immigration upon our social life? In many places the Continental Sunday, with its games and sports, its theatrical and musical performances, and its open bars, is taking the place of the Puritan Sabbath. In some of our factory towns there are many operatives living under the system of free marriage, and in at least one place the method of building tenements has been altered to correspond to this system. Professor Commons notes that we have already begun to despotize our institutions in order to deal with large masses of citizens not capable of intelligently supporting representative government. We see, also, the phenomena of political parties and groups on racial lines, with their own newspapers in

* The first part of this quotation is almost the exact language used by George Washington in a letter to John Adams, November 27, 1794. Of course, he was speaking of the relatively homogeneous immigration of his day.

foreign languages, seeking representation as racial units precisely as in Austria. These groups have already taken a conspicuous part in opposing immigration legislation, already existing or proposed, which makes it more difficult for their friends and relatives to come here; and, under our political system, these foreign-born groups already hold the balance of power in many places. This means that they often divide, not on public policy, but on some matter of racial advantage. In any case they do not and cannot combine to make parties like those of the older population.

All these changes may be good or bad, but they cannot fail to impress us; and, if these changes rise above the swirling mass of events and catch our eyes, we may be sure that more profound changes are in process beneath the surface.

We have to contend not only with alien habits and ideals, and with the fact that these differences cannot be effaced by education in one or even two generations, but also with the fact that we are getting a great many immigrants who are below the mental, moral, and physical average of both our country and their own. A recent writer in a leading German review has said: "The immigration of the last decade has increased the number of hands, but not the number of heads, in the United States." While this may be an extreme statement, there is the unanimous testimony of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the Commissioner at the Port of New York, and the Immigration Commission, which has recently spent several years studying the matter, to the fact that for one immigrant whose defects are so marked as to put him in the classes excluded by law there are hundreds, if not thousands, who are below the average of our people, and who, as George William Curtis put it, are "watering the nation's life blood."

Recent investigations in eugenics show that heredity is a much more important factor than environment as regards social conditions—in fact, that in most cases heredity is what makes the environment. This is confirmed by the practice of the insurance companies which attach the chief importance to the hereditary characteristics of an individual. If this position is sound, education and distribution can only palliate the evils and delay fundamental changes. As Professor Karl Pearson says: "You cannot change the leopard's spots, and you cannot change bad stock to good; you may dilute it, possibly spread it over a large area, spoiling

good stock, but until it ceases to multiply it will not cease to be."

Intelligent foreigners, like Bourget, H. G. Wells, and LeBon, are continually surprised that Americans pay so little regard to these matters. Already our neighbor to the north has become much more strict as to those she admits than we are; and, in fact, the Dominion is now rejecting at the border many whom we have admitted. And in our own practice we are not very logical, for we are much more stringent in regulations as to importing cattle, sheep, hogs, dogs, and horses than we are as to human beings. The English sparrow and the gypsy moth were not considered dangerous when first imported, but by their multiplication have done serious damage. The history of the Jukes family in New York State shows how much harm can be done by immigration of a single pair of defectives.

The foregoing is not intended to be a pessimistic wail. Our people are successful in part because they are optimistic, and in general they have little use for prophets of evil. Nor has the writer forgotten for a moment either what the country owes to past immigration, or that much of the present immigration is desirable and valuable. But our optimism should not be blind. Sumner once said of Garrison that he would go straight ahead even if the next step were over a precipice. If there is a precipice ahead we should avoid it while there is time, not merely for our own sake, but that the United States may continue strong to uphold the cause of democracy and liberty throughout the world.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

# THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE YOUNG TURK PARTY

BY STANWOOD COBB

At present it looks as if Turkey were on the eve of being partitioned among the powers of Europe. The Constitution, instead of strengthening the Empire, has seemed to weaken it. In spite of the many reforms introduced by the Young Turks, subject peoples do not want to remain subject peoples if they can help it. Macedonia is crying for release, Albania is in constant revolt, Arabia is disloyal; and on top of all these difficulties Italy precipitates a war in the endeavor to grab a slice of territory.

The difficulties which the Young Turks have to face are many. In the first place, their political power is very precarious. Their only hold upon the government is through the army, which they control. Their rule is one of military despotism. The Committee of Union and Progress, with Chevket as its dominant power, control, not the votes of the country, but the arms, which at present are more effective. The Young Turk party as such is in great minority throughout the Empire. The proportion of Young Turk to Old Turk is hardly one in ten. The Old Turks are waiting like hungry wolves to have their turn of power, and the minute the Committee of Union and Progress loses its hold upon the army, presto!—the government is overturned. If Europe continues to take territory from the Turkish Empire the Young Turks will be obliged to fight in order to retain their popularity with the army. They lost enormously in prestige by the giving up of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the losing of their suzerainty over Rumelia.

Moreover, there is danger of rivalry and quarrels among the Young Turks themselves. At the moment, Chevket seems strong enough to hold the reins, but he makes his will ef-

fective only by the mailed hand; and he has enemies and rivals. Should dissension weaken the Young Turks they are lost.

But even if the Young Turk party holds control of the government, it has enormous difficulties to face by reason of the heterogeneous composition of its Empire. One of the greatest causes of the Turkish conquests and rapid rise in power was in the political and geographical nature of the territory they made war against. Western Asia and eastern Europe were composed of small, weak nations, jealous of one another, which were unable to offer a united resistance to the foe. It remained for them to be united by force from without in the shape of Turkish domination.

While the Turks were possessed of wonderful gifts as conquerors, they are not successful rulers; and the many races they have ruled over they have never been able to assimilate. Unlike Russia, which, in a similar difficulty, has succeeded in forging out a coherent Empire, Turkey has not welded its parts together. Its Empire exists to-day, as it did three hundred years ago, by force of arms alone—in spite of constitutional proclamations.

To all appearances, the late Turkish revolution was an effort to establish a free Turkey with constitutional government. In reality it was merely a substitution of a strong military party for a single absolute ruler. It stands to reason that there can be no constitutional freedom in an Ottoman Empire which is only one-third Ottoman, and of which the remaining two-thirds desire nothing so much as complete separation and autonomy.

Therefore the Young Turks were obliged to have recourse to tricks in order to keep the upper hand. They pretended to give free ballot, but packed their Parliament with Young Turk deputies so as to win a majority when the entire Turkish population of the Ottoman Empire was only one-third of the whole population, and out of this one-third only a small proportion were Young Turks. So it is apparent that the Committee of Union and Progress played tricks with the ballot-boxes which would outdo Tammany itself.

Naturally, such a procedure completely alienated the other elements of the Empire—Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, and Albanians. Furthermore, even after the Parliament came into existence it discovered that it had no real power. Only

those measures could pass which had the sanction of the Committee of Union and Progress which held its seat, not in Constantinople, but in Salonica (for reasons of safety); and from that military throne dictated to the capital city and to the Empire. The cabinet itself is slated by the Committee. The poor ministers have a hard time of it: They have to carry out the dictates of the Committee, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, defend their actions before Parliament and the people. They are puppets, and yet they have an appearance of power. In times of governmental stress they become the scapegoats, while the Committee stays in hiding. It has been difficult for a new Cabinet to form since the dissolution of the old one upon the breaking-out of the war with Italy. No one wants the place. It is a thankless task.

The high-handed measures of the Young Turk party have offended, not only the Christian population of Turkey, but the Turks themselves; even the progressives share in this dissatisfaction. Several Turkish editors who voiced too loudly their opinions in opposition to the actions of the Committee were murdered on their way home from the office. Were these murders mere coincidences or sinister hints that the press speak not too freely?

The platform and policy of the Young Turk party, led by the Committee of Union and Progress, is the Ottomanization of Turkey. Under Abdul Hamid, the provinces were lightly ruled as long as they paid their taxes and behaved themselves properly toward their Sultan. Otherwise they were left pretty much to themselves. It is the aim of the present government to carefully organize the Empire on a basis of centralization, and to enforce the same laws and grant the same privileges to all, whether Christian, Turk, or Arab. In pursuance of this aim Turkish was made the national language—without it there could be no promotion in government service; and it was urged upon the Greeks and the Albanians. The privileges which the Christians enjoyed under the old régime, such as exemption from military service, were removed. This angered the Christians. Taxes and a stronger rule were enforced in Arabia, and this produced a great revolt. The Arabs cannot bear the yoke too close upon their necks, and the suzerainty of Abdul Hamid over them had been merely nominal. The Albanians, enjoying great privileges and exemptions under the arch-

tyrant, who depended upon their valor and loyalty for his power, have been compelled to toe the mark by the Young Turk government. They revolted, and have given stubborn resistance to the best generals of Turkey. In Macedonia the policy of *laissez faire* adopted by Abdul Hamid, with its consequent bloody anarchy, has given place to a more organized rule; but the Macedonians would rather be let alone to kill one another.

The Young Turks are perfectly justified in their endeavor to Ottomanize their Empire. It is what any Empire would seek to do; but it is a question whether they will be able. No rulers ever had a more diverse or more scattered population, unless we except the British rule of India. The Turks, who number only some 8,000,000 out of a population of 30,000,000, have 8,000,000 Greeks, 3,000,000 Armenians, and about 1,000,000 Bulgarians under their rule—a total Christian population outnumbering their own. These Christians are superior in civilization and in general ability to the Turks. How can they be expected to entertain any loyalty to the Ottoman Empire to which they owe only conquest and exploitation? How can they be expected to submit joyously to being ruled over by a people to whom they are in many ways superior, a people whose barbaric rule has held them back for centuries? Can we blame the Bulgarians in Macedonia for wishing to be free when we see what advance their free brothers in Bulgaria have made in civilization in a few decades out from the yoke of the Turk? Can we blame the 8,000,000 Greeks in the Empire, who look back upon such a glorious racial contribution to the world's culture, for disliking the rule of a people who have contributed nothing to civilization? No, the Young Turks will never be able to induce the Christian population of Turkey to become a voluntary and loyal part of their Empire.

Even with the other Moslems in the Empire little success seems to attend the efforts of the Young Turks. Arabia has no love for Turkish rule; it wants to be free. The Arabs are a proud and warlike race, and have been subjected only in the larger centers—certain parts of Arabia are almost unconquerable. The Syrians, a weaker race, still have their dreams of liberty. The Kurds are ripe for revolt, and the Albanians have already indicated their preference for freedom.

Never had rulers a harder task to face. The liberal wing of the Young Turk party offers as a suggestion decentralization and local self-government. Even this is unpractical owing to the peculiar complexity of the Ottoman population. If each race composing the Empire had its clear demarcations of territory, as Albania and Arabia have, for instance, decentralization would be feasible; but in Asia Minor, the very heart of the Empire, the races are all intermingled. Turkish towns, Armenian towns, Greek towns lie side by side. The 8,000,000 Turks, 7,000,000 Greeks, and 3,000,000 Armenians of Asia Minor do not inhabit separate sections of that country, but overflow among one another. It is a worse problem than the Gordian knot, and only an Alexander could solve it.

Added to these internal difficulties which confront the Empire is the menace of European aggression. The seizure of Tripoli reveals the fact that it had been planned for some time and that the Triple Alliance was a party to it. No one knows what other schemes the Triple Alliance has, nor where its lightning will strike next. Doubtless it has all European Turkey divided upon paper and is waiting for the proper occasion to act. To be a Young Turk to-day is worse than having the sword of Damocles hanging over one.

Remember, too, that Turkey is surrounded on every hand with smaller enemies. Greece, though inefficient, is at least a fly in the Macedonian ointment. Bulgaria, young, capable, aggressive, with an army of 300,000 men, one of the best-drilled in Europe, has its plans all laid for a raid into Macedonia or a swift descent upon Constantinople, the key to which by land they hold in the possession of the Balkan passes. Rumania, with a similar army, might lend aid. And in the north, silent and sinister, awaits the great bear, Russia, for its opportunity to seize the Bosporus. In every chancelry of Europe all eyes are fastened on Turkey. Turkey is about to be carved. Who will get the best slice? That is the question which most interests Europe to-day.

STANWOOD COBB.

# INSURING A NATION

BY P. J. LENNOX.

A POLITICAL economist of the *laissez faire* school of fifty years ago would surely rub his eyes in amazement at some of the items of legislation dealing with the working classes and with poor persons generally which have been adopted by the British Parliament in the last few years. Such measures as the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, the Old Age Pensions Act, 1908, and the Labor Exchanges Act, 1909—to name but a few—would show him that, in Great Britain, at all events, his cherished doctrines had ceased to cast a glamour over the minds of men. But his contemplation of all those enactments, not only placed on the statute-book but working at full blast in the daily life of the community, could furnish him with merely a mild surprise when contrasted with the consternation with which he would regard the latest proposal submitted to the House of Commons on behalf of that school of politicians which has a thoroughgoing belief in the possibility of bettering by Act of Parliament the condition of the lowly and the poor.

This latest proposal is the National Insurance Bill, which, preluded by an explanatory speech from its sponsor, Mr. Lloyd-George, the present British Chancellor of the Exchequer, received its first reading in the House of Commons on Thursday, May 4, 1911, and its second reading on the 29th of May. A rough idea of its scope may be gleaned from its title, which is " A Bill to Provide for Insurance against Loss of Health and for the Prevention and Cure of Sickness and for Insurance against Unemployment and for Purposes Incidental thereto "; but when we bear in mind that the bill contains eighty-seven clauses and nine schedules, and, furthermore, that many of the clauses and schedules consist of long sections and sub-sections, it will be rightly concluded

that it is a most comprehensive scheme, and is necessarily very intricate and complicated in its details. Perhaps the most extraordinary thing about it is the chorus of approval, the unanimity of acclaim, with which it was received upon introduction. Although the bill marks a real revolution in the attitude of the State toward the industrial classes, toward shop assistants, clerks, *et hoc genus omne,* and toward those waifs and strays of the labor market, those hewers of wood and drawers of water, who are included under the general designation of "casual laborers," it received a benediction not only from the official Liberals, who ordinarily sit, act, and vote with Mr. Lloyd-George, but also from the Labor Party, from the Irish Nationalists, from the Chairman of the Anti-Socialist League, and, most wonderful of all, from the leaders of the great Conservative opposition. The British and Irish press, too, was hearty in its welcome of the principles of the bill. The obvious inference is that all parties in the United Kingdom are agreed that the State has not hitherto fully done its duty toward certain of its citizens, and that the present measure, though therefore belated, is a courageous attempt to atone, at least in part, for the negligence of the past.

Those enthusiastic encomiums were, however, delivered in the first flush of the excitement caused by so startlingly novel a proposal. In cooler moments criticism came. The sponsor of the bill had invited the most searching examination of all its details, promising to allow, between its introduction and its more advanced stages, a sufficient interval for discussion, and at the same time to give every company, corporation, association, or individual who might feel aggrieved by its provisions the opportunity of presenting a case against this, that, or the other seemingly unfair incidence.

He was taken at his word with a vengeance. In quick order defects were discovered by the score, and, while the underlying principle was still almost universally lauded, details were pounced upon for denunciation and even for derision, until, if everything that was objected to were struck out, there would have been little but a skeleton of a bill left. Foremost among the objectors were the medical doctors, whose position in relation to the existing Poor Law and to Friendly Societies is at present fairly well defined, and who saw in Mr. Lloyd-George's bill a threat alike to their stand-

ing and their pockets. They were quickly followed by the Friendly Societies themselves, many of whose contributors felt that they were about to be subjected to intolerable grievances. Even certain members of the Labor Party, who are in general loyal supporters of the Liberal ministry, found much to condemn from their own particular point of view. Chambers of Commerce and such bodies were roused to hostility. Finally, many of the County Councils and other popularly elected bodies in Ireland, as well as the Irish Catholic bishops in special meeting assembled, declared that the bill was inapplicable to Irish conditions, and therefore asked that it should not be extended to that country. The result of all this outcry was that for some three months Mr. Lloyd-George was kept busy receiving deputations and representations, in holding meetings and conferences, in answering and removing or explaining away objections. By yielding here and there, by making concessions to various organized bodies, and by promising to have important amendments introduced, he was at length in a position to claim to have removed the main causes of opposition. It was given out that the medical men and the Friendly Societies had cried content; a few members of the Labor Party in Parliament remained bitterly opposed to the bill and said so in lurid and picturesque language, but the bulk of their colleagues agreed to toe the line; and Mr. John Redmond, speaking at Baltinglass as recently as October 22d, was able to declare that whatever amendments the Irish Party wanted they could get, and as a consequence he and his supporters, to the number of 74, are expected to vote solidly with their Liberal allies in order to carry the measure.

The upshot of all the agitation was that before Parliament reassembled on October 24th, Mr. Lloyd-George pledged himself and the ministry to which he belongs to stand or fall by the bill, and since that event it is being rapidly pushed through committee by the operation of the guillotine. A strange fact is that no one expects the House of Lords to reject or even to delay the measure, so that, if there is any certainty in parliamentary affairs, this bill seems certain to pass into law. It will still be in essence the same bill as originally introduced, but it will be vastly modified in some of its more important and in many of its minor details.

Taking the subject in its proper aspect of social reform,

we may at once agree with the enthusiastic admirer who, on the evening on which the bill was brought forward, described it as the greatest experiment in legislation ever introduced in any legislative assembly in the world. It goes far beyond the scheme of industrial insurance in force in Germany, and so is unique of its kind, unparalleled in history. And lest any one should hastily conclude that it is a measure of the *panem et circenses* order, let it here and now be said that WORK is the basis on which it rests. For the first time in the course of British legislation is the dignity of labor really asserted. Those men and women who toil are henceforward to have as a right certain material benefits and advantages which heretofore they could not have had at all, or, at best, could have had only through the degrading operation of the Poor Law. With heads erect and unaverted eyes the beneficiaries under this bill can claim what is coming to them, not only because they are to be themselves direct contributors to the formation and upkeep of a relief fund, but also because their true importance in the economy of the State is now admitted beyond question or doubt.

The bill, in the words of the Explanatory Memorandum which accompanied it, is intended to effect as wide an insurance as possible of the working population. It contains two separate and distinct schemes. The first not only provides insurance against total loss of income through sickness, but also seeks both to prevent sickness and to cure it when it cannot be prevented. The second provides insurance against total loss of income through unemployment.

The portion of the bill which deals with insurance against total loss of income through sickness is also divided into two parts: one making such insurance compulsory, the other providing a voluntary method. Under the first part provision is made, except in certain specified cases, for a compulsory weekly deduction from the earnings of every employee between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five whose income falls below the Income Tax limit of £160 ($800) per annum, and in every such case there will also be a compulsory contribution from the employer, with a further contribution from the State. The amount to be deducted every week from the wages or salary of every non-excepted employee who earns more than £39 ($195) a year is 4*d.* (8 c.) for men, and 3*d.* (6 c.) for women; the weekly amount to be contributed by the employer for each man and woman

employee is 3*d.*; and the weekly amount to be contributed by the State for each is 2*d.* (4 c.) a week. In cases where the earnings of the employee are less than £39 a year, the amount to be deducted from the wages or salary will be correspondingly less, ranging from 3*d.* down to 1*d.* (2 c.) per week, while the contribution from the employer will be correspondingly greater, in order to keep the total amount at 9*d* (18 c.) a week for men and 8*d.* (16 c.) a week for women, for the contribution of the State still remains at the constant figure of 2*d.**

Under the voluntary portion of the scheme, which is meant to apply to those who earn their own living but who work mainly on their own account and are not regularly employed by others, the persons entitled to insure will, if under forty-five years of age, contribute to the fund the full amount which, if they were employees, would be paid by the employee and the employer combined, and the State will contribute as in the former case. If over forty-five, voluntary contributors will pay at a rate proportionate to their age, such rate to be set forth in a table which the Insurance Commissioners will prepare. The voluntary scheme appears to be open to every one irrespective of the amount of income.

In return for these contributions, which may be looked upon as insurance premiums, the benefits secured to the beneficiaries, after contributions extending over a period of not less than six months, are 10*s.* ($2.40) a week for men, and 7*s.* 6*d.* ($1.80) a week for women for the first thirteen weeks of sickness; 5*s.* ($1.20) a week for men and women alike for the second thirteen weeks; and 5*s.* a week for men or women who are permanently or temporarily disabled from work during the whole period of such disablement, with the proviso that disablement allowance will not be made unless and until the beneficiary has been a contributor for at least two years. There are slightly different rates for young unmarried persons under 21 years of age, and for persons who are over 50 and over 60 respectively. Persons over 65 are excluded from the scope of the bill. The payments specified will be made in full without deduction on account of contribution, nor will the non-payment of contribution during sickness or disablement count against the beneficiary. In addition to the money payments, there is

* Unless in cases in which the weekly wage falls below 9*s.* ($2.16). In that case the employee's proportion will be borne by the State.

provided, free, for the persons insured, a system of medical treatment and attendance in their own homes or, in cases of certain diseases, in special institutions. Medicines and drugs are also free. There are special liberal grants in maternity cases. Finally there are prospective free medical treatment, attendance, and medicines for those dependent on insurers.

It is intended to set aside a sum of £1,500,000 ($7,500,000) to aid local charities and local authorities to build and equip sanatoria for dealing with what the Chancellor called the terrible scourge of consumption, and £1,000,000 ($5,000,000) a year for their staffing and upkeep. The need for this provision is found in the fact that in the United Kingdom there are between 400,000 and 500,000 persons affected with tuberculosis, and 75,000 deaths a year from that cause. Among males between the ages of 14 and 55 one out of every three dies of tuberculosis, and, to make matters worse, as soon as a man is attacked by it he becomes a recruit in the army of destruction and scatters infection and death in his own household. To stamp out this white plague, all the resources of science will be brought into play backed for the first time by a nation-wide measure of financial support.

It is calculated that there will be 13,100,000 compulsory working-class contributors, 800,000 voluntary contributors, and 800,000 young persons under 16 affected by the bill, making a grand total of 14,700,000 to be included in the scheme of insurance against sickness and invalidity. In the first year, 1912–13, the income from the contributions of employees and employers together will, according to estimate, amount to about £20,000,000, of which £11,000,000 will come from the workers and £9,000,000 from the employers, while the expenditure on benefits and administration will in the same year, in consequence of the waiting periods prescribed by the bill, be only £7,000,000, rising to £20,000,000 in 1915–16, the first full year. One feature of the bill is that the rate of contribution is uniform for compulsorily insured employees of all ages within the limits named, and on this account a heavy loss is at first anticipated, because sickness doubles, trebles, and even quadruples as people advance in life; but by a special provision in the bill it is intended to wipe out that loss in 15½ years. At the end of that period there will be a considerable sum, probably £9,000,000, released for the purpose of increasing the benefits. One shape

that such increased benefits may take is the lowering of the age for the receipt of old-age pensions from the present limit of 70 to 65.

Regarding the contribution to be made by the State, it is figured at £1,742,000 for 1912–13, rising to £3,359,000 in 1913–14, to £4,563,000 in 1915–16, and to £6,000,000 at the end of the 15½ years' period.

The machinery for the administration of this gigantic scheme of national insurance is on the whole of a fairly simple character. The funds accruing from the various classes of contributors will be collected by means of stamps. In the compulsory case a card will be given to each employee, who will take it to his or her employer, and at the end of each week the employer will affix to it stamps equivalent in value to the employee's 4*d*., or other amount according to the nature of the case, and his own 3*d*., or whatever the correct amount may be. The employer will of course reimburse himself for the employee's contribution by a deduction from the wages or salary. The card stamped as indicated will be handed to the employee, who will in turn take it to the local post-office. The postmaster will on his part transmit the card thus stamped to the Central Office. There the amount so forwarded in stamps will be placed to the credit of the beneficiary. In the case of contributors, voluntary or compulsory, who are not members of a recognized Friendly Society, the insurer pays what we may call his premium directly to the post-office and gets credit for it in a special book, which of course he retains. All amounts so paid are, as in the former case, transmitted to the Central Office by the postal official.

The distribution of the fund will be accomplished in a corresponding twofold manner. To the great Friendly Societies which are already established or may hereafter be founded in accordance with the provisions of the bill will be assigned the distribution of the benefit funds to their members. All insurers will be encouraged to join such societies. For contributors, whether voluntary or compulsory, who are not members of such a society the Government will set up a post-office system of distribution somewhat similar to the system at present used for the payment of pensions under the Old Age Pensions Act of 1909. Every precaution will be taken to have the distributing societies perform this portion of their work in a proper manner.

Among the safeguards provided are large membership (10,000 for Great Britain, 5,000 for Ireland),* non-division of funds except for benefits, keeping of books and accounts, Government audit and valuation, the giving of adequate security against malversation or misappropriation of funds, and provision of arbitrators in case of dispute. Special precautions are taken against malingering. To aid distribution both through the Friendly Societies and the post-office, Local Health Committees will be established, and these Committees will have charge of making the medical arrangements for all beneficiaries, and of carrying on educational and propaganda work looking toward the general health of the community.

That part of the bill which deals with insurance against unemployment is limited for the present, as far as its compulsory force is concerned, to those trades in which the most serious fluctuations occur—namely, the engineering trade and the building trade; but in order to encourage voluntary insurance against unemployment the Board of Trade is empowered to pay to any association giving unemployment benefits a subsidy of one-sixth of the amount, up to 12*s.* a week per individual, expended on such benefit, and this regulation applies to all trades and all classes of employees.

The reasoning by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer justified the principle of compulsory unemployment insurance is that, whoever is to blame for the great cyclical, seasonal, or other fluctuations of trade, the workman is the least to blame, for he does not guide or gear the machine of commerce and industry, the direction and the speed being left almost entirely to others. The Chancellor limits the operation of his plan for the time being to the two selected trades, because he recognizes that, for want of actuarial data, his proposal is more in the nature of an experiment than is his plan for sickness insurance. No real effort has been made in this matter of unemployment insurance heretofore in the United Kingdom except by the trade-unions, and in their case it applies to only 1,400,000 workers, who form but a fraction of the industrial population. Other workers cannot, unaided, afford such insurance; and even in the case of the trade-unions the burden sometimes falls so heavily upon them that it is almost impossible for them

* In deference to many representations, these figures will in each case probably be reduced.

to bear it. This is one of the justifications put forward for the above-mentioned subsidy to assist voluntary insurance.

The basis on which the compulsory scheme of this part of the bill rests is, as stated, a trade basis. The Chancellor was deterred from using a municipal basis or a national basis by a consideration of the many failures along those lines which had occurred on the Continent. By compulsion, therefore, within the trades selected, a fund is to be raised for the purpose of relieving distress due to unemployment. The levy on the workman will be 2½*d.* (5 c.) a week, on the employer 2½*d.* a week also, and 1¼*d.* (2½ c.) will be the weekly contribution from the State. If an employer chooses to compound and pay his own contribution and the contribution of each of his workmen by the quarter, he will in that case effect a considerable saving per annum, the saving representing 6*s.* 8*d* ($1.60) per man, or the difference between 10*s.* 10*d.* ($2.60) and 4*s.* 2*d.* ($1), and being effected by the employer's appropriating the 2½*d.* weekly from each of his workmen. In big concerns, where several hundred men are employed, this is an important feature. It is, of course, an inducement to the employer to keep all his men working all the time.

The plan, as at present outlined, will apply to 2,421,000 workmen, 1,100,000 from the building trade and 1,321,000 from the engineering trade. Their contributions as estimated will come to £1,100,000 per annum, and those of the employers to £900,000, while the State for contributions and administration will be liable to about £750,000 per annum.

The benefits to an unemployed workman during his period of unemployment of not more than fifteen weeks will be a weekly payment varying from 6*s.* to 7*s.* No payment will be made to a workman who is dismissed for misconduct or who is out of employment through a strike or a lockout. Relief will be given only for unemployment due to fluctuations of trade.

The machinery for the distribution of these benefits will be the existing Labor Exchanges and the existing trade-unions. The trade-union will pay to its members the unemployed benefit, but the Labor Exchange will have first to report on the case. The workman who is unemployed will have to notify the fact to a Labor Exchange, whose officials will investigate the genuineness of his claim, and prevent

him from getting unemployed pay if he is not entitled to it, and further will try to secure him employment as soon as may be. If he refuses a job offered to him, an impartial court of reference will decide whether he is justified in doing so or not, and, if he is found not to be so justified, he will be ineligible for unemployment pay. There is no pay for the first week's unemployment, nor for more than fifteen weeks in the year, and no man can draw more than one week's pay for five weeks' contribution, so that the loafer will soon drop out.

The points touched upon are the salient features of the scheme; there are many other provisions, but they are mainly either by way of elucidation, or detail, or exception, or direction for administration.

It will be at once seen that the traditional British respect for the liberty of the subject to do what he likes with his own property is here openly and avowedly violated. There is in a sense a return to paternalism, or at least to benevolent despotism: as you punish a child for its ultimate good, so you tax certain people for their own contingent benefit. The political school whose motto the late Lord Bramwell formulated in the phrase " Please govern me as little as possible " will be alarmed at the compulsion exercised alike upon employers and employees. Mr. Lloyd-George's defense is that what he does he does in the public interest. It is a good thing, he argues, for the worker to be insured against sickness or unemployment: therefore let him pay. It is a good thing for the employer to have to deal with a hardy and healthy race of efficient workers instead of with inefficient weaklings: therefore let him pay, too. It is a good thing for everybody to have a healthy and contented population: therefore let everybody pay, directly or indirectly, for so great a boon. In essence, the Chancellor doubtless further argues, it is just as defensible to put on taxes to secure a well-doctored, properly medicined nation, and by prevention or cure of sickness to reduce the bills of mortality and cut down the ills which flesh is heir to, as to raise by taxation a fund to build and equip Dreadnoughts for the protection of British trade. His proposals are at the same time a tribute and an important addition to the new humanist view of the obligations of government.

It will be noticed how important are the functions to be exercised under this bill by the post-office, the Friendly

Societies, the trade-unions, the Labor Exchanges, and the Health Committees. The post-office has gradually grown to be the great general utility department in British executive government. It is the one department that is worked at a profit. Its activities extend not only to the mails, but also to the telegraphs, telephones, savings-banks, life-insurance, annuities, and stock-broking transactions; its aid has also been invoked and obtained for the Labor Exchanges; and now its elasticity is to be demonstrated by its method of handling the new responsibilities with which it is to be intrusted. For the first time the Friendly Societies and the trade-unions are to be called in as allies of the Government. How they will respectively acquit themselves in their new rôles remains to be seen. Many dread the results for the smaller Friendly Societies. With regard to the trade-unions it is remarkable that, while some labor leaders fear that their efficiency as protectors of their members will be impaired, some capitalists dread that the public funds they are to administer may, in some bafflingly elusive manner, be made to supply contributions to the war-chest in the battle between capital and labor. Neither contingency, it should be added, is apprehended by Mr. Lloyd-George. It was expected that the Labor Exchanges would play an important part under the new dispensation, for at the time of their establishment they were specifically stated to be only part of a wider scheme. Finally, the Health Committees are but a further development of that system of local government or devolution which has found such favor in recent years in the eyes of British legislators.

Big problems that will present themselves for solution in the course of the working of the bill, despite all precautions taken in advance, are the questions of how medical doctors are to be employed and paid, and how the casual laborer, who theoretically is so well looked after, will fare in practice. The costs of administration, too, will be serious: a whole army of new officials will be necessary to carry out the provisions of the bill. But Mr. Lloyd-George makes light of all difficulties. He is just as cheerily optimistic for the future of his new and ponderous legislative scheme as he was a couple of years ago about his famous Budget Bill, which, after all the outcry against it, is now working so smoothly and harmoniously. He is so sanguine of passing his National Insurance Bill during the present session of

Parliament that he has fixed the 1st of May, 1912, for the beginning of its operations. He has also succeeded in inspiring his colleagues with his own enthusiasm. They believe that by passing this bill England will have set a burning and shining light of example to the rest of Christendom. Speaking on May 25th during the second reading debate the English Attorney-General, Sir Rufus Isaacs, said that the bill was the greatest effort of constructive statesmanship ever made to remedy the evils and alleviate the misery caused either by sickness or unemployment; that such a measure would strike the imagination of the world; and that its acceptance by Parliament would be an example which other nations must follow. On the same occasion the then Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, said that they were bringing two new forces—the magic of averages and the genius of health—to the aid of the millions.

It is obvious that great expectations are based on this British National Insurance Bill.

P. J. Lennox.

# EXPERIENCES OF A TRUE BACONIAN IN SHAKESPEARE'S TOWN

BY W. D. HOWELLS

As a firm, and even violent, supporter of the Baconian theory of the Shakespeare authorship I approached Stratford-on-Avon with buoyant expectations of pleasure from my doctrine there mixed with fond regrets for the excellent hotel we had left in Leamington. I had dismissed the lingering fear of being obliged to change cars which had beset me to the very suburbs of the town, and I could freely abandon myself to the emotions proper to the place. I thought of the young Francis Bacon emerging from a clump of trees which we passed, and crossing a meadow with our train, rapt from memories of his overnight's deer-stalking at the expense of Sir Thomas Lucy, in a reverie of Hamlet, of Romeo, of Othello, of Julius Cæsar, of Prince Hal and Falstaff, of Ophelia and Rosalind, of Desdemona and Beatrice, as well as of The Passionate Pilgrim and the Sonnets, and exulting in the notion of fooling future ages in his masquerade of William Shakespeare, the clownish villager of Stratford and dull supernumerary of the Globe Theater. My Bacon's mind was busy not only with the creatures of his divine imagination, but with the ingenious contrivance of a cryptic acrostic in which his name should remain concealed throughout those immortal plays until, ages afterward, a crazy countrywoman of my own should detect in them the same light touch we know in the Essays and the *Novum Organum,* and her followers should, in a fine frenzy, drag his identity from its hundred hiding-places. I fancied the Sweet Frank holding horses before the theater in Southwark, or rollicking at the Mermaid Tavern with Ben Jonson, and bantering his fellow-poet to point out a single one of those thousand lines which the magnanimous pedant said the

plays would be the better for his blotting. I saw him come joyously masking down the years to the time of Milton, amusing himself by inspiring the patronizing apostrophe to

> "Sweetest Bacon, Fancy's child,
> Warbling his native wood-notes wild."

Then, later, as I stood beside that world-renowned tablet in the floor of the Stratford church, thought of the noble amend which the great Puritan poet had made in the lines beginning,

> "What needs my Bacon for his honored bones?"

But this was after I had been some days in Stratford, where I remained through all our difficulties in housing ourselves, strong in the Bacon religion which necessarily involved the denial of the Shakespeare superstition.

It was our luck always to be coming to places at the height of their seasons unawares, when every hotel was full-up. But in this case we knew beforehand that there was to be a revival of the old English dances in the Bacon theater, which would probably crowd Stratford to bursting with strangers, and we secured our lodgings a fortnight in advance. We easily found them, and the smiling maid who met us said, "They were to be in the cottage, *weren't they?*" in that charming English way which obliges you to fall in with any presumption, and makes you *particeps criminis* against yourself. The "cottage" stood back of a little court, and the rooms, when seen, proved to be two small coops in the roof adapted to the tastes of poultry that did not care much for fresh air. We said they would not do, and returned to our fly, and went about flinging ourselves on the mercies of a town visitored far beyond its capacity. Our driver remembered at last an ideal place, "More like a villa, sir, than a lodging," but this ideal was shut when we reached it, and we drove down the next street, interrogating the transoms of all the houses with beseeching eyes for the word "Apartments," but in vain, till we saw the word above a door where the maid denied us, as usual, but had hardly the forbidding on her breath when the mistress came rushing out of the gate after us to say, Yes, there were rooms at No. 8, and we could have our meals at her own table. All New England, though she was really so Old English, looked from her friendly eyes and hospitable face, and in five minutes we were comfortably domiciled. We

got a capital table d'hôte dinner, such as you get almost anywhere in English inns, at the hotel which had just refused us with thanks as lodgers, and next morning we breakfasted at our kind hostess's in the company of other South-Africans and North-Americans; with Australians, we seem the same thing to the English. There was a delicious Spanish melon to make us as much at home as if it were a Rocky Ford cantaloupe; one cut and came again as often as one liked. Life is not always disappointing, but sometimes behaves very handsomely.

After breakfast a day of perfect joy began; and though we grieved for a moment to learn that the morris dances, and the jigs and reels which used to be danced when England was merrier, if nakeder and hungrier, than now, were not to be danced on the green outside the Bacon theater, we learned from every moment's experience to be glad that they took place within on the stage. It was such a time as Bacon himself—or from this out, shall we indulge him in the travesty which he preferred and say Shakespeare?—would have delighted to share with us, and we easily figured him in the audience which crowded the place, where not the least pleasure, but one of the greatest pleasures, of the day was finding ourselves in a group of people such as next to Shakespeare (I will no longer say Bacon) I could most have wished to meet in that place.

A distinguished English actor who, in his undistinguished youth, had dramatized a story of the undistinguished youth of an American author, was brought face to face there by antic chance with the novelist who emerged from his confirmed obscurity to ask the actor's acquaintance; and the actor added over and above his own acquaintance that of all the friends about him: friends who could help the author's ignorance of the things going forward on the stage, and make his joy in them intelligent, though it would have been hard for the most wayfaring of men wholly to err therein. One could not well be mistaken in the pretty little girls and the pretty young girls, and the boys and youths who had come from the farms and shops (and notably from a great blueing factory near by) to take their parts in the competitions of song and dance.

All the figures were more or less dramatic, and not pantomimic only, but sung as well as stepped to the mellow music of small sleigh-bells strapped at knee and ankle, and to the

color of flirted handkerchiefs and of ribbons flashing from wrist and elbow. Perhaps the unlearned reader does not know (we did not know till we saw it there) that it is the genius of the morris dance for the dancers to come elastically on for the figure and to drop exhaustedly off at the end in languid procession. Morris On and Morris Off may have been English tradition added to the Moorish dance which some immemorial traveler brought home from Spain; but whatever the origin of the several dramas or of their rendering, their charm was in the bloom and bounding vigor and glad heart of the Merry England which they revived for us. Out of all the sung and acted incidents, I think I should have given the prizes to that one called "Blow away the Morning Dew," and that other one called, "No John, no John." In the one the dancers swayed and swept the shining drops from imaginary meadows; and in the other a Spanish lady denied an English sailor till her denying No unawares turned entreaty against his threat to leave her. I suppose the things were both of the nature of such things as are still played at children's parties, but in the elder youthful rendering they had the poetry which keeps the world young. There was another of these plays prettily called "Blue-eyed Stranger," which, together with "Bunches of Laudanum" (probably not originally laudanum) and "Cottage Gardens," pleased the fancy almost as much as those supreme two; and there was yet a very English other, "How do you do, Zir," which mixed defiance with welcome in the hands shaken across the circle, and was acceptably done by half-grown boys in smock frocks and slouching farm-work hats.

Everything went on under the severe criticism of a committee appointed to see that the dances were danced in the letter as well as the spirit. It seemed very English, or at least not American, to have the young gentleman who spoke for the committee call his censures across the whole depth of the theaters and tell the boys and girls, great and small, that they had not kept their legs stiff enough in a certain figure where they faced and crossed ankles. "You must keep your legs stiffer," he said, and the dancers took his rebuke with silent submission; but he found it harder to exact obedience from an enthusiastic fiddler who had entered so deeply into the affair that he could not get himself unaided out of it. He was always leading the dancers on to

pretty much the same tune, till at last the chairman publicly proclaimed, " Now, Ilmington, you have been on half a dozen times " (it might have been a dozen), " and we can't have you any more," and with this at last Ilmington acquiesced and evanesced, not apparently very willingly or promptly, but effectively.

I am aware of giving, barely enough, the brief outline of a pleasure which richly clothed itself in music, color, and motion for a whole summer's day, and still left us hungering for more of it. Most interesting it was, and the more delightful because it reproduced the gaiety of the past without its sad conditions; we saw the bloom and inhaled the perfume without feeling the thorns of the bramble which bore the pretty flowers. What made it the more acceptable was the reflection that the England making merry on the stage was glad at the cost of less suffering to the poor than ever before. Thanks to that greatest living Englishman, who is Welsh, there are now pensions for the old and sick and those without work, keeping them above want without putting them to shame. Lloyd-George has taken the sting from charity by making it justice, and forcing the rich to pay something more of their due portion of the common cost, as perhaps we Americans shall some day do when we sink our fear of Socialism in our realization of Christianity; so that now an Englishman and his American visitor may hereafter look on the joys of the poor without too sharp a pity. Even that day we could blamelessly feel the appealing quaintness of an old woman from some charitable refuge who had come out of it in her pathetic best bonnet and shawl and gown of the fashions of seventy years ago, and now sang a faded song, cheap in material and uncouth in make as her dress, but touching because it was so sincerely meant. I am glad to say that no event of the day seemed to please the audience half as much; so near to tears her doleful ditty left us, we could go back to our players and dancers with a good conscience.

I do not know how long it all lasted, but say from eleven to four, with an hour out for lunch; at the end, as I have said, it left us loath to go. We had been in Stratford before, and we had not the task of seeing the Bacon house and keeping the Shakespeare family out of it; we had even seen the Ann Hathaway cottage, where the young Francis Bacon came wooing her and making her believe by the new inductive

method of reasoning that her two years more than his did not count in love. So now we could give our leisure to wandering about the streets, curiously modern for the most part, but with here and there an effect of age in quaint keeping with such a name as Sheep Street, where we bought a sixteenth-century table and were later subjected to duty on it by our customs as if it had been just made in some English Grand Rapids factory. A noted English novelist lives in Stratford, and her house front, garlanded with flowering plants, was the just pride of the driver of our fly. He seemed to care more for it than for the Shakespeare house; and, in fact, there has never been any dispute as to the Baconian authorship of her novels. We visited the so-called Shakespeare house only so far as to pace its garden walk and gather from the brown sand under the parent tree a mulberry perfect yet from the ants, which know a ripe mulberry as soon as they see it on the ground. The taste of it enchanted me three thousand miles and sixty-five years away to a little Ohio town with the murmur of the Miami soft in my ear; and I could be well content to leave the house, with its chimney-corners and kitchens and gardens and birth-chambers and every manner of typical rather than actual relics, to the crowd avid of documents and evidences, or, failing these, of mere wonders and associations.

The truth, which I reluctantly confide to the reader, is that to the faith of even the firmest, the most violent Baconian there is something very staggering in that wavering and sagging Shakespeare house; and it is much better to keep to the garden walk under the mulberry-tree, which is at least neutral. We of the true faith ought really to build a Bacon house and a Bacon theater, with a Bacon picture-gallery, in Stratford, if we expect to establish our doctrine in universal acceptance. As for that divinely dear and lovely church where the poet's body lies, it would of course be difficult to rear such another fane of the fit antiquity; but something might have been done in 1800, when the slab over the bones was renewed, if only anybody had then had the Baconian truth which was not revealed to the luminous madness of Miss Bacon till fifty years later. As it is, the place is full of Shakespeare to the exclusion of the many other interesting monuments and effigies. The famous epitaph still curses or blesses you according to your will, and the face of the bust, scraped clean of the white paint which once

coated it to an effect of eighteenth-century good taste, smiles down upon you in the Elizabethan sincerity of red cheeks, hazel eyes, and reddish hair and beard.

How still and fine the cool English morning was under the "long-drawn aisle and fretted vault" of the trees through which we went and came in revering this hallowed temple! But we had once for all revered it on our first visit to Stratford, and now, on our second, we left it to the devoirs of others. Rather we kept our last afternoon for a row on the Avon, and hired a boatman to do the rowing for us. The Avon, as we knew it that day, was a leaf-fringed, silent slack-water (very unlike the joyous torrent we had known it at Bath), inviting us first down to the dam, which, with the mill beside it, holds the waters in check. I cannot say just why it should have so invited us except to show us on our return a shirt-sleeved, bareheaded youth in a canoe which suddenly and most unexpectedly (to us if not to him) turned turtle and flung him into the stream. It then flew inverted away, and as he struck out after it, blowing the water from him as he swam, he called out to our boatman in gay, trans-atlantic accents, "Is bathing in this river prohibited?" The boatman took him literally and reassured him, while we offered to "cumber him with help." "No, thank you," he said, "unless you can tell me where my coat and cap are." "Probably under the canoe," we suggested, and, "Probably they are," he assented, and he swam to the canoe and righted it and found them. It is not often that one can make a useful suggestion to a countryman in a strange water, and we rowed away with the satisfaction of a public benefactor, leaving the youth joking and wringing the Avon from his coat on the shore.

I suppose there are lovelier rivers in the world than the Avon at Stratford; the Babylonians used to brag of their Abana and Pharpar; and we have our Hudson and Mississippi, which are certainly larger. But the Avon not only has Stratford on it, with its immortal memories; it wanders through levels of wood and meadow which almost meet over it, or come to drink of it with their grasses; and from time to time it has a dwelling on its shores which tempts you to the nearest "estate agent" with the design of instant purchase, whether the house is for sale or not. The notion of hiring is too pale and poor; what you want is to own the place and live beside those storied waters a whole lifetime

of sunny hours such as the English summer knows how to spare the deserving wayfarer amid its more serious business of raining. I suppose it must have rained the next day, or that evening, for I have no recollection of the contrary; but we had our afternoon as perfect and sweet and mellow as that mulberry on the walk in Shakespeare's garden.

Other delights there had been through hospitalities which I must summon what little good taste I have to keep from betraying. But I will not try to ignore, even in the high interest of refined travel (travel striving to be everything that the English passion for privacy could ask of it), the signal pleasure of seeing somewhat afar the mansion of that historian of the American Revolution whose generous sense of our great struggle should make us, if possible, prouder of it than ever. There is no Englishman worthier than Sir George Trevelyan to dwell in that Shakespearian air among those Shakespearian fields and woods which were once Shakespeare's very own.

More days than we had might well have been given to the Shakespeare library and gallery (with whatever grief for its mistakenness), more nights than we had to the Shakespeare theater. We had come to Stratford partly to see that dramatization by an American woman of the Pied Piper of Hamelin legend, which had such fine moments of gentle poetic beauty and pathos; and the night after, we saw in the same place that most ungrateful and reluctant of the Shakespearian—or Baconian—tragedies, "Richard II." It is idle for us to pretend that the American stage is equal to the English in realizing to the eye the historic circumstance of such a play; we might as well pretend we equal their acting. There was something richly absolute in the presentation of the figures in that scene; nothing was wanting to the splendor of the haughty Bolingbroke and the proud Norfolk making their brags and exchanging their challenges before that sad, silly despot whom their quarrel begins bringing to his prison and murder. I thought Mr. Benson did his Richard wonderfully well, while he let all the others play as ably up to him. I could have fancied that night in Stratford that it would have been a high pleasure to both Bacon and Shakespeare if they could have once sunk the question of its authorship and come to see it together.

W. D. Howells.

# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

## THE GENEVA TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION

MR. EDITOR,—A book of mine recently published, *Reminiscences of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration (1872)—The Alabama Claims*—has the honor of furnishing the text of a review article in your November number. The writer of that article discusses the subject of "The Alabama Claims" and their settlement with a remarkable vigor. Since THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, happily maintaining its old-time reputation for literary excellence, reaches numerous readers of a cultivated and influential class, both in our own country and in England, it is of no small consequence that a glaring misstatement of fact in its pages be corrected as promptly as possible.

Having been personally present at the proceedings before the Geneva Tribunal, I must protest against certain language in the concluding paragraph of the article in question, that, by way of innuendo at least, would lead a reader to imagine that the conduct of the Arbitrators was somehow lacking in that high degree of dignity befitting the grave character of the duty they had been called upon to perform. The language is as follows:

"With the exception of the illustrious Charles Francis Adams, the personnel of the Tribunal does not at this late day appear to deserve the highest encomium. Cockburn, the English member, was a man of brilliant talents, but he was also indiscreet, verbose, and flighty. Staempfli, the Swiss member, who had failed in business, seems to have been a sour Republican lawyer and journalist, whose sympathies were intuitively hostile to England. Sclopis, the Italian member, possessed ability and experience, but was a mouther of pompous phrases about humanity and civilization and was highly suggestive of Turveydrop. Itajuba, the Brazilian member, a provincial professor, was notoriously indolent and not particularly well informed. The Tribunal was memorable rather for the precedent which it established than for the character of men who composed it or the dignity with which its work was performed."

The memory of these statesmen, who labored so faithfully in the cause of peace, needs no vindication at my hands. It is enough to say of Mr. Staempfli that he had *not* failed in business when he took his seat as an Arbitrator.

The slur cast upon the body as a whole (with the exception of Mr. Adams) justly provokes resentment. There are four men now living who were present at the sessions of the Tribunal open to counsel—two Americans and two Englishmen. I believe that all of us, were it needful,

would gladly bear testimony to the becoming manner in which the Tribunal conducted its business. For myself, I could not but be sensible of the presence, at all times, of an atmosphere most befitting the gravity of the occasion. Each representative of a neutral Power did credit to his country, and to himself, no less by his dignified bearing than by the industry, the fidelity, and the ability with which he met and determined the momentous questions submitted for his arbitrament.

FRANK WARREN HACKETT.

WASHINGTON, *November 6, 1911.*

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THE BALLAD OF THE WHITE HORSE. By GILBERT K. CHESTERTON. New York: John Lane Company, 1911.

Mr. Chesterton here follows in the footsteps of Kipling and Noyes in treating a bit of English history that has grown into legend in poetic form. The period taken is that of the Danish invasion of Wessex in the reign of Alfred. The Danes had pushed up Thames to Reading and then penetrated into the heart of Wessex as far as the heights that overlook the vale of the White Horse. Mr. Chesterton disclaims any intention of clinging close to history in the poem, and all of it that is not frankly fictitious is meant to emphasize tradition rather than history. As the work of Christianizing England was done by generation after generation, the poet summarizes this first crusade in a triple symbol and gives a Roman, a Celt, and a Saxon a share in the glory of Ethandune.

The poem consists of eight books or cantos; the first, we judge, purely fictitious, entitled "The Vision of the King" in which Alfred has a vision of the Mother of God, who tells him:

> "I tell you naught for your comfort,
> Yea, naught for your desire,
> Save that the sky grows darker yet
> And the sea rises higher."

The following cantos are: "The Following of the Chiefs," "The Harp of Alfred," "The Woman in the Forest," "Ethandune: The First Stroke," "The Slaying of the Chiefs," "The Last Charge," "The Scouring of the Horse."

All of Mr. Chesterton's good qualities are in this poem. Some of the critics say that it is the finest effort he has yet made, and the importance of that admission must depend entirely upon the importance one attaches to Mr. Chesterton's work at its best. Certainly the poem under discussion has swing, dash, and the charm of quick and vivid vision. Take, for example, Alfred's sudden memory of his mother:

> "And he saw in a little picture,
> Tiny and far away,
> His mother sitting in Egbert's hall,
> And a book she showed him very small,
> Where a sapphire Mary sat in stall
> With a golden Christ at play."

or:

"The long farm lay on the large hillside,
Flat like a painted plan,
And by the side the low, white house
Where dwelt the southland man."

Ogier's speeches are eminently poetic and interesting from the first, when he sings the gods behind the gods, to the song:

"Fallen is Rome, yea, fallen
The city of the plains!"

From the standpoint of the average reader the poem promises to be acceptable; from the standpoint of the critic there are many things to be desired. Mr. Chesterton chooses for his poem the very easiest of English lines—namely, the four-footed iambic. Yet even in this line his heavy and light syllables are most erratic. Such words as "over," "warrant," "giant," "servant," "arrow," "fallen," "river," "daisies," "fighting" are constantly used with the heavy accent on the last syllable. Coleridge frequently uses this false accent to get an effect of quaintness and to vary the rhythm; but the accent is far too frequent in this ballad to give the effect of conscious art and it sounds simply careless.

Again, we find it not only difficult to scan, but even to read certain lines as meter at all; such lines, namely, as:

"And his faith grew in a hard ground,"

or

"Went Elf roaring and routing,"

"Then Ogier heaved over his head,"

"While Ogier writhed under his shield."

Again, it is difficult to make a four-footed line, as we are supposed to do, out of this:

"From the land of the East Saxons."

The ballad in the last analysis is a very clever feat by a prose-writer, but except in a happy stanza or line here and there it is not poetry. Mr. Chesterton is accounted a good, certainly a vivacious writer of prose; and England has at the moment a fair share of poets: Mrs. Meynell, Alfred Noyes, Ezra Pound, Henry Bryan Binns, to mention only a few real poets, are all in the running, and among such Mr. Chesterton cannot compete.

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Woman's Part in Government Whether She Votes or Not. By William H. Allen. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1911.

This is a new kind of book," says the publisher's advertisement. "It makes you want to work for better government between elections. . . . It is a handbook on straight-seeing, straight-thinking, and straight-acting on public questions between elections." The publisher's advertisement in this case does really set forth the aim of the book. The author, who is the Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, does not so much

answer questions or present doctrines as he probes his reader's ignorance by lists of questions which the would-be voter should be able to answer, but seldom is. He states briefly his candid opinion that the time is coming when women will not only be permitted to vote, but will be expected to do so, however irksome and disillusioning the duty and privilege may be. It is, then, with this in view that the author tries to call attention to the kind of information the voter needs, to the possible work that may be done between elections.

"Because ninety-nine out of one hundred problems of government are sexless the suggestions here made relate as well to men as to women. Yet because women are to-day idealizing the ballot as a means of improving government and accelerating social progress, this book deals particularly with woman's threefold relation to government between elections. It aims not to settle, but to raise questions, to encourage self-analysis and study of local conditions, and to stimulate interest in methods and next steps for getting done what we all agree should be done to make democracy efficient." In the chapters headed "The Expansion of Woman's Place," "Side-Tracking Questions," "Methods Not Purposes in Controversy," "Short Cuts to Efficient Government," "A Method of Study Within the Reach of All," "Next Steps toward One-hundred-per-cent. Philanthropy," "How Women may Help their Schools" the author ably carries out his aim to instruct by suggestion.

While the main aim and direction of this book is good and useful, there are strange gaps in the author's reasoning. For example, he warns women against thinking that general culture will enable them to form an intelligent opinion of an immediate issue. Now it is quite true that a general familiarity with the thought of Socrates or Shelley will not help one to a minute knowledge of the value of pasteurized milk; but the author overlooks the fact that what culture does is to give one a standard of right and wrong against which to set all immediate questions, and if we might only count upon a high degree of general culture we could also count upon the power to gain an intelligent outlook upon the immediate issue.

Again, the author, after making his whole book a plea for minute information and a general public airing of methods and abuses, suddenly turns when he comes to the question of social disease and puts up a plea for hushing up the whole question. Now any one who has taken the trouble to inform himself upon this subject knows what excellent work is accomplished all over the country by the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis.

"If I could control the action of ministers, 'good citizens,' and women's clubs, I should say that the best possible means of reducing the social evil would be never to mention the subject for ten years," writes this amazing reasoner; nor does he state in any wise why his whole method would be reversed in this particular reform. He has urged in every other case of reform the careful gathering of data, the need of publicity. He reiterates that officials can only be held responsible for such of their acts as are known. He urges all voters to watch legislation, to gather evidence and test it, and then without rhyme or reason he suddenly advises the hushing-up of one of the most threatening dangers in modern life. He urges women never to give an opinion without basing it

upon carefully acquired knowledge; and yet, when it comes to this question, he writes as the most unreasoning of women might about his general feelings and impressions. "While working on this chapter," he writes, "I have been told of a department store in this city whose girls are afraid of one member of the firm. *I am not acquainted with the facts.*" Here the sentence should surely have ended, but he goes on: "*My reply was that I personally believe that girls are unsafe in proportion to the largeness, not the smallness, of their salaries.*"

Would it not have been better for the writer to have applied some of his own methods before writing the chapter in question? Undoubtedly that chapter must do a great deal toward destroying confidence in the remainder of the book, for it is an example of how one with the ability to see and think straight may find it feasible to see and think and persuade wrong.

The chief value of the book lies in its helpful questions and its addresses for special workers' pamphlets.

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THE FIVE GREAT PHILOSOPHIES OF LIFE. By WILLIAM DE WITTE HYDE, President of Bowdoin College. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

There are certain maxims—short cuts to a rough-and-ready knowledge of human nature—that are perfectly familiar, such as "You may know a man by the company he keeps," "You may know a man by what he reads," "You may know a man by his pleasures," to which may be added, "You may know a man most truly by his prayers." Therein is mirrored the essential self, the being behind all unconscious affectations and pretenses, the reality back of all social and intellectual make-believes. *What* a man is willing to ask of the Divine, and *when* he is willing to ask it, give, as nothing else can, the man's true measure. And as men may be known by their prayers so a religion or a philosophy may be known by its aspirations—the point or goal toward which it reaches. Philosophy seeks to put an interpretative construction upon life, striving to say explicitly or implicitly why and how, explaining man to himself; and religion also does the same, while adding specific directions as to how to live. All religions, therefore, embrace some sort of a philosophy; but philosophy does not necessarily embrace religion. Yet both have this in common—that they seek to satisfy the soul's perpetual questionings and seek also to achieve something of power and joy.

*The Five Great Philosophies of Life,* by President Hyde of Bowdoin College, is a new edition of the work originally called *From Epicurus to Christ* amplified and largely rewritten. It is as succinct and plain an exposition of the five great attitudes toward life as the general reader would be likely to find. Professor Hyde illustrates his expositions, in the main, with good extracts from the philosophers and from modern literature. The five great philosophies are the Epicurean, the Stoic, the Platonic, the Aristotelian, and, finally, the Christian. In the chapters on Epicureanism the author quotes not only the master himself, but Lucretius and Horace, Whitman, Spencer, and Stevenson. The author has a real gift for the swift, incisive, descriptive epithet most helpful

for fixing an idea in the young mind. In the preface he lays out the five philosophies thus: "the Epicurean pursuit of pleasure, genial but ungenerous; the Stoic law of self-control, strenuous but forbidding; the Platonic plan of subordination, sublime but ascetic; the Aristotelian sense of proportion, practical but uninspiring; and the Christian spirit of love, broadest and deepest of them all."

Very clearly and happily does President Hyde trace the general concepts, precepts, and practical workings-out of the philosophies that he considers; their merits and defects, their strength and weakness, the part they play in the development of individual character and in the general history of human life and thought. It has been well said that men are born either Aristotelians or Platonists; and in one sense, psychologically, the various philosophies embody quite as much of individual temperament as of determined, self-consistent thought: so that the followers of Zeno are quite as much "born" to that following as are the devotees of exact science "born" followers of Aristotle.

President Hyde set himself no mean task in thus bringing together the chief features of these five great philosophies, noting their distinctions and differences, their relativity of opposites, and showing their effectual rounding out, or completion, in that "love which is the fulfilling of the law." Very happily, too, does he vary and illustrate his subject by examples drawn from literature and life; examples tolerably familiar to many and yet not often considered from these points of view. The whole subject is at all times kept well in hand, and the essential thought is presented and re-presented under various images and by various analogies. "All original thought is done in images," says Moleschott, and President Hyde is quite effective in his images; as when he says of John Stuart Mill, for instance: "His 'utilitarianism' is a fort mounted with the most approved idealistic guns, yet with the Epicurean flag floating bravely over the whole." In the main a clear thinker and an acute yet pleasant critic, one who neither eludes the choice of tints nor confounds values, one cannot always agree with Professor Hyde's labeling. The wonderful passage, for example, taken from Maeterlinck's *Wisdom and Destiny* is far nearer to the Christian doctrine, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you," than to any Stoic law whatever. The book is instructive and is designed not so much for real thinkers and students as to meet the general popular interest in historic philosophy.

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Spiritism and Psychology. By Theodore Flournoy. Translated by Hereward Carrington. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911.

Both to scientists and to generally intelligent readers alike, this book is distinctly worth while, since it presents much scattered information in a convenient and condensed form. Professor Flournoy's able and candid thinking is here clearly and very interestingly set forth and is, furthermore, occasionally strengthened or qualified by the translator's excellent notes.

Psychology is doubtless still in its infancy, but is engaging more and more the attention of scientific men, for interest grows by what it feeds on, and the very difficulties of the subject are part of its fascination.

To many it may seem at first sight a mismating thus to harness spiritism and psychology, but even a superficial acquaintance with either line of thought and experiment will fully justify the distinguished author in so doing. For what astrology was to astronomy, what alchemy was to chemistry, may ultimately prove to be the office of spiritism to psychology, that of a willing and serviceable handmaid. The discovery of radium and of the radio-active substances has largely revolutionized the study of chemistry; and the patient investigation of the abnormal or subnormal phenomena of mediumship, clairvoyance, telepathy, with all the newer terms—may well throw light upon psychology. For one psychologist, Dr. Imoda, in a recent work, concludes that "the radiations of radium, the cathodic radiations of the Crookes tube, and mediumistic radiations are fundamentally the same." This is, at all events, a workable hypothesis and opens up possibilities of investigation along new and deeply interesting lines. And as, in the fine words of Professor Flournoy, "each one of us has his rôle to play in the construction of the edifice of human knowledge," it becomes the intelligent layman's duty as well as pleasure to keep pace with scientific thought and to cultivate in himself a truly scientific openness of mind. For such is human nature that, notwithstanding the tremendous scientific advances of the past fifty or one hundred years, much of science, so called, is just as dogmatic, just as fanatical in its insistence as was the theology of days gone by. So whether one is a determined spiritist or a professed psychologist, or, like Karshish, just "a picker-up of learning's crumbs," it is well to come in contact with a mind like Professor Flournoy's—fair, impartial, willing to listen and to see. Mediumship, with all that it connotes, has been so discredited, is so bound up with the thought and suspicion of trickery and fraud that very many intelligent people will not hear of it. Consequently, it is pleasant to know that a number of scientific men are persuaded of the reality of mediumistic phenomena, however much they may as yet differ as to the cause or causes. For mediumship, with all that it implies, is not only a study for the psychologist, but for the pathologist as well. Many of the features of mediumship would seem to denote, not the supernormal, but the subnormal; not fuller life, but lesser; not power to penetrate into the possible "beyond," but insufficient power rightly to grasp this present life and weld it into an approximately harmonious and normal whole.

Mr. Carrington takes heed, too, in his preface, to utter a strong and timely warning against mere curious dabbling with clairvoyance or spiritism. The trained investigator, mentally equipped, approaching the subject in a detached and proper frame of mind, is one thing; the overcurious and idle seeker or the superstitious is quite another. Consciousness and will or conscious will is a standing mystery, itself as inexplicable as undeniable, but the one thing by which all else is co-ordinated and explained. The particularly baleful effect of an ignorant or insufficiently instructed practice of spiritism is its sinister reaction upon consciousness and will. This latter especially is constantly and increasingly weakened until at last it may become numb and well-nigh lifeless, as if to be ruled or influenced by the supposedly dead or discarnate spirits is to approximate to death and is to forfeit just that power of life which should be and is most vital. Those who by clairvoyance trifle with mind and im-

agination run hideous risks. There is such a thing as finding the citadel in possession of the worst of foes. Mr. Carrington speaks of having "seen several examples of such detrimental influence—cases of delusion, insanity, and all the horrors of obsession." And he evidently speaks with authority and as one who knows.

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TOLSTOI. By ROMAIN ROLLAND. Translated by Bernard. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1911.

From this short and sympathetic study of Tolstoi we derive more real knowledge of the great prophet, thinker, martyr of last century than in all Aylmer Maude's two heavy biographical volumes with their misconceptions and disconcerting comment, their dense lack of real understanding, and their vain attempt to whitewash every one except Tolstoi himself. The present volume, admittedly slight, by the author of *Jean Christophe,* is only biographical in so far as biography is necessary to throw light upon the spiritual development of the great master. It is chronologically arranged and is an able psychological elucidation of the development of Tolstoi's thought.

In the preface the author speaks of the very direct appeal of the Russian novel to the young France of the last decades of the nineteenth century. The admiration of the Gallic thinkers and writers of that time was no pallid sentiment for the great craftsmen, the great observers of life, but the Russian novel made appeal to them by its ardent love of life, its quality of youth and vitality. The life in the work of this expanding race was so keen, so vivid that it seemed futile to stand off and approve. "It was ours," says the author. "We lived it; it was our own. Ours by its ardent love of life, by its quality of youth; ours by its irony, its disillusion, its pitiless discernment, and its haunting sense of mortality. Ours by its dreams of brotherly love, of peace among men; ours by its terrible accusation of the lies of civilization; ours by its realism; by its mysticism ours; by its savor of nature, its sense of invisible forces, its vertigo in the face of the infinite."

What Werther was to the *Sturm und Drang* period in Germany, Tolstoi's awakening works were to the new humanitarians of a later date, and it was unquestionably a much healthier and nobler awakening to the needs of humanity than Goethe's overflow of egotistical sensibility. It is impossible to agree with M. Rolland in some of his descriptions of Tolstoi's youth. Tolstoi himself was of a supersensitive conscience and much inclined to be very serious over his faults. In his endeavor to carry out the author's own idea of his original wickedness, M. Rolland traces evil characteristics to the early portraits. "He was," he says, in speaking of the portrait of 1848, "of Simian ugliness; the face was long, heavy, brutish; the hair was cropped close, growing low upon the forehead; the eyes were small, with a hard, forbidding glance, deeply sunken into shadowy orbits; the nose was large, the lips were thick and protruding, and the ears were enormous."

As a matter of fact, that portrait of 1848 is of a very promising-looking youth. It is not, of course, a pretty face; not even a regularly handsome face; but that sort of face on a man is already a chronological

anomaly. What we demand in a male above all else, strength, seriousness, self-confidence, is there in ample measure. The face is long, but the bony structure of skull and cheek, the facial angles, are magnificent; the eyebrows are straight across the brow; the eyes beautifully set, already keen, searching, giving promise of that wonderful penetrating gaze which was the first thing that struck one about Tolstoi; "as if," said Miss Jane Addams, "he lifted off the top of your head and looked in." The mouth is mainly serious and the chin strong, and the nose not yet exaggeratedly broad as it becomes in later portraits. The portrait of 1856 is that of a distinctly pleasing-looking man. A very gentle smile takes the place of the brooding look in the earlier picture; a mustache hides the length of the upper lip, and the eyes are wider open, more contemplative. The least pleasing portrait is that of 1862, the year of Tolstoi's marriage, when the keen, searching quality of the eyes is so intensified as to make the expression almost startling.

No better account has been given anywhere of the vital distinctions in point of view between Tourgenev and Tolstoi; the one ironic, amorous, disillusioned, a devotee of beauty; the other violent, proud, serious, tormented by moral problems. Nor could any author have touched more gently, more comprehendingly the tragic situation of a loving husband and father clinging almost to the last to a skeptical family. The sons, he tells us, could hardly conceal their indifference and boredom if the father spoke of his beliefs and work. The author does full justice to Countess Tolstoi and gives credit for her early zeal in helping with the literary work; but, unlike Aylmer Maude, he attempts no slurring over of her total inability to follow her husband when he laid aside mere literature to speak and work as the greatest moral genius of this age.

On the whole, the book is sympathetic and clear-seeing and as valuable a literary study of Tolstoi as has yet appeared—a study that could only have been written by one with true spiritual insight.

The work of the translator is, in the main, inoffensive, but where, pray, did a man with an English name learn so odd a phrase as "Pleasure then resumed him," "Life resumed him"?

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Modern Theories of Criminality. By Bernaldo de Quiros. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1911.

Criminal Psychology. By Hans Gross. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1911.

The scientific attitude toward crime may be dated from the work of Cesare Lombroso, the Italian physician who began publishing his studies of criminals in 1871. In the last forty years the literature of criminology, criminal anthropology, criminal psychology, penitentiary science, and a number of special branches and ramifications has increased and multiplied in all civilized nations. What was originally the special interest of the psychologist and physician is now the working hypothesis of legislator, reformer, and social worker. Some of the most important studies in foreign languages are now accessible to the English-speaking world in the *Modern Criminal Series,* published by the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, which was organized in 1909 to com-

memorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Northwestern University. A part of its *raison d'être* was expressed in the following resolutions: "*Whereas,* it is exceedingly desirable that important treatises on criminology in foreign languages be made readily accessible in the English language; *Resolved,* that the president appoint a committee of five with power to select such treatises as in their judgment should be translated and to arrange for their publication." *Modern Theories of Criminality,* by Bernaldo de Quiros, first published in Spain in 1898, and *Criminal Psychology,* by Hans Gross, which appeared in Austria in 1897, are the first of the series to appear in English and head a list which includes the work of such eminent criminologists as Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, Tarde Aschaffenburg, and Garofalo.

*Modern Theories of Criminality,* by Bernaldo de Quiros, is a handbook of the sources of the literature of criminology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and contains valuable bibliographies of pamphlets, monographs, and journal articles, as well as admirable digests of the main theories of crime and summaries of the important studies and investigations. It is a reference-book and not an original contribution, but a reference-book packed full of suggestive interpretation and illuminating criticism; a model of compilation that is not a patch-work of disconnected quotations.

The material is arranged in three chapters or long essays; the first on the origins and developments of criminology; the second on modern criminal law, or, as Señor de Quiros prefers to call it, penitentiary science; and the third on the modern movement toward the scientific investigation of crime, a subject which Professor Munsterberg's recent studies of the witness-stand have brought very forcibly to our attention.

The scientific study of crime, variously called criminology and criminality, may be dated from the work of the three "Innovators"—Lombroso, the physician and anthropologist and the most eminent of the Italian Darwinians; Ferri, the sociologist; and Garofalo, the jurisconsult. Following the different methods and points of view brought to the study of crime by Lombroso and his great contemporary, Ferri, we find that all modern theories of crime may be grouped under *Anthropological Theories* following more or less closely Lombroso's methods, and *Sociological Theories* with the emphasis on environmental rather than on hereditary factors. From the Lombrosian point of view we find crime variously explained by atavism, degeneration, and by pathological conditions, especially epilepsy, neurasthenia, and various psychopathic states. The *Sociological Theories* explain criminal phenomena from failure in adaptation, segregation, parasitism, or economic maladjustment.

The problem of fixing the responsibility for crime, of determining "on whom we shall reserve the specific social reaction called punishment," is the problem of a special branch of criminology called "penitentiary science" or "penology." The second chapter of Señor de Quiros's handbook is devoted to reviewing the origins of modern criminal law and the modern tendencies, traditional and racial, of dealing with adult and junior delinquency.

Chapter III. on the "Scientific Investigation of Crime" has for the general reader perhaps the most vivid interest. Here we find justified with becoming seriousness the time-honored methods of Sherlock Holmes,

Lecoq, and Carentin. The Bertillon system, the finger-print, the word-picture, and the various technical methods of investigating crime are outlined with a scantiness of detail that leaves much to be desired, were we allowed to forget that the book is for reference and does not aim at any fullness and exposition.

No corresponding criticism can be made of the second volume in this series. Gross's *Criminal Psychology* deals with everything in Heaven and Earth, Horatio, that is dreamed of in our philosophy. According to the author's vindication of his position in the introduction: "Literally, criminal psychology should be that form of psychology used in dealing with crime, not merely the psychopathology of criminals, the natural history of the criminal mind. . . . The knowledge of the principles . . . demands even such a pragmatic applied psychology as will deal with all states of mind that might possibly be involved in the determination and judgment of crime." The person connected with crime and the criminal procedure may be that of a principal or criminal, or of a person accessory to the act, or of an involuntary witness who is required to testify to acts he has perceived, or of a jury who has to weigh evidence, or of a judge who has to pass on it, or of an expert who may be called in to render certain technical judgments. The motive with respect to the crime may be to conceal, to gloss over, and to spare; or to ferret out, expose, and reveal. All mental processes focussed on crime, all psychological processes directly or indirectly concerned with crime, are, according to Professor Gross, the subject-matter of *Criminal Psychology*. Therefore, we must include besides a study of the mental states of the accused those of the judge and the jury, the witness and the expert.

The underlying confusion which is involved when we attempt to class under the same term the mental activity of the criminal and the judge has best been indicated by M. Edward Claparède, in his article on "*La Psychologie Judiciaire,*" in Binet's *L'Année Psychologique* for 1906. In commenting on the great value of Professor Gross's work he says: "It strikes me, however, as very inconvenient to designate in the same way two disciplines, which, though they are related and present numerous points of transition, are none the less quite distinct—*i. e.*, the psychology of judicial activity and that of criminality. I propose to do away with this confusion by designating by the term 'judicial psychology' that part of psychology applied to law which includes the psychological study of facts relative to the judicial activity; and to reserve the name 'criminal psychology' for the study of the criminal himself and of criminality."

But from Professor Gross's point of view the mental process of the judge and jury, as well as of the accused, must be taken into account in a study of the conditions of crime, and the argument therefore falls into two parts: (1) the subjective conditions of evidence on the mental activities of the judge and (2) the objective conditions of criminal investigation or the mental activities of the examinee. Objection may at once be taken to the opposition of objective and subjective in this connection; an opposition which, as M. Claparède has pointed out, is valid, perhaps, for a jurist, but not for a psychologist, to whom the mental activities of the criminal are as subjective as those of the judge.

But, accepting with a protest the author's classification, we find that the subjective conditions of evidence are first *the conditions of taking*

*evidence,* and second *the conditions of defining theories or the making of inferences.* Under the conditions of taking evidence are discussed general considerations as to the integrity of witnesses, the correctness of testimony, the "egotism, laziness, and conceit," which, according to Professor Gross, are the "only human motives on which one may unconditionally depend"; the secrets which one cannot keep; the interests which one must arouse. But most interesting of all the early discussions is the section on phenomenology; the study of the outward expression of mental states, "the science of appearances," the significance of involuntary habitual actions, gesticulation, changes of color such as blushing and paling, are personal idiosyncrasies which are nevertheless common enough to generalize about.

In the sections on the "making of inferences" and "on knowledge," the author has endeavored to compress in the short space of eighty pages the gist of modern speculation along epistomological and logical lines with a certain amount of absolutely necessary historical background. The result is unsatisfactory to a degree. It is quite true that a criminologist who is also a student of human nature should be *en rapport* with modern studies in causation, analogy, probability, chance, inference, judgment, and the rest. It is quite true that he cannot give his life to the great mass of literature on these more academic subjects, but must depend on histories of philosophy and on digests for the conclusions which have an immediate bearing on criminal proceedings and law. The totally inadequate discussions in Gross's *Criminal Psychology* supply neither a history nor a digest and might with great profit be omitted.

The same general criticism might be applied to the sections on logical and metaphysical subjects in the second part under "mental activity of the examinee." The sections on Perception and Conception, the Intellectual Processes, the Association of Ideals, the Will and Emotion, are almost without value to the student with even a most superficial knowledge of modern logical and metaphysical studies, though they supply the general reader with a surprising fund of anecdote. The sections on Sense Perception, Recollection and Memory, and the forms of giving testimony, bearing more directly on the abnormal criminal mind, present a mass of information and observation from the author's personal experience. They are less burdened with excessive quotation and are stamped with a certain freshness of interest that the more technical sections lack.

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ETHAN FROME. By EDITH WHARTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

It may be possible that intellect knows nothing of sex, but certain it is that whenever a woman assumes masculinity there is apt to be just that over-emphasis that betrays the assumption. This is simply by way of protest against the unnecessary intrusion of a masculine "I" as narrator of Mrs. Wharton's admirable story, *Ethan Frome,* for, as the well-told tale unfolds, a return to the omniscient third person is inevitable, so that we might as well have been spared the first person in the beginning. However, the excellence of Mrs. Wharton's work is such that no one should dare cavil, perhaps, at the author's mode of presentation, and this, her latest novel, is but one of many successes. In remote New Eng-

land hills, chiefly in winter, the scene of the story is laid; a brief love-idyll, a breath of warmth and spring upon the edge of biting cold and snow. For it is curious—part of the writer's delicate art, indeed—to note how the essential landscape of this story harmonizes with the nature of the tale itself; the prolonged cold, the grudging soil, the scantily rewarded labor, make up "the compulsions of poverty" that here mean so much, and all play their significant parts in a story of life—not as victory or defeat, but what is often more tragic than defeat, life as a drawn game, a baleful arrest.

There is a certain inexorableness about Mrs. Wharton, as if she herself were constitutionally opposed to happiness, as if she were somewhat compelled to interpret life in terms of pain. Hence her beautifully told but somber tales are so unrelieved, fate in them is so persistently adverse, that they are sometimes not quite convincing. For after all, what men account as Fate does sometimes smile, and pain is pain by contrast with joy. But this particular story of three people, Ethan Frome, his wife Zeena, and Mattie Silver, is so swift, direct, and inevitable that it commands belief. The man, Ethan Frome, an undeveloped idealist, marrying, not for love, but because of feminine proximity and an instinctive recoil from loneliness, then finding beside him his fitting counterpart; the mutual happiness so wan and brief, the swift end, and then the long twilight of that truest heroism—the heroism of endurance—this finely self-consistent story takes firm hold of mind and imagination. And it is told, of course, with all Mrs. Wharton's rare skill. The forcible right words, like apples of gold in frames of silver, are all here. The seeing and perceiving eye and the divining mind, with all their complexities of observation and penetration, have opened up for their fortunate possessor another field in which her hand seems as sure and certain as in the more urban life she usually portrays, and in the more sophisticated people she usually sets before us.

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THE OUTCRY. By HENRY JAMES. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

"Admirable, admirable, and most admirable," must be the reader's gratified comment when, on the announcement of "The Prince," the curtain falls upon Mr. James's delightful comedy, "The Outcry." For while this, his latest work, is a novel in name—and domino, shall we say—the least brushing aside of its drapery will reveal it as a charming drama. The three books are in reality three acts, and the chapters are just so many rapidly moving scenes.

The art of Mr. James is so finished, his work so fine, his perception so subtle, and his irony so quietly comprehensive, that of course his work is caviare to the general. People who like their fiction in proportion as it does *not* represent, or naïvely misrepresents, Life; people whose ideas are confined to a "pretty story" and a "happy ending," cannot possibly enjoy a writer whose work is as truly scientific as it is finely literary, is as exact on one side as it is artistic on the other—work that is particularly characterized by its psychologic accuracy, and truth to life as its author sees and perceives life. For in his chosen way and degree Mr. Henry James is quite as marked and thorough a psychologist as was his dis-

tinguished brother. In this short novel, with scarce a word of comment, with no waste of description, just by their entrances and exits, their looks, words, and actions, does Mr. James set a group of very significant people before us. Motive, character, weakness and strength, mental and moral limitations, degree and quality, are all made unmistakably manifest. It is Society of its kind, of a large kind, indeed, with ramifications that bind together the Old World and the New. There is a certain similarity of *bouquet*, as wine connoisseurs say, of both continents in the characters of Lord Theygne and Mr. Breckenridge Bender, a cater-cousinship, too, in their utter disregard of art save as ministering to vanity and pride. What could be better than Mr. Bender as the buyer of the famous picture, and Lord Theygne as its owner; the one seeking to purchase as the best possible means to self-advertisement, and the other willing to part from one of the glories of his house for a proper consideration, and then ultimately "holding on" to it because such tenacity best expressed his own pride of possession and self-will? And Lord John as the intermediary, the "promoter"; Lady Sandgate, yearning to follow Lord Theygne's abortive "lead," both left eventually chequeless by the rash and revengeful fury of Lord John; and then the final scene—left to our imagination—when the Prince comes to Lady Sandgate's to congratulate his Lordship on the latter's patriotism, generosity, and public spirit in bestowing the much-acclaimed picture on the Nation—could anything be more entertaining? And by this same token do even Mr. James's warmest admirers fully realize the generous compliment he pays them in his unfaltering appeal to their intelligence and imagination? For he shares with them so fully, as it were, his own richly varied perceptions. In this he and Browning are something alike—the largesse of their confidence in the helpful intelligence of their readers. And can it be said that in either case the confidence has always been justified? For it may be doubted whether Mr. James has ever received from his countrymen a tithe of the meed that is his due.

It has been said that Mr. James relies too much upon the head to the exclusion of the heart, that there is too great intellectual astringency in his work as compared with its emotional quality. But one must measure the length of the sword by the sheath; must estimate what is reserved by what is given; must understand that, as the Rabbis say, "Silence is the truest worship." How great an idealist Mr. James must be *before* he can become so fine a realist must be divined. "The golden distillation of the real," which was the high aim of the *Author of Beltraffio*, is not infrequently Mr. James's achievement. It may be but a golden drop, but the rare liquor is unmistakable, and there are many such golden drops to be enjoyed in his works. His marvelous power of elimination, by which he can sufficiently portray even abject mental and spiritual squalor, to say nothing of mere material poverty, with no overloading of common and sordid detail, is part of his own peculiar art. It may be objected, perhaps, that Mr. James shows at times a too great fear of the common and commonplace, since these also have their value and significance, and help in any true delineation of life; but in a day when realism for realism's sake is the cry, when masses of meaningless detail are supposed to be the true holding up of the mirror to nature and life, those who can still practice the art of elimination should be doubly cherished. For enough

is even better than a feast. In this last novel, however, the rights of head and heart are delightfully balanced. The characters of Lord Theygne, Lady Sandgate, Bender, and Lord John throw into fine and charming contrast the youthful lovers, Lady Grace and Hugh Crimble, who, in their single-hearted devotion to art, discover each other. The characters are few, but their significance is far-reaching, and the skill with which every man and woman in turn is made to reveal the essential self is most rare. Rightly to appreciate the power and art of Mr. James, his penetration into life and his mastery of presentation, is no small part of one's own intellectual equipment. Happy they, then, who, by true appreciation, can enjoy the freedom of so much excellence.

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THE POWER OF TOLERANCE. By GEORGE HARVEY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911.

It is natural that any woman in opening this collection of addresses, which ranges from 1904 to 1911, should turn her attention first of all to George Harvey's speech before the Woman's University Club of New York on the subject "Have Women Souls?" A man's view of so important a point as this must be the superscription and image of an entire character. The author admits that at a first glance the analogous question might be, Have men? But as a matter of fact, since the beginning of recorded history men, who had the upper hand in making it, took their souls for granted. One author states that the question was uppermost among the early Hebrews, when according to the Elohistic account of creation male and female were brought into being equal; according to the Jahovistic account the woman was made out of the rib of the man, and was given him as toy or drudge, solace or spur, as he might choose. "Physiologically," writes Colonel Harvey, "no evidences of the correctness of this theory remain in man, but theologically it is held to be as sound as if a rib were really missing from every masculine frame." The position of woman in Babylonia was much higher than in Israel, where she was originally the property first of parents and then of husband, and was at all times prohibited from religious worship. There is no recognition of women in the decalogue, but, on the contrary, they are mentioned as property in common with oxen and asses. Later on St. Paul threw the whole force of his dominant personality in favor of the subjection of woman. At this point Colonel Harvey gives up the discussion and leaves the matter unsettled. It is a pity that in one more paragraph he did not reassure us by telling us that at the Council of Macon during the sixth century the question was hotly discussed and finally decided by ballot, when a majority of *one* put woman finally in possession of a soul, which she has most actively exercised ever since; she has been saint and martyr and leader in religious reform (witness Susanna Wesley and the Quaker women of the American colonies), and is now the sustaining bulwark of modern ecclesiasticism. Undoubtedly women today have souls, if any one has. The most modern theory, however, now is that no one man or woman has a soul unless he makes it. "The soul doubtless is immortal," sang Browning, "where a soul can be discerned";

and Matthew Arnold contributes his conviction that only he who gains all his battles here "Wins, and that hardly, to immortal life."

The addresses in this volume are largely persuasive, but a few are definitely intended to be purely amusing. Among the first stand the speech on "The Power of Tolerance," "Conserve Common Sense," "Journalism and the University," "The South and the Nation," "The Problem, the Solution and the Man," "The Inherent Right"; and among the latter are the "City Titanic" and "Have Women Souls?" "Esau," the charming little sketch, written with touching tenderness and penetrating pathos, stands by itself—an obituary to a dog, written, perhaps, to please and console a child.

The most permanent contributions which this book makes to lasting interest are the autobiographical detail and Colonel Harvey's theories of journalism. By the very nature of the book many of the addresses touched evanescent subjects, yet it is surprising to see how deftly even in these general comment is introduced; how clearly a philosophy of life emerges. In the address to the Press Association of Vermont, Colonel Harvey recounts his experiences as a young journalist from the time when, at the age of ten, he increased the family's laundry necessities by investing in a two-dollar printing press, when he made his first visit to the wonderful printing establishment in Danville of N. H. Eaton, where he first watched a marvelously deft transmission of mind into matter; through his industrious production of an edition of five copies of the Peacham *Democrat;* the time when he received five cents an item for work on the *Caledonian;* his experience with the St. Johnsbury *Republican;* to the definite beginning of his career with the Springfield *Republican* at six dollars a week. The work with the St. Johnsbury *Republican,* undertaken between school terms, is too delightfully told not to repeat:

"I was fifteen years old, and the man who owned the paper lived in Bradford. He paid me three dollars a week, and could not have induced me to play or sleep if he had tried. Moreover, he did not try. He had a girl in Bradford, and for some reason, inscrutable to me at the time, he preferred her companionship to mine. . . . It was a joyous summer. I possessed absolute authority and was free from interference of any kind. My staff was so ill-fed that it had not the strength to be disloyal. I was the staff. The editor, who was also the reporter, was an enthusiastic young person, for whose demonstrated energy at that time, somewhat vitiated since, I still entertain a profound respect. I was that editor and that reporter. Type-setting machines were unknown then, but the office contained a light and airy composing-room, which was occupied by a thoroughly capable force. I was that force. It was a non-union office. I was the non-union. The press-room was the best in the building; so was the press. The power which moved the machine was more earnest than electrical, but it was sufficiently effective to meet the requirements. I was the motor."

Surely this story of a boy's beginnings, this progress by sheer energy and will power from the St. Johnsbury *Republican* to the head of the entire Harpers' establishment, publishing five periodicals and hundreds of works a year, is a typically American story. And it is as an American, as well as a journalist, that George Harvey is worth studying. Profoundly

grounded in his country's history and in that minute knowledge of Hebrew history and literature which was the foundation of American character, Colonel Harvey loves his land, its types, its problems, its difficulties, and its triumphs. He has the quality which he praises in the first essay of this book, the "power of tolerance"; and it is no section of the country that he loves and looks at, but the South and the West, and the North and the East, the farm lands of Vermont and the city of New York. Wherever he finds them he stops to admire sturdy integrity, energy, loyalty to an ideal, skill, and practical ability. If he were asked to sum these qualities up in a phrase he would probably call them "the American Spirit"; that spirit which has driven him evidently from little boyhood and still controls him in his policies in the big office in Franklin Square.

One might feel, perhaps, that he granted too much of these ideals to Lord Northcliff in his address of 1907 to the Pilgrims' Society of New York. No great editor ever apparently took a more definite crosscut to Colonel Harvey's own in his methods than the great commercializer of British journalism. Colonel Harvey has always sacrificed quick gains to good quality. Lord Northcliff sacrificed quality and stability for immediate returns. But doubtless the answer to this apparent contradiction may be given in a phrase very current in the big somber-looking building in which George Harvey is chief, to the effect that whoever is doing his work with such sincerity and ability as he can muster is sure in that place sooner or later to come to rely on that power of tolerance which is the outgrowth of a far vision, a wide experience, and a deep faith.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

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# A CHAPTER OF NATIONAL DISHONOR

BY LEANDER T. CHAMBERLAIN

In a recent public statement ex-President Roosevelt declares: "It must be a matter of pride to every honest American proud of the good name of his country, that the acquisition of the [Panama] canal in all its details was as free from scandal as the public acts of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln." "The interests of the American people demanded that I should act exactly as I did act." "Every action taken was not merely proper, but was carried out in accordance with the highest, finest, and nicest standards of public and governmental ethics." "The [1903] orders to the American naval officers were to maintain free and uninterrupted transit across the Isthmus and, with that purpose, to prevent the landing of armed forces with hostile intent at any point within fifty miles of Panama. These orders were precisely such as had been issued again and again in preceding years, 1900, 1901, and 1902, for instance." "Every man who at any stage has opposed or condemned the action actually taken in acquiring the right to dig the canal has really been the opponent of any and every effort that could ever have been made to dig the canal." "Not only was the course followed as regards Panama right in every detail and at every point, but there could have been no variation from this course except for the worse. We not only did what was technically justifiable,

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but what we did was demanded by every ethical consideration, national and international." "We did harm to no one, save as harm is done to a bandit by a policeman who deprives him of his chance for blackmail." "The United States has many honorable chapters in its history, but no more honorable chapter than that which tells of the way in which our right to dig the Panama Canal was secured, and of the manner in which the work has been carried out."

In an address previously delivered at the "Charter Day" exercises of the University of California, Mr. Roosevelt proudly declared that the securing of that "right" was his personal act. As reported, he then said: "I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional, conservative methods, I would have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to Congress, and the debate on it would have been going on yet; but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate; and while the debate goes on the canal does also."

And previous to that California address, in his famous message to Congress of January 4, 1904, President Roosevelt wrote: "When this government submitted to Colombia the Hay-Herran treaty (January 22, 1903), it was already settled that the canal should be built. The time for delay, the time for permitting any government of anti-social spirit and of imperfect development to bar the work was past." "I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new State should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence." "But like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are in my opinion clear and imperative reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety; and third, the interests of collective civilization." "The United States in intervening, with or without Colombia's consent, for protection of the transit, has disclaimed any duty to defend the Colombian Government against domestic insurrection or against the erection of an independent government on the Isthmus of Panama." "That our position as the mandatary of civilization has been by no means misconceived is shown by the promptitude with which

the Powers have, one after another, followed our lead in recognizing Panama as an independent state."

It will be more than worth while to examine in the light of ethical principle and international law, of recorded fact and diplomatic precedent, of national honor and treaty pledge, these several statements in which personal boasting, sweeping assertion, and a perfervid invoking of high morality are so interwoven. To present individual character in its due disclosure will be something; but to see to it that history is not belied, and that the requirements of justice are not travestied, will be far more.

Certain fundamental considerations must be taken into account in any worthy discussion of the conduct of governments. First, that diplomacy now stands committed to "the extending of the empire of law and the strengthening of an appreciation of public justice." Second, that "international jurisprudence is based on the moral law and embodies the consensus of civilized peoples with regard to their reciprocal rights and duties." Third, that "all nations stand on an equality of rights—the old and the new, the large and the small, monarchies and republics." It is, accordingly, in view of these considerations, that the Panama imbroglio of 1903 is to be judged.

As one of the parties to that imbroglio was the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada), there is needed a brief statement of Colombia's history. The United States of Colombia, afterward the Republic of Colombia, was fully established in 1863. Her constitution was patterned on that of the United States of America. Her area, previous to the dismemberment of 1903, was hardly less than 500,000 square miles, or more than twice the area of Spain and Portugal combined. Her population was at least 4,000,000, or approximately twice that of Norway. Bordering on both the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific, her coast line was more than a thousand miles, bountifully provided with convenient bays and excellent harbors. Extensive and varied mineral products were elements in her material wealth. But the rarest of her properties, the gem of her domain, was the province of Panama, northernmost of her possessions, at the extreme north of the southern continent. Included in that province was the Isthmus of Panama, narrowest barrier between the two oceans. As

the American continents were discovered in the search for a westward passage from Europe to Asia, so, through the centuries subsequent to that discovery, the Isthmus of Panama was regarded as the likeliest route for an inter-oceanic canal.

In 1855 an Isthmian railroad was completed along a course substantially the same as must be taken by a waterway. In 1881 a French company undertook the construction of a canal, both railroad and canal having been neutralized. The original construction company failed and a "New Panama Company" was formed to take over the existing canal rights and obligations, and to complete the undertaking. But the new company also proved unequal to the task; and as early as 1897 it was realized that no private resources would be adequate, and that no government save that of the United States was wholly competent. It was understood that the United States was willing to proceed upon certain conditions.

But meantime, even antedating the establishing of the United States of Colombia, a treaty had been entered into between the United States of America and the government of that same country, to wit: the Republic of New Granada. It was entitled "A treaty of peace, amity, navigation, and commerce." It was negotiated by the respective administrations on December 12, 1846, and was ratified and proclaimed in June, 1848. The preamble reads:

"The United States of North America and the Republic of New Granada in South America, desiring to make lasting and firm the friendship and good understanding which happily exist between both nations, have resolved to fix in a manner clear, distinct, and positive the rules which shall in the future be religiously observed between each other, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and friendship, commerce and navigation.

. . . . . .

"Article I. There shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States of America and the Republic of New Granada in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and between their citizens respectively without distinction of person or places.

. . . . . .

"Article XXXV. The United States of America and the Republic of New Granada, desiring to make as endurable as possible the relations which are to be established between the two parties by virtue of this treaty, have declared solemnly and do agree to the following points:

"First.

. . . . . .

"In order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages and for the favors they have acquired by Articles IV., V., and VI. of this treaty (articles which secure to the United States reciprocal privileges of importation and tonnage dues, and equal customs duties) the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in a future time while this treaty exists; and in consequence the United States also guarantee in the same manner the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory.

"Second. The present treaty shall remain in full force and vigor for the term of twenty years from the day of the exchange of ratifications.

. . . . . .

"Third. Notwithstanding the foregoing, if neither party notifies to the other its intention of reforming any of or all the articles of this treaty twelve months before the expiration of the twenty years specified above, the said treaty shall continue binding on both parties beyond the said twenty years, until twelve months from the time that one of the parties notifies its intention of proceeding to a reform.

. . . . . .

"Sixth. Any special or remarkable advantages that the one or the other power may enjoy from the foregoing stipulations are and ought to be always understood in virtue and in compensation of the obligations they have just contracted, and which have been specified in the first number of this article."

Such is the solemn treaty of 1846; a treaty "to make lasting and firm the friendship and good understanding which happily exist between the United States and New Granada" (now Colombia), whose stipulations were to be "*religiously observed*"; a treaty decreeing "a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship" between the two nations; a treaty in which, as compensation for specified "advantages and favors," the United States "positively and efficaciously" guaranteed to New Granada "the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus" and, in the same manner, "the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory"; a treaty terminable on twelve-months' notice. The practical interpretation and application of the treaty are plain.

Under date of February 10, 1847, only two months after the initiation of the treaty, President Polk, in a special message to the Senate, said:

"There does not appear any other effectual means of securing to all nations the advantages of this important passage, but the guarantee of great commercial powers that the Isthmus shall be neutral territory. . . .

"The guarantee of the sovereignty of New Granada over the Isthmus is a natural consequence of this neutrality. . . . New Granada would not yield this province that it might become a neutral State; and if she should, it is not sufficiently populous or wealthy to establish or maintain an independent sovereignty. But a civil government must exist there to protect the works which shall be constructed. New Granada is not a power which will excite the jealousy of any nation."

The neutrality guaranteed to New Granada undoubtedly referred to foreign nations only. It was against interference by an outside government, interference which might, among other evil results, interrupt the transit from the one to the other sea. Similarly the guarantee of New Granada's "rights of sovereignty and property" was with primary reference to an invasion by a foreign power, which might imperil the Isthmian transit. And since the paramount issue in the case of both the neutrality and sovereignty which the United States guaranteed was the safeguarding of the transit, there was a valid implication that the United States, on due occasion and especially at New Granada's request, would give aid against transit interference from any source whatever, whether foreign or domestic.

The direct authority, however, to be cited by the United States as warrant for the aid actually given to New Granada (now Colombia) in the maintenance of free Isthmian transit, as also the clear ground of the duty of the United States to render such aid, is in the fact that by the treaty of 1846 New Granada distinctly pledged herself to keep the said transit inviolate for the free use of the government and citizens of the United States.

"The government of New Granada guarantees to the government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of transportation which now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States, and for the transportation of any articles of lawful commerce belonging to the citizens of the United States."

That guarantee by New Granada, in a treaty of "peace, amity, navigation, and commerce," a treaty "to make lasting and firm the friendship and good understanding" of the two nations, established a relation between the United States and New Granada, in which mutual aid became not only rightful, but also assured. Henceforth it was to be implicitly relied upon that if the weaker nation was tem-

porarily incapable of a perfect fulfilment of its guarantee, the stronger nation would, upon request, lend assistance. In New Granada's guarantee, acknowledged by the United States as an "advantage and favor" received, is the original and sufficing basis for the right and obligation of helpful interference by the United States, in the emergency of transit interruption. A corroborative, complementary basis also exists in the avowed motive and purpose of the counter guarantee by the United States of New Granada's neutrality and sovereignty—"with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in a future time while this treaty exists." Yet the prime basis lies in New Granada's pledge which the United States gratefully accepted.

But beyond the bounds of such reciprocal right and obligation the United States might not go. In emergencies other than the disturbance of interoceanic transit, or peril to the persons and possessions of Americans, there might be no intervention in the affairs of New Granada (now Colombia). By the law of nations and the terms of the treaty itself, Colombia as the successor of New Granada was the sovereign peer of the United States. Save for the main purpose of protecting free transit and thus safeguarding her own interests in such transit, the United States might no more land her forces on Colombia's soil, or even threaten such landing, than she might land her forces, or threaten to land them, on the soil of Russia or Japan.

Nor is even this the full measure of the restraint which the Executive of the United States was bound to recognize and respect. It has been conceded that the guaranteed neutrality and sovereignty had reference to foreign powers. But it is to be borne in mind that in guaranteeing Colombia's neutrality and sovereignty as against foreign powers, the United States distinctly decreed and surpassingly emphasized her own exclusion from acts of invasion. She determinately erected an impassable barrier against her own interference with Colombia's independent authority. And this, in the simple fact that she herself was a "foreign nation"! The treaty inhibition affected her, first of all. She virtually named herself in the guarantee; and the guarantor, being thus included in the inhibition, was, beyond all others, forbidden to violate its terms. Otherwise it were as if the guardian of a dependent child should record his

oath and give his bond to defend his charge against all unlawful acts, and then should himself expropriate his ward's possessions and assume dictatorial control. It were as if an officer of the law sworn to uphold the citizen's rights, and to lay violent hands on no man save by statutory warrant and command, should wantonly assail the helpless and ruthlessly strike down the unoffending. Being a nation foreign to Colombia, the United States, in her "positive and efficacious" guarantee, freely placed herself under supreme restraint.

With the civil wars of Colombia the United States had no concern, save as they harmfully affected the persons or possessions of American citizens, or interrupted or endangered Isthmian transit and traffic. Yet on November 6, 1903, Colombia was informed that

> "The President holds that he is bound to see that the peaceable traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars."

The official records are open. Those records will either uphold the Presidential assertion or they will prove it to be wild and inexcusable. Let it be seen to what extent from the establishing of the United States of Colombia in 1863 to the Panama imbroglio of 1903, Isthmian transit was so disturbed that the interference of the United States was required!

In March, 1865, our Panama consul was apprehensive of harm from local lawlessness, and a few marines guarded the consul and other citizens for thirteen hours. In May, 1873, a small force of marines and sailors protected the persons and property of American citizens in Panama for fifteen days. In September of the same year, a similar service was rendered for sixteen days. In January, 1885, twelve marines guarded property in Colon for thirteen and one-half hours. Later in the same year, Isthmian transit was seriously interrupted and forces were landed, for fifty-six days. Toward the close of 1901, protection of transit was required for fourteen days. In the autumn of 1902 transit was guarded for sixty-two days.

Thus during full forty years, United States forces were employed in only seven instances and for a total periol of 164 days. In each case the forces were employed with Colombia's approval. In no case was there fighting, the

mere precautionary measures being sufficient. In no case did the force exceed 824 men. Moreover, in four out of the seven instances there was no "interruption of transit," only an apprehension of peril to persons and property. In fine, Isthmian transit was interrupted in only three instances in the forty years of Colombia's history, and for only 132 days!

Yet the President officially represented that Isthmian transit had been disturbed almost incessantly for many years; that interruption was the chronic condition. A constant disturbing cause bringing about a virtually constant disturbance! In the comparison, the increase of Falstaff's men in buckram—"eleven grown out of two"—was accuracy itself: three reduplicated into an implied constant succession! What of the author of such assertions? It would appear that he then took for his motto, Throw mud vigorously, some of it will stick—"*Asperge fortiter, aliquid adhærebit.*" That was on November 6, 1903.

Meantime, on June 25, 1902, the President gave his approval to the Act commonly called the "Spooner Act," looking toward the construction of an Isthmian canal. That act embodied the decision of the United States in favor of the Panama route. It authorized the President to acquire, if possible, at a cost not to exceed a certain sum, "the rights, privileges, franchises, concessions," and all other assets of the "New Panama Company"; and to obtain from Colombia on such terms as he considered to be fair, perpetual control (not cession) for canal purposes of a strip of land from ocean to ocean not less than six miles wide, such control to include the emergent defense of the canal, the instituting of needful legal tribunals, and the making and enforcing of the requisite police and sanitary regulations. The act also provided that if, from the Canal Company and the Colombian Government, the President was unable to obtain satisfactory terms within a reasonable time, the route known as the "Nicaragua Route" should be adopted.

After the passage of the "Spooner Act," the Colombian Administration—not Colombia *in propria persona,* but only the Colombian Administration—initiated negotiations in favor and furtherance of the Panama route. Those negotiations led, on January 22, 1903, to the well-known "Hay-Herran Convention." In that convention Colombia, was to

give to the United States jurisdiction over the desired strip of land, and to concede the right to construct and operate a canal for the period of one hundred years, renewable at the option of the United States for periods of a similar duration. The convention reaffirmed Article XXXV of the treaty of 1846, and explicitly provided that only in exceptional circumstances, on account of unforeseen or imminent danger to the canal, railways, or other works, or to the lives and property of the persons engaged upon them, should the United States employ its armed forces, without previously obtaining the consent of Colombia; and that as soon as sufficient Colombian forces should arrive, those of the United States should be withdrawn. But the Hay-Herran convention being simply an agreement between the respective administrations, was necessarily dependent for its vital force upon its ratification by the respective Senates. It was expressly stipulated that

"The convention, when signed by the contracting parties, shall be ratified in conformity with the laws of the respective countries."

The Washington Administration has urged that any two governments, in initiating a treaty, "bind themselves, pending its ratification, not only not to oppose its consummation, but also to do nothing in contravention of its terms." That is true of governments in the limited sense of the Executive, the Administration, but it does not apply to the attitude and act of a nation's congress; and in the final event the ratifying power is to proceed in accordance with its own reasoning and conviction, no matter what administrations may have stipulated or done. Furthermore, as the Canal Company could, in no case, transfer its rights and possessions, without the consent of Colombia, the first article of the Hay-Herran convention provides:

"The government of Colombia authorizes the New Panama Canal Company to sell and transfer to the United States its rights, privileges, properties, and concessions, as well as the Panama Railroad and all the shares or parts of the shares of that company."

Of course, that and the other provisions of the administrational agreement were to come before the Colombian Senate for consideration; and that Senate, like any other independent legislature, was bound to take full cognizance of the matter, and freely discuss all offered amendments. Yet

even before the Colombian Senate convened, the American minister to Colombia, on April 24, 1903, addressed the following note to the Colombian Minister of Foreign Relations:

"I am directed to inform your Excellency, if the point should be raised, that everything relative to this matter is included in the convention recently signed between Colombia and the United States, and that, furthermore, any modification would be violative of the 'Spooner Act' and therefore inadmissible."

Again, and still in advance of the session of the Colombian Senate, the Minister of Foreign Relations was advised that

"If Colombia should now reject the treaty or unduly delay its ratification, the friendly feeling between the two countries would be so seriously compromised that action might be taken by the Congress next winter which every friend of Colombia would regret."

And after the Colombian Senate was in session, on August 5, 1903, further warning was sent through the Colombian Minister of Foreign Relations, to the effect that apparently the force of the notes of April 24th and June 13th had not been duly appreciated as "the final expression of the opinion or intentions" of the Washington Government. The warning proceeded:

"If Colombia desires to maintain the friendly relations which at present exist between the two countries, and at the same time to secure for herself the extraordinary advantages that are to be produced for her, . . . the present treaty will have to be ratified exactly in its present form, without amendment whatsoever."

Yet the Hay-Herran instrument itself provided that "The convention, when signed by the contracting parties, shall be ratified in conformity with the laws of the respective countries." Assuredly! Else the mere Executive, the mere Administration, would have full and final authority in matters involving the nation's vital interests—to a fatal usurpation of the power of the Congress. The Senate of the United States has again and again amended, and rejected, treaties which had been duly negotiated by the Administration. Still, the Washington Administration peremptorily forbade Colombia's Senate either to amend or reject!

Was this attempted coercion "not only technically justifiable, but demanded by every ethical consideration national and international"? Was it "as free from scandal as the public acts of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln"? In utmost soberness of inquiry, did any civilized repre-

sentative of superior power ever indulge in browbeating so pitiable and so pitiless? Can such cowardly disrespect be matched in the annals of treaty-making nations? And that, on the part of the Executive of a great republic which professed to do justice and to love mercy, and against a nation helpless, yet standing in a relation of acknowledged equality of sovereignty and independence! A nation at whose hands we had confessedly received important "advantages and favors"! A nation to which we were bound by an inviolable treaty of "peace and amity," of "friendship and good understanding," a treaty whose stipulations were to be "religiously observed"! That nation coolly informed that if, in the exercise of her indisputable prerogative, she followed what might be her patriotic judgment, she should suffer a retribution whereat the ears of them that heard should tingle!

What must be the character and culture of the President who proudly affirms that such was his highest conception of what was "demanded by every ethical consideration," and should be "a matter of pride to every honest American"?

After long and vehement debate, and postponement to an extra session, the American Senate, on March 17, 1903, ratified the treaty. After long and earnest debate, the Colombian Senate, on August 12, 1903, despite the President's unveiled threat, refused ratification, and adjourned on October 31st.

It is to be distinctly observed at this point that, while there was no stipulation for the absolute cession to the United States of the Canal Zone, there was to be perpetual occupancy and jurisdiction—periods of one hundred years, with the option of renewal by the United States, but no option of rejection by Colombia—the construction of vast and permanent works, the right to safeguard those works, along with police and sanitary control. The constitutional authorities in the Colombian Senate held that such a grant, although less than absolute cession, was contrary to the nation's organic law. They regarded it as, so far forth, a surrender of national sovereignty, notwithstanding the statement that "the United States freely acknowledges and recognizes this sovereignty [of Colombia] and disavows any intention to impair it in any way whatever." Would the constitutional authorities in the Senate of the United States be likely to hold otherwise in case it was proposed to grant

to a foreign power a similarly endless occupancy and jurisdiction of a part of our national domain? Would they admit that their discussion of that issue might fairly be regarded as factious and deceitful? Yet, as has been pointed out, it was proposed in the deliberations of the Colombian Senate so to amend the constitution that the apprehended legal objection should be removed!

As for the considerations which prompted the adverse action of the Colombian Senate, it may be said that in any case they were properly beyond our official animadversion or even official discussion. High-minded diplomacy usually holds in courteous respect the motives which may have inspired the legislative act of a sovereign nation. Yet in addressing Colombia our Administration ascribed to her the basest of motives. The mere opinion of our minister to Colombia was cited as showing that the Senate's discussions were prolonged, and the ratification finally rejected, with the sordid view of holding up the construction of an Isthmian waterway, and thus being the better able to exact terms from the United States. Further, what was only a report of the Colombian Senate's "Committee on the Panama Canal" was officially quoted as proof of that accusatory opinion. The following statement was published in a rejoinder to Colombia's Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington:

"By a report of the majority of the Panama Canal Committee, read in the Colombian Senate on the 14th of October last, it was recommended that a bill which had been introduced to authorize the government to enter upon new negotiations should be indefinitely postponed. The reason for this recommendation is disclosed in the same report. . . . By a treaty concluded April 4, 1893, the original concession to the Panama Canal Company was extended until December 31, 1904. The report [of the Colombian Senate's Committee] affirms that the aspect of the question would be entirely changed in consequence of the fact that when a year later the Colombian Congress should meet in ordinary session the extension of 1893 would have expired and every concession with it. In that case . . . the Republic would become the possessor or owner, without any need of a previous judicial decision and without any indemnity, of the canal itself and of the adjuncts which belong to it; and would not only be able to contract without any impediments, but would be in more clear, more definite, and more advantageous possession both legally and materially."

The Administration's official statement continues:

"This programme, if not expressly, was at least tacitly adopted by the Colombian Congress. . . . It was a scheme to which this government could not possibly become a party."

And that, although the Colombian Senate was a national legislature and had acted within its sovereign rights.

Is it conceivable that the President would have cast such innuendoes and accusations in the face of Great Britain or Germany or France? Would he have tolerated such open affront on the part of any other nation? To ask the questions is to answer them. The physical weakness of Colombia should have been her triple protection. Toward helplessness power should have felt itself bound by a chivalrous *noblesse oblige*. It is safe to say that never in the previous history of civilized diplomacy was there such a public, official characterization by one nation of another nation's motives for legislative action. Therein the President's conduct was audaciously wrong.

At this point the President vainly seeks his vindication by a reference to practical results. He says:

"Be it remembered that unless I had acted exactly as I did act, there would now be no Panama Canal. . . . Every man who at any stage has opposed or condemned the action actually taken in acquiring the right to dig the canal has really been the opponent of any and every effort that could ever have been made to dig the canal."

Here is a veritable "Daniel come to judgment"! The great Burke professed his inability to draw a valid indictment against the people of a whole nation; but this self-eulogizer finds no difficulty in denouncing the innumerable critics of his Panama action under the one base category of those wishing to deprive the world forever of a waterway from the one to the other sea! No matter how many the dissidents, nor how worthy their reputation and achievements, nor how earnestly explicit their declaration that they yielded to none in their desire for interoceanic navigation, they are charged with hostility to any Panama Canal whatever!

How insensate the President's charge! As if those who were confident that Colombia would appreciate decent treatment, and would agree to amended but still reasonable terms, were thus confident without a vestige of reason! He himself had already declared:

"Colombia, after having rejected the treaty in spite of our protests and warning when it was in her power to accept it, has since shown the utmost eagerness to accept the same treaty if only the *status quo* could be restored."

He had furthermore, and for his own purposes, quoted a

Colombian high official as affirming, on November 6, 1903—the very day on which the Panama insurgents were recognized as having established a new nation—in a note to the American minister at Bogota, that on certain conditions

"The Colombian government will declare martial law and, by virtue of vested constitutional authority when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed; or, if the government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of Congress with new and friendly members next May, to approve the treaty."

The American minister at Bogota adds, "There is a great reaction in favor of the treaty." On January 6, 1904, Colombia's Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington officially declared:

"The necessity of the canal is so well recognized in Colombia that it was proposed in the discussion in the Senate to amend the constitution in order to remove [what Colombia regarded as] the constitutional difficulties; and the Minister of Foreign Relations, after the sessions of Congress were closed, directed the chargé d'affaires to advise the Washington government that the government of Colombia was ready to enter into renewed negotiations for a canal convention."

He further averred that the fact of the rejection of the Hay-Herran convention

"does not mean that we have been opposed, nor that we are opposed, to the realization of the greatest undertaking of the kind which the past and future centuries have seen or will see. . . . I have been directed to declare to your government that Colombia, earnestly wishing that the work of the canal be carried into effect, not only because it suits her interests, but also that of the commerce of the world, is disposed to enter into arrangements that would secure for the United States the execution and ownership of the said work. . . . The charge made against the government of Colombia that it proposes to cancel the concession of the French Company vanishes as soon as it is known that under the latest concession granted by Colombia the said concession would not lapse until the year 1910.

Who can doubt that if the President had curbed his angry impatience, and withheld his irritating, insolent threats, Colombia's Senate would have acceded to terms rightly advantageous to both countries? Who disbelieves that if, as was our acknowledged, perfect right, we had invoked the third "point" of Article XXXV of the treaty of 1846—to wit,

"The said treaty shall be binding on both parties until twelve months from the time that one of the parties notifies its intention of proceeding to a reform"—

Colombia would have been duly impressed with the gravity of her situation, and have earnestly striven to come to terms with her indispensable ally? Accordingly, it is pure hardihood for the President to affirm, "Unless I had acted exactly as I did act, there would now be no canal." It is simple slander, silly slander, when he says, "Every man who at any stage has opposed or condemned the action actually taken in acquiring the right to dig the canal has really been the opponent of any and every effort that could ever have been made to dig the canal." His critics asked that the right to dig the canal might be acquired by lawful means. Being enthusiastically in favor of an interoceanic waterway, they only demanded that "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," a substantial regard for international law and treaty obligations, should guide the acts of the Washington Administration. It certainly is not too much to suppose that if their protests had been heeded, we should now have a canal whose title would be wholly free from stain, and whose advantages might be enjoyed with complete self-respect.

In this chapter of national dishonor there are still other transactions to be considered.

The President, according to his published admission, was aware as early as August, 1903, that the secession of the Province of Panama was secretly fomented. He has openly declared that, toward the end of October, the attempt "appeared to be an imminent probability." In his message to Congress, of January 4, 1904, he said:

> "In view of these facts I directed the Navy Department to issue instructions such as would insure our having ships within easy reach of the Isthmus, in the event of need arising. . . . On November 2d the following instructions were sent to the commanders of the *Boston, Nashville,* and *Dixie:* 'Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. . . . Prevent landing of any armed force, either government or insurgent, within fifty miles of Panama.'"

That is, in time of profound peace between Colombia and the United States; while the treaty of "peace and amity," of "friendship and good understanding," was in undisturbed force; while it was still written, "There shall be a perfect, firm, and inviolable peace and sincere friendship"; while the neutrality and sovereignty of Colombia were solemnly and gratefully guaranteed by the United States as

against interference by foreign powers, and therefore against interference by the United States herself; while Isthmian transit was absolutely free from interruption; while there was no slightest overt act on the part of the would-be seceders; and while Colombia's acquiescence had not been so much as requested, Colombia was forcefully forbidden to land her own troops within fifty miles of the city of Panama, where, if anywhere, the secession would be attempted! In other words, the success of the revolt, whenever it might occur, was resistlessly decreed. When the President of the United States issued the "fifty-mile order" of November 2, 1903, he virtually declared war against the very nation of which the United States was the sworn ally, and to which the United States was united by obligations admittedly paramount. He bound Colombia hand and foot and delivered her over to her domestic foes.

Yet the President, in his floundering attempts at self-defence, declares that

> "These orders were precisely such as had been issued again and again in preceding years—1900, 1901, and 1902, for instance."

But no identity, nor even resemblance, appears when the orders of those preceding years are brought into comparison. Here is the record. On July 25, 1900, our consul at Panama was thus instructed:

> "You are directed to protest against any act of hostility which may involve or imperil the safe and peaceful transit of persons or property across the Isthmus of Panama. The bombardment of Panama would have this effect, and the United States must insist upon the neutrality of the Isthmus as guaranteed by the treaty."

Here was simply a protest in advance of possible harm. It was merely a warning of Colombia that she would pursue a certain course upon her own responsibility, and that the United States would interfere if free transit was interrupted. On November 20, 1901, this telegram was sent to our Panama consul:

> "Notify all parties molesting or interfering with free transit across the Isthmus that such interference must cease, and that the United States will prevent the interruption of traffic upon the railroad. Consult with captain of the *Iowa,* who will be instructed to land marines if necessary for the protection of the railroad in accordance with the treaty rights and obligations of the United States."

That order went no further than to demand that interruption of transit should cease, and to provide means, in case

of necessity, for enforcing the demand. On September 12, 1902, the commander of the *Ranger*, then at Panama, was notified:

> "The United States guarantees perfect neutrality of Isthmus, and that a free transit from sea to sea be not interrupted or embarrassed. . . . Any transportation of troops which might contravene these provisions of treaty should not be sanctioned by you, nor should use of road be permitted which might convert the line of transit into theater of hostility."

Here, again, was a merely admonitory order sent to forestall any use of the transit line which would destroy its legitimate function by making it, unnecessarily, the scene of armed conflict.

Thus the official record shows that, so far from countenancing the "fifty-mile order," the asserted precedents clearly condemned it. In direct refutation of the President's declaration is the fact that the "previous orders" were: first, in accordance with Colombia's understanding and wish; second, that they sought, in authorized ways, to safeguard Isthmian transit from critically impending or actual interruption; third, that they constituted no assault upon either the supreme jurisdiction or the supremely free action of Colombia. The "fifty-mile order" grossly offended in all these respects. It was known to be infinitely adhorrent to Colombia as a sovereign nation; it had prime reference to an apprehended political insurrection against Colombia's territorial integrity and national control, with only consequential reference to a possible transit interruption; it laid essentially violent hands on Colombia's sovereignty; it forcibly prevented Colombia from taking precautionary measures; it was a virtual declaration of war. Colombia was suddenly, peremptorily restrained from the free disposition of her own troops on her own soil. The venerable treaty whose stipulations were to be "*religiously observed*" was, so far forth, flung aside as vacuous and its covenants trampled in the dust!

The President's search for justifying precedents was foredoomed to failure. There was a vast improbability that the history of the United States would furnish any analogy of such despotism. The President should have known beforehand—doubtless he did know—that the outrage was wholly novel, conspicuous in its infamous isolation. An unoffending ally fettered and gyved, in forecast of her instinctive movement for self-preservation! The Presi-

dent's act was truly monumental. It was altogether and characteristically his own.

Imagine that when the Confederate forces threatened Washington, a nation whose strength outmeasured ours as ours outmeasured Colombia's had forbidden our Government to send troops within fifty miles of the endangered capital. Imagine that the dictating nation was bound to us by treaty pledges of "inviolable peace and sincere friendship." Imagine that our Government had guaranteed that nation, to the effect that its legation in Washington should not be imperiled. Yet that when we thought to safeguard the capital from secession's deadly attack — all legations being then unmolested, and it being by no means sure that, even if there was armed conflict, any legation would be injured—our overawing ally forcibly prevented our proposed defensive action, thus handing us over to our assailants; making our disruption a certainty foregone and absolute! What, in that case, would have been our feeling and judgment? What would have been the verdict of the civilized world? Would it have been conceded by us, or by anybody, that the interdict was other than atrocious? On the very face of it, and in its very nature, the peremptory ban would appear as unspeakably abusive.

But the President tells us that he then knew, and now knows, no standard of public and governmental ethics "higher, or finer, or nicer"! Perhaps he is entitled to the plea.

The "fifty-mile order," however, was destined to be outdone. On the succeeding day, November 3, 1903, the following order was sent to the commander of the *Nashville* at Colon:

> "In the interests of peace make every effort to prevent government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama. The transit of the Isthmus must be kept open and order maintained."

The President's repressive determination was not to be balked. As yet, our Panama consul had forwarded only the news of what he called an "uprising" in that one city! Yet the President issued an order preventing Colombia from moving her own troops, *viâ* her own railway, from her own Colon to her own Panama! So far as concerned their freedom to go to the scene of danger, Colombia's troops were reconcentradoed and manacled! Let it still be borne

in mind that there was no interruption of transit by either loyalist or insurgent. Let it be taken into account that the President himself, under the pretense of maintaining peace and order when peace and order perfectly prevailed, violently interrupted free transit, absolutely closing it to the forces of sovereign Colombia, a treaty-bound ally of the United States!

In self-exculpation, the President has declared that

> "The theory that the treaty obliged the government of the United States to protect Colombia against domestic insurrection or its consequences finds no support in the record, and is in its nature inadmissible."

Well said! But, conversely, the treaty did obligate the Government of the United States not to take sides against Colombia in any conflict she might have with the agents of domestic insurrection. In both its letter and spirit the treaty did bind the President of the United States not to predoom an ally to defeat in the face of attempted dismemberment. The treaty did make it inevitable that such crushing hostility should forever appear as gratuitous perfidy.

What the Washington Government should have done, in place of the cruel "fifty-mile order" and the still more cruel repression of the following day, was to respect Colombia's right to a perfectly free moving of her troops, whether overland or by sea, or by her Isthmian railway; at the same time notifying Colombia that any interruption by her of Isthmian transit, if not absolutely necessary to her self-protection, would be prevented by American forces. But the President, in a deliberate, calculating forecast of the Panama insurrection, joined forces with the seceders and conquered Colombia in the interest of secession.

The true quality of the President's procedure will be the more clearly perceived through a moment's consideration of what, in such a crisis, Colombia herself might rightfully have done. Colombia had the indisputable right to defend herself against disruption. In case of actual civil war or its perceived imminence, especially civil war involving territorial integrity, any nation may take such measures, within the recognized rules of warfare, as that nation may deem needful. The right of self-preservation is elemental. It inheres not only in national sovereignty, but also in national existence. Not even treaty stipulations can be set up in contravention of it. Accordingly, Colombia, if threatened

by secession, might herself, were it in the imperative interests of self-preservation, close Isthmian transit to all except her own troops. Or she might close it to all except herself and the United States. Or she might impose special conditions to which everybody using the transit must temporarily conform. In other phrase, Colombia if vitally assailed might take supreme control of all the resources within her domain. Her inherent sovereignty, whether guaranteed or not, would give her a right paramount to the rights of even her allies. In fine, in the emergency of self-preservation the control of Isthmian transit was completely Colombia's. In that case, the President of the United States was authorized to do no more than see to it that Colombia's interruption, or closure, of transit was neither wantonly imposed nor unreasonably prolonged. Only on proof of such wantonness or unreasonableness would there be just cause of offense. To hold otherwise would be to hold that, in our own Civil War, foreign nations might justly, complain because our blockade of an insurgent coast rendered nugatory, for the time being, their long-standing right to navigate our ports and rivers.

Let, then, the "fifty-mile order" of November 2, 1903, and the still severer interdict of the following day be judged in the light of those "first principles."

No doubt, upon the bombardment of Panama and the threatened violence to Americans in Colon, United States troops were rightly landed to protect American citizens and their possessions. Such precautions are sanctioned by humane considerations and by universal precedent concerning a government's duty to protect its unoffending people. But that has nothing whatever to do with the President's forbidding Colombia so much as to attempt her self-defense. For the "fifty-mile order," and for the preventing of Colombia from moving her troops which were already within the fifty-mile limit, modern history offers no counterpart and international law no sanction. It was sheer usurpation! Yet the author of that sheer usurpation emphatically avers that so far as his acquaintance with diplomacy and international law extends, or his education in the first principles of national sovereignty has advanced, his course was superlatively right. His words are:

"Not only was the course followed as regards Panama right in every detail, but there could have been no variation from that course except

for the worse. We not only did what was technically justifiable, but we did what was demanded by every ethical consideration, national and international."

He vehemently declares that he did as well as he knew how! To believe it would be a relief.

In the final act of the drama, events move with accelerated swiftness. As we have seen, on November 2, 1903, in time of profound peace between Colombia and the United States, while there was no slightest interruption of transit, the President's amazing "fifty-mile order" was issued. On the evening of November 3, at six o'clock, the *émeute* which the President had anticipated took place in the city of Panama, the chief promoters being "the fire department." The less than two hundred Government soldiers were "persuaded" to join the movement. The few Government officials were taken prisoners. "Four hundred Colombian soldiers landed at Colon." This was received in Washington at 9.50 P.M. of November 3d. One hour and twenty-eight minutes later—*viz.*, at 11.18—word was returned directing the commander of the *Nashville* to "make every effort to prevent Government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama." That is, in eighty-eight minutes from receipt of notice of an "uprising"—it was so named in the despatch—in the one city of Panama, the President transcended his "fifty-mile order" of the previous day, and embargoed Colombia's troops that were already within the "fifty-mile" limit. The next day, November 4th, at 9.50 in the morning came the consular assurance, "The troops will not be moved. . . . [Colombian] gunboat *Bogota* threatens to bombard city to-day"! At two minutes past noon of that same November 4th, a telegram was sent directing that the *Bogota* cease the "wanton shelling of Panama." It was significantly added, "We shall have a naval force at Panama in two days." At 7.10 P.M. of that same November 4th, a telegram from the Panama consul announced that a proclamation of independence had been issued by the insurgents, and that three persons had been deputed to draw up a form of government. During the following day, November 5th, the interchange of telegrams respecting the details of the situation was frequent and urgent. On November 6th, at 12.51, the following Government message was sent to our Panama consul:

"The people of Panama have by an apparently unanimous movement

dissolved their connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence. When you are satisfied that a *de facto* government, republican in form and without substantial opposition from its own people, has been established in the State of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory."

A mere consul authorized to acknowledge a new nation, as soon as he thinks that a republican form of government has been put in operation! And then, "to make assurance doubly sure," one hour and fifty-four minutes later, at 2.45 P.M., for the consul's guidance "in the execution of the instructions" just cabled to him, the transmission of a copy of a telegram already sent to the United States minister at Bogota:

"The people of Panama . . . having adopted a government of their own, republican in form, with which the government of the United States of America has entered into relations, the President of the United States . . . most earnestly commends to the governments of Colombia and Panama the peaceful and equitable settlement of all questions at issue between them. He holds that he is bound not only by treaty obligations, but by the interests of civilization, to see that the peaceable traffic of the world across the Isthmus of Panama shall not longer be disturbed by a constant succession of unnecessary and wasteful civil wars."

[We have already traced the record: interruption from any and all causes, in the forty years of Colombian history, of only one hundred and sixty-four days.] Had the President wholly forgotten his Latin: *Mendacem memorem esse oportet?*

Thus at 12.51, midday, November 6, 1903, the President recognized the new nation, the Republic of Panama! From the November 2d of the "fifty-mile order," four days! From the 7.10 P.M. of November 4th, when announcement came that a proclamation of independence had been issued by the insurgents, one day, seventeen hours, and forty-one minutes!

Beyond peradventure, civilized diplomacy affords no analogy of that recognition of the Republic of Panama. Under a treaty specifically guaranteeing, as against all foreign nations, Colombia's "rights of sovereignty and property" over the identical territory in question, and also that territory's efficacious "neutrality," a treaty whose stipulations were to be "religiously observed," the President of the guaranteeing nation, itself unavoidably included in the treaty's provisions, forcibly disabled Colombia from taking the slightest precautionary measure against seces-

sion; continued and expanded his hostility; and then, *in one day, seventeen hours, and forty-one minutes* from the issuance in the one city of Panama of an insurgent proclamation of independence, recognized a new sovereignty! A popular uprising, at a single point, of less than one-tenth of the population of the province of Panama; no revolutionary committee representing the other five districts of the province; no formulated statement of grievances; no congress, no army, no navy, no courts of justice, no financial stability, evidently unable to withstand the forces of the parent country; yet an admission to the great sisterhood of nations! Admitted in less time than measures two revolutions of the earth on its axis! It is ample cause for thankfulness that the annals of civilization are sullied by no sustaining precedent.

In a note of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, to Mr. Adams, American minister at the Court of St. James, in 1861, he said:

"We freely admit that a nation may, and even ought to, recognize a new State which has absolutely and beyond question effected its independence and permanently established its sovereignty; and that a recognition in such case affords no just cause of offense to the government of the country from which the new State has detached itself. On the other hand, we insist that a nation that recognizes a revolutionary State *with a view to aid its effecting its sovereignty and independence* commits a great wrong against the nation whose integrity is thus invaded, and makes itself responsible for a just and ample redress. . . . To recognize the independence of a new State, and so favor, possibly determine, its admission into the family of nations, is the highest possible exercise of sovereign power, because it affects in any case the welfare of two nations and often the peace of the world. In the European system this power is now seldom attempted to be exercised without invoking a consultation or congress of nations. That system has not been extended to this continent. But there is even a greater necessity for prudence in such cases in regard to American States than in regard to the nations of Europe. . . . Seen in the light of this principle, the several nations of the earth constitute one great federal republic."

There spoke the informed conviction of a real statesman, and therein appears the immemorial practice of honorable governments.

Suppose that when we were at the threshold of our last domestic struggle, as soon as those disaffected had declared their scheme, Great Britain had decided that the dismembering purpose was already accomplished; and, when the second twenty-four hours was scarce more than half over,

had accorded the revolted States the full prerogatives of independent sovereignty! Our patriotic indignation would have known no bounds. Like jealous love, it could not have been quenched by many waters nor drowned by floods. The flame of our anger would have "burned to the lowest hell." Life, fortune, sacred honor would have been freely cast into the sacrificial balance. Amazed resentment, "hors'd upon the sightless couriers of the air, would have blown the horrid deed in every eye!"

The President naïvely refers to Panama's secession as but a "resuming of her independence." Such is the phrase in his telegram of recognition. In his message to Congress, of January 4, 1904, he says:

"A third possibility was that the people of the Isthmus who had formerly constituted an independent State, and who recently were united to Colombia only by a loose tie of federal relationship, might take the protection of their own vital interests into their own hands, reassert their former rights, and declare their independence on just grounds."

But in no proper sense of the term was Panama ever an "independent State"; nor was it by a "recent and loose tie of federal relationship" that Panama was united to Colombia. In 1840 the provinces of Panama and Veragua seceded from New Granada; but so brief and futile was the separation that history simply records the departure and return. In 1857 Panama, availing herself of a new provision of the central Constitution, assumed such quasi-independence as was consistent with a federal connection with the central Government—precisely that and no whit more! Even that quasi-independence under a federal relationship lasted only four years. In 1863 Colombia became successor to New Granada, with Panama as an integral part of the new Government. From 1886 to 1903, the province of Panama was as absolutely identified with Colombia as Massachusetts with the United States. Not at all the President's loose tie of federal relationship of comparatively recent origin, but a scarcely interrupted integral relationship of almost half a century, and a final absolute identity of nearly a score of years!

To return, the President, says:

"I have not denied, nor do I wish to deny, either the validity or the propriety of the general rule that a new State should not be recognized as independent till it has shown its ability to maintain its independence.

. . . But, like the principle from which it is deduced, the rule is subject to exceptions; and there are, in my opinion, clear and important reasons why a departure from it was justified and even required in the present instance. These reasons embrace, first, our treaty rights; second, our national interests and safety; and, third, the interests of collective civilization."

Could there be a more decisive disclosure of the President's personality and development than his invocation of "exceptions to a principle"? Could there be a more significant revelation of his attainments in moral science? It had been taken for granted that a "principle," whether a law of nature or a standard of conduct, was fundamental, having continuous and uniform force, and that exceptions could exist in only the applications of the principle. For instance, veracity as a principle is "good faith between those within the bonds of good faith." In the relations of speech to fact there are said to be permissible variations. It is affirmed that speech need not conform to reality when one is conversing with the wholly insane or with those whose manifestly malign intent puts them beyond the pale of mutual obligation. Would the author of the Panama policy claim for himself not only exceptions in the practical modes of veracious speech, but also exceptions in the rule itself? In view of the President's acts and utterances as related to the Panama imbroglio of 1903, one might be at least half pardoned for so thinking. The clear terms, the indubitable intent, the time-honored interpretation of the treaty of 1846 he haughtily set aside, substituting therefor his egotistic *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*—"I took the Canal Zone"!

But there is a second ardent appeal, and this time to our own "national interests and safety." That also is revelatory of the appellant. Was it perceived by others than the President, at 12.51 midday of November 6, 1903, that our national welfare, even to the verge of national peril, was hinged on the immediate construction of an Isthmian canal? According to the statistics of population and *pro rata* wealth, of production and trade, of education and religion, we were fairly prosperous and making commendable progress. We were at peace with all nations. Domestic insurrection was not apprehended. It was thought by some that we were already in need of the ancient admonition, "The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, O thou that dwellest

in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill." During the years in which the successful digging of the canal has been going on, has it been generally felt that we were trembling in the world-power balance, timidly awaiting deliverance? When the canal is finally opened, will our national well-being be suddenly and completely assured? Yet the self-hypnotized Executive who says, "I took the Canal Zone," "I am interested in the canal because I started it," asks us to condone his betrayal of a trustful ally, on the patriotic ground that our own national safety was at stake, and that there was no warrant for another instant's delay! National well-being is not thus secured. He who "has established his throne in the heavens and whose kingdom ruleth over all" acquits none who work iniquity and are unrepentant. The Persians have the proverb, "When even one wronged child cries in the dark, the throne of God rocks from side to side."

It remains that we consider the President's excuse of "a mandate of collective civilization." Herein the "mandatary" of progressive humanity rises far above mere patriotic zeal! He sees, as through the mists of apocalyptic vision, an indeterminate and indeterminable something which he calls "collective civilization." He appears to have been in such trance as befell the man of the land of Uz.

> "Now a thing was secretly brought to me,
> And mine ear received a whisper thereof;
> Then a spirit passed before my face;
> It stood still, but I could not discern
> The appearance thereof."

It will ever be regretted that the user of the phrase "collective civilization" did not attempt to define it. Is it possible that he adumbrated the slow accretion of human betterments through political and social organization; the fair evolutions of art and literature; the consummate achievements of liberty under law; the infinitely precious fruitage of religious aspiration? May he have dimly seen the endless procession of those who had gone by the crimson path of martyrdom to receive earth's undying gratitude and heaven's unending acclaim? May he, by proleptic realization, have felt what Wordsworth calls "incommunicable ecstasies" as he dreamed of the progress yet to be made, the felicities yet to be won? Let us endeavor thus to sup-

pose. But even so, how could he think that from such high source there had come to him alone the mandate which conferred autocratic power? In what hour of rapt meditation did he hear the voice which bade him move unhesitatingly, unshrinkingly, to the goal of his desire? In connection with what celestial sign did he read the words *In hoc signo vinces?* "Collective civilization," whatever it may mean, if issuing any kind of mandates, issues mandates utterly at variance with the self-will which "took" the Canal Zone while treaties gasped, and diplomacy stood bewildered, and international jurisprudence averted her astonished sight. It were a moral fatuity, on the very face of it, to imagine that the greatest good of the greatest number could possibly be subserved by flouting good faith and reckoning Providence as a co-conspirator against essential justice. Yet the self-appointed protagonist of imperial efficiency still declares,

> "We did harm to no one, save as harm is done to a bandit by a policeman who deprives him of his chance for blackmail."

The verdict of history reads, "The policeman himself turned bandit. In the name of equity and under the guise of friendship, he smote the innocent and plundered the defenseless!"

He who hurried with "Tarquin's ravishing strides" to make irrevocable Colombia's dismemberment still argues that his "position as the mandatary of civilization" was fully recognized by the powers, as witness "the promptitude with which, one after another," they followed his lead "in recognizing Panama as an independent State." Therein he again takes to himself the sole responsibility; and therein he is in perfect accord with the facts. He adopted the child before it was born. He midwifed its birth. He certified, for what the certificate was worth, that the child was not a bastard. He safeguarded its puny, puling infancy. He lifted it, cradle and all, to the seats of the mighty. He gained for it world-wide recognition. Consequently, he might not divest himself of responsibility, even though he would! But the powers, in following his lead, did not thereby approve his act. Their course was not only perfunctory, but also virtually compulsory. They could scarcely do aught else than "recognize" the new nation on whose po-

litical status the President of the United States had set his official, though tarnished, seal.

Finally, the restless, strenuous "doer of things," the seizer of the Canal Zone, asserts his worthiness of the unfading laurel. He triumphantly declares:

> "The United States has many honorable chapters in its history, but no more honorable chapter than that which tells of the way in which the right to dig the Panama Canal was secured, and of the manner in which the work itself has been carried out."

The raid on defenseless Colombia, in the interest of a swift indomitable construction of an Isthmian waterway, made to vie with the heroic settlement of a new continent, in the interest of civil and religious freedom! The "fifty-mile order" and its congener of the following day, foredooming a "guaranteed" ally to defeat by secession, ranked with the proclamation which gave freedom to enslaved millions! The coddled Panama "uprising," insured in advance, set in the illustrious category of Lexington and Bunker Hill, Valley Forge and Yorktown! The recognition of a new sovereignty, after one day, seventeen hours, and forty-one minutes of pampered, flimsy independence, favorably compared with an independence which was won by years of ceaseless conflict and the sacrifice of treasures untold! Such a treacherous rending of one of their number as has awakened dismay and distrust in all the Southern republics put on a par with that reconstruction of a Northern Union which has heartened the friends of democracy in all parts of the world!

Is it possible that there should be condonation of the President's "taking" of the Canal Zone, because inwoven with the plottings of self-centered ambition there was the hastening of a national and international good? Therein also is there "an exception to the principle" that right is right, sacred and eternal? Is the end to sanctify the means? Then Ahab's rape of Naboth's vineyard was well, provided he "took" it for a public park. Then the rich man's seizure of the poor man's one ewe lamb was fair, if therewith he enlarged his feast for the hungry. Then Judas Iscariot may be acquitted with applause, if only he was a thief in order to pay his honest debts, and a traitor that he might quiet disturbance and strengthen "law and order" in the land.

Here let the chapter of national dishonor close its record.

Let the final verdict be rendered as required by the law and the facts. Let the prime actor in that national dishonor take his place as determined by that same law and those same facts. *Fiat justitia!*

Meantime, the treatment of Colombia demands that "just and ample redress" of which Mr. Seward spoke. Our national honor was dragged in the mire. It ought to be rescued from its disgrace. With propriety we might repair to the Hague Tribunal, humbly bespeaking such penalty as that High Court might declare to be right. Until reparative action is somehow taken, the national reproach abides. Save as we, nationally, make the *amende honorable,* "great Neptune's ocean" will not remove the stain. The "damned spot" will still persist. There is grim satisfaction in the poet's words:

> "Yea, though we sinned and our rulers went from righteousness;
> Deep in all dishonor though we stained our garment's hem;
> Oh, be ye not dismayed,
> Though we stumbled and we strayed;
> We were led by evil counselors—the Lord shall deal with them."

Yet the satisfaction is mingled with pity for those same evil counselors, as we recall the inspired declaration:

> "And in covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose sentence now from of old lingereth not, and their destruction slumbereth not."

LEANDER T. CHAMBERLAIN.

# THE NEGRO AS A FARMER

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

One of the most striking facts that I have learned from a study of the bulletins of the 1910 census thus far issued has been the rapid and continued increase in the number of negro farmers in the Southern States. For example: there has been an increase of 469,061, or 17.9 per cent., in the total number of farms and farmers, white and colored, in the Southern States, which shows that the South is far in advance of the rest of the country, as far as concerns the increase in the number of farms. In fact, fully three-fourths of all the total increase in the number of farms in the United States during the past ten years is in the Southern States. In the North Atlantic, what we used to call in the old geographies the New England and Middle Atlantic States, there has been a decrease of almost four per cent. in the number of farms during this period. In the North Central or States of the Middle West, the increase amounts to only one per cent. There has been an increase of fifty-two per cent. in the number of farms in the Western States, but while the percentage of increase in this part of the country is large, the absolute increase in farms and farmers was only 126,336, as against an increase of 469,061 in the Southern States.

The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that, rapid as has been the increase in total number of farms of both races in the South, the number of negro farmers has increased proportionately more rapidly than the number of white farmers. While the white farmers in fifteen Southern States increased from 1,870,600 in 1900 to 2,191,805 in 1910, the negro farmers increased from 739,835 in 1900 to 887,691 in 1910, making an increase of 17.0 per cent. for the whites and 19.9 per cent. for the blacks.

No figures have yet been published showing the relative

increase, as between the white and colored people, in the number of landowners, and it does not follow, of course, that the number of negro landowners has increased in the same ratio as the number of negro farmers. In fact, the statistics of land ownership in the Southern States show that, not taking account of the different races, the total number of landowners has increased only about half as rapidly as the total number of farmers. In what proportion the 170,032 new landowners in the South are distributed between the races, has not, so far as I know, been definitely ascertained.

While the census figures show that, taking the Southern States as a whole, the negro farmers have increased more rapidly than the white farmers, they also show that this increase has not been evenly distributed throughout the South. In some States, notably in Louisiana, there has not only been no increase in the number of negro farmers, but there has been a very marked absolute decrease, a decrease of not less than 3,350 negro farmers, during the ten years.

The following table shows the actual numbers of negro farmers, together with the changes and fluctuation in the numbers and proportion of the white and colored farmers in fifteen Southern States. The figures do not include Delaware or the District of Columbia, although these are usually classed in the census figures with the Southern States.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS FOR FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES, SHOWING INCREASE FOR EACH RACE

| | 1900 | | 1910 | | Increase. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| State. | White. | Colored. | White. | Colored. | White. | Colored. |
| Alabama ..... | 129,137 | 94,083 | 152,347 | 110,373 | 23,210 | 16,290 |
| Arkansas .... | 131,711 | 46,983 | 150,920 | 63,355 | 19,209 | 16,372 |
| Florida ..... | 27,288 | 13,526 | 35,125 | 14,709 | 7,837 | 1,183 |
| Georgia ..... | 141,865 | 82,826 | 168,158 | 122,341 | 26,293 | 39,515 |
| Kentucky .... | 223,429 | 11,238 | 247,036 | 11,706 | 23,607 | 468 |
| Louisiana .... | 57,809 | 58,160 | 65,460 | 54,810 | 7,651 | *3,350 |
| Maryland .... | 40,169 | 5,843 | 42,402 | 6,367 | 2,233 | 524 |
| Mississippi ... | 92,124 | 128,679 | 109,390 | 164,430 | 17,266 | 35,751 |
| North Carolina | 169,773 | 54,864 | 187,831 | 65,594 | 18,058 | 10,730 |
| Oklahoma .... | 94,775 | 13,225 | 168,910 | 20,528 | 74,135 | 7,303 |
| South Carolina | 69,954 | 85,401 | 79,484 | 96,696 | 9,530 | 11,295 |
| Tennessee .... | 190,728 | 33,895 | 207,260 | 38,249 | 16,532 | 4,354 |
| Texas ..... | 286,654 | 65,536 | 346,565 | 69,812 | 59,911 | 4,276 |
| Virginia ..... | 123,052 | 44,834 | 135,743 | 48,019 | 12,691 | 3,185 |
| West Virginia. | 92,132 | 742 | 95,174 | 702 | 3,042 | *40 |
| Total... | 1,870,600 | 739,835 | 2,191,805 | 887,691 | 321,205 | 147,856 |

* Decrease.

One of the interesting things brought out by the comparison of the different States in this table is the fact that, in the five States of Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida, the number of white farmers has increased at a more rapid rate than the number of negro farmers. Five other States, West Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, South Carolina, and Alabama show the same rate of increase for both races. In the five States, Tennessee, North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, and Arkansas, in which nearly half of the total negro population in the South live, negro farmers have increased during the past ten years more rapidly than the white farmers, in proportion to population of the respective races of these States.

In Georgia and Mississippi the number of negro farmers has increased both absolutely and relatively more rapidly than the same class of whites. In Georgia the number of negro farmers has grown from 82,826 in 1900 to 122,341 in 1910, a gain of 39,515 in ten years. In the same period the number of white farmers in Georgia increased from 141,865 in 1900 to 168,158 in 1910, a gain of 26,293 in ten years.

In Mississippi, where negroes now represent fifty-six per cent. of the total population and sixty per cent. of the farmers, the number of negro farmers increased from 128,679 in 1900 to 164,430 in 1910, an increase of 35,751. During the same period the number of white farmers increased from 92,124 in 1900 to 109,390 in 1910, an increase of 17,266.

Whatever else this increase of negro farmers may mean, it certainly indicates that, in proportion to their numbers, and in spite of a certain amount of negro emigration to the North and a considerable immigration of the white population to the South, negroes are entering in proportionately larger numbers into farming in the South, and becoming more and more responsible, either as owners or as tenants, for the success or failure of agriculture.

I can, perhaps, give a better idea of the part which negro farmers, as compared with white farmers, are actually taking in the agriculture of the South by comparing the statistics of farmers with the statistics of population. The following table shows the relative percentage of the white and colored in the total population of fifteen Southern States in 1900 and 1910, together with the percentage of white and colored farmers for the same periods.

TABLE SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS COMPARED WITH POPULATION OF EACH RACE

| State. | 1900 | | | | 1910 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Per Cent. of Total. | | | | Per Cent. of Total. | | | |
| | Population. | | Farmers. | | Population. | | Farmers. | |
| | White. | Colored. | White. | Colored. | White. | Colored. | White. | Colored. |
| Alabama ..... | 54.8 | 45.2 | 58.0 | 42.0 | 57.5 | 42.5 | 58.0 | 42.0 |
| Arkansas .... | 72.0 | 28.0 | 74.0 | 26.0 | 71.8 | 28.2 | 70.0 | 30.0 |
| Florida ..... | 56.3 | 43.7 | 67.0 | 33.0 | 58.9 | 41.1 | 70.0 | 30.0 |
| Georgia ..... | 53.3 | 46.7 | 63.0 | 37.0 | 54.9 | 45.1 | 58.0 | 42.0 |
| Kentucky .... | 86.7 | 13.3 | 95.0 | 5.0 | 88.6 | 11.4 | 96.0 | 4.0 |
| Louisiana .... | 52.8 | 47.2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 56.8 | 43.2 | 54.0 | 46.0 |
| Maryland .... | 80.2 | 19.8 | 87.0 | 13.0 | 82.1 | 17.9 | 87.0 | 13.0 |
| Mississippi ... | 41.3 | 58.7 | 42.0 | 58.0 | 43.7 | 56.3 | 40.0 | 60.0 |
| North Carolina | 66.7 | 33.3 | 76.0 | 24.0 | 68.4 | 31.6 | 74.0 | 26.0 |
| Oklahoma ... | 84.8 | 15.2 | 88.0 | 12.0 | 87.2 | 12.8 | 89.0 | 11.0 |
| South Carolina | 41.6 | 58.4 | 45.0 | 55.0 | 44.8 | 55.2 | 45.0 | 55.0 |
| Tennessee .... | 76.2 | 23.8 | 85.0 | 15.0 | 78.3 | 21.7 | 84.0 | 16.0 |
| Texas ..... | 79.6 | 20.4 | 81.0 | 19.0 | 82.3 | 17.7 | 83.0 | 17.0 |
| Virginia ..... | 64.3 | 35.7 | 73.0 | 27.0 | 67.4 | 32.6 | 74.0 | 26.0 |
| West Virginia | 95.5 | 4.5 | 99.0 | 1.0 | 94.7 | 5.3 | 99.0 | 1.0 |

This table shows that while the white population has grown more rapidly than the colored population in all but two of the fifteen Southern States mentioned, namely West Virginia and Arkansas, the number of white farmers has grown more rapidly than the negro farmers in only five, namely: Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia, Louisiana, and Florida. In the States of Oklahoma, Texas, and Florida, there has been a very considerable immigration of farmers from the Northern States. In Virginia there has been a very considerable decrease in the negro, as compared with the white, population. At the same time, the decrease in the number of negroes as compared with the white farmers has been only one per cent.

In Louisiana, where there seems to have been an absolute loss of 3,550 of negro farmers, conditions are not so easily explained. The white population of Louisiana has grown to some extent by immigration, and there has been a very considerable emigration from Louisiana to Arkansas and Oklahoma, and this has tended to alter the ratio of the white and colored population, but does not wholly account for the decrease in farmers, as there has been no corresponding decrease in the rate of increase in the negro population. The figures seem to indicate, therefore, that negro emigration from Louisiana westward has come almost wholly from the country districts. An explanation suggested is that the coming of the boll weevil has discouraged negro farmers in that part of the country. The boll weevil

has not had the same effect elsewhere, however, so that I am disposed to attribute the decrease to local causes which are not yet wholly explained.

The census for 1910 shows, then, that there has been a proportionately larger increase in the negro than in the white farmers in the Southern States. I do not intend to suggest that this fact by itself is of any great importance. The real significance of this increase in the number and proportion of negro farmers is that it has gone along with an enormous development of Southern agriculture as a whole.

There has been, for example, an increase of $4,034,483,000 in the total values of farm lands and buildings during the last ten years, and an increase of $112,284,000 in the value of farm machinery. The South is spending $74,324,000 more for farm labor and $46,145,000 more for fertilizers in 1910 than it did in 1900. While there has been a very large decrease in the farm acreage in the South, due principally to the fact that hundreds of thousands of acres of mountain, timber, and swamp land, reported as farms in 1900 and used to some extent for grazing purposes, were not reported as farms in 1910. At the same time there has been an increase of 24,058,000 acres in the amount of improved land, and an average decrease of from fifteen to thirty acres in the size of farms. The decrease has been fifteen acres for farms in the South Atlantic, and thirty acres for farms in the South-Central States. Both these facts indicate a more intensive and higher type of farming; indicate, in short, that farmers were putting more labor and more intelligence into the cultivation of the soil in 1910 than they did in 1900.

There has been a larger increase in value of farm lands and a larger increase in expenditures for labor and for fertilizers in the Southern States than in any other part of the country, except the Western States. If one compares the different geographical divisions, as to the increase in land values, it appears that in the North Atlantic States there has been an increase of 27 per cent. in the value of farming lands and buildings; in the North Central States this increase has been 114 per cent.; in the South Atlantic the increase has been 105 per cent.; in the South Central, 133 per cent., and in the West 193 per cent.

The value of an acre of farm land has increased 32 per cent. in the North Atlantic; 99 per cent. in the North Cen-

tral; 110 per cent. in the South Atlantic; 152 per cent. in the South Central; 157 per cent. in the Western States.

Not only has this great advance been made in the South, where the negro has a proportionately larger share in agriculture than he had a decade ago, but if we compare the Southern States in which the number of negroes is proportionately large with those States in which it is proportionately small, it will be seen that there has been on the whole just as much progress, if not more, where the proportion of negro farmers was large as where it was small. The following table shows the percentage of negro and white farmers, and the percentages of increase in the average value per acre of land in the different Southern States. In these tables, the first seven States are arranged in the order of the percentage of negro farmers, and the last eight in the order of the percentage of white farmers.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS IN SEVEN STATES HAVING HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO FARMERS WITH AVERAGE INCREASE IN LAND PER ACRE IN EACH STATE

| State. | Per Cent. Negro Farmers. | Per Cent. White Farmers. | Per Cent. Increase In Value of Land Per Acre. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mississippi | 60 | 40 | 115 |
| South Carolina | 55 | 45 | 172 |
| Louisiana | 46 | 54 | 78 |
| Georgia | 42 | 58 | 156 |
| Alabama | 42 | 58 | 113 |
| Arkansas | 30 | 70 | 118 |
| Florida | 30 | 70 | 141 |

PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO AND WHITE FARMERS IN EIGHT STATES HAVING HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF WHITE FARMERS WITH AVERAGE INCREASE IN LAND PER ACRE IN EACH STATE

| State. | Per Cent. Negro Farmers. | Per Cent. White. Farmers. | Per Cent. Increase In Value of Land Per Acre. |
|---|---|---|---|
| West Virginia | 01 | 99 | 67 |
| Kentucky | 05 | 95 | 65 |
| Oklahoma | 11 | 89 | 245 |
| Maryland | 13 | 87 | 41 |
| Tennessee | 16 | 84 | 84 |
| Texas | 17 | 83 | 204 |
| Virginia | 26 | 74 | 100 |
| North Carolina | 26 | 74 | 138 |

From all these figures, it would seem to be apparent that, in spite of all that is said to the contrary, the negro in the South is beginning to heed the advice of those who have told him to stick to the farm. It does not follow from this, however, that negro farmers are sticking fast on the land on

which they were planted years ago. On the contrary, the census figures show that there is a very considerable movement of the negro population to the new territory, where there is opportunity to better their condition, as in the case of the negro population in Oklahoma, which has grown 147 per cent. in the past ten years. But, on the whole, the negro is sticking to the soil.

At the same time these figures prove, it would appear, that the negro is able and willing to improve in his methods of farming. It is evident that all this advance in land values could not have taken place in spite of the negro. He must have had, as he has always had, his share during this time, in the work of building up the farming industry in the South, and, considering the little education he has had in agriculture and the limitations owing to his lack of general education that prevented his taking advantage of the opportunities for improvement that are offered to farmers in other parts of the country, it must be admitted that he has done well.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

# THE GERMANY OF TO-DAY

BY HUGO MUNSTERBERG

THE American nation has become a world power and is therefore in steady contact with the countries of Europe; the newspapers abound in reports from European lands; the army of travelers who spend their summer in Europe grows from year to year; the flood of European immigrants rises alarmingly—and, in spite of all, how little the average American knows of the true Europe and how easily misunderstandings and frictions arise from such ignorance! The difference between the true picture and the caricature by the popular fancy seems in no case more astonishing than in that of Germany. The millions of German-Americans and the numberless family ties between America and the fatherland have not corrected the distorted views. Much of this prejudice against the Germans has come over from European sources; the continental cablegrams have usually gone through London, and there have been retouched by the professional spirit of anti-Germanism. Hence the Germans have too often been drawn as boisterous ruffians who were seeking to disturb the peace of the world. Some still imagine Germany as a kind of softened Siberia with no popular government, no freedom, and no human dignity; others have heard that the Germans are dreamers, useless for the practical tasks of life; still others associate the picture of a German with a foaming mug and, possibly, the long pipe; others with military drill and maltreatment of the poor soldier: yes, even when the better-informed circles are consulted vague prejudices are brought to light. German art is said to be formless and its literature shapeless; German scholarship is accused of being narrow and dry; German social life lacks beauty and elegance; and German state life is controlled by the lasting desire to resist the movements toward peace.

Not every one of such mischievous misconceptions can be uprooted by a flying automobile trip through the Rhine Valley from Cologne to Heidelberg, or by a few weeks in Berlin at a half-American hotel. To be sure, even the hasty visitor will soon discover that the much-maligned German policemen have nowadays nothing but politeness even for the most superfluous question, and that every new-fashioned restaurant gladly serves him with mineral water instead of beer; that the parliamentary debates for politically interested readers fill a much larger space in the German newspapers than any reports from Congress in America; that even in the streets of Berlin the sight of soldiers is, on the whole, rare; that the leading hostelries surpass in elegance anything known in Europe, and that the comfort of traveling can satisfy even the spoiled American. If the traveler happens to stay longer and really to enter into the spirit of German life and German culture, he feels more strongly from day to day how many of the differences from his native land are superficial and how many of the deeper features are common to both peoples. The whole rhythm of progress, the development of the cities with its achievements and its nuisances, the whole spirit of the land, then show him with increasing clearness the well-known features of American life.

Yet an underlying feeling remains in his mind that there are puzzling contradictions in German life, and while he has often heard that foreigners call his own country "a land of contrasts," he gains the distinct impression that Germany is still more such a land of contrasting and contradictory tendencies. Nationalism and internationalism, hard work and esthetic enjoyment, individualism and anti-individualism, aristocracy and democracy, materialism and idealism, seem to fill all modern Germany with an inner struggle difficult to understand. Hence, even among those who are willing seriously to enter into the spirit of the land, not a few feel confused and puzzled. They cannot find out what modern Germany is aiming at. They almost regret the passing of the old Germany which could so easily be brought to a simple formula, the schoolmaster Germany before the days of German empire and German industrialism. But all these energies, apparently so contradictory, may ultimately make up a well-organized and unified national character. These seeming contradictions may fundamen-

tally be two aspects of a deeper unity, and he who examines earnestly these great contrasting forces in German life must finally discover that, in different forms and under somewhat different cultural conditions, after all, the same energies are shaping modern America too.

To begin at the beginning, the modern German is thoroughly nationalistic. This has not always been so, and to those who know Germany only through its classical literature and its cosmopolitan atmosphere, the change often seems striking. Its newness, of course, sometimes leads to exaggeration, but it would be utterly wrong to speak of German chauvinism. It has rightly been said that chauvinism is, anyhow, nothing but the patriotism of other peoples; though, indeed, a type of patriotism does exist which is intolerant and which lacks internal respect and earnest acknowledgment of the value of other countries. Nothing is further from the German attitude. Certainly the modern German is proud of his fatherland and its achievements, of its industry and of its army, of its scholarship and of its music, but he is supremely interested in all that other nations do; and if perhaps he sometimes claims that his thoroughness of work is unsurpassed in the world or that his sentiment comes from deeper sources, he is certainly no less aware of how much he lacks some tendencies and faculties which he admires in others.

The German nationalism is the loyal belief in the mission of the German spirit in the world. As such it is, indeed, a vehement protest against the cosmopolitanism which Germany's poets and thinkers upheld at a time of political weakness. When Germany's political power was paralyzed, the thoughts of the best men played with a philosophic humanism which was to stand above political citizenship. In their speculative dreams man as a rational being seemed hampered and subdued by the narrowness of ties of the State and of national conditions of life. The ideal seemed to be to forget the provincialism of all which separates man from man and to enter with the whole heart into the citizenship of the world.

This colorless and characterless cosmopolitanism has been swept away by the enthusiasm for the German Empire. It did not yield at once to the historic attitude which is the controlling force to-day. The first decades of the new Germany were deeply influenced by the immense progress

of naturalistic sciences. The biological question of racial descent and racial conflicts stood in the foreground and disturbed more than it accentuated the joy in the German unity, as Germany, like every other nation, is a mixture of many different racial elements. But the new century has brought a decided reaction against this naturalistic influence. The idea of the nation as a State has carried the day. Not a German race is to be perpetuated; but a nation of men who are filled with German ideals and who believe in the German task is to be strengthened and served by the patriot. This new emotional attitude brings a new life to everything in which German historical tradition is living and a new joy in every advance which shows a characteristically German stamp. It has given strength to the German political striving, and, although far from any imperialistic vaingloriousness, it demands a strong army and navy.

The apparent contrast to all this lies in the strong international interest which can be felt throughout Germany. It is no longer that old, often ridiculed desire of the Germans to imitate the foreigner and to overestimate everything which comes from without the boundaries of the land. That was the most unpleasant by-product of the cosmopolitan Germany which has disappeared. The German language itself is witness of the effort to uphold pure German against the influx of foreign idioms. It is too little noticed what a change has come to the German style within the last twenty years, and how the words of foreign origin are instinctively replaced by words of German root. Yet the German has not lost his decided talent for entering into the spirit of foreign nations. He easily learns the foreign languages, feels at home in foreign literatures, and when he travels adjusts himself without effort—often by far too easily—to the nations he visits. Throughout history the Germans have for this reason often played the rôle of natural mediators. Through their influence the various nations have come into contact; and this spirit of internationalism is as vivid to-day as it ever was. At Berlin University are two thousand foreign students; in the German play-houses the dramatic literature of the world finds a genuine appreciation; German scholarship seeks the closest contact with the research of all nations; German commerce is helped by nothing more than by the readiness of the Germans to settle for a while in foreign lands, and

just the newest Germany furnishes more globe-trotters than any other country.

All this finds its background in a most serious love for international peace on the part of the German nation. The outsiders forget that Germany has now had unbroken peace for over forty years, and that the Emperor who was denounced as a war-lord has been on the throne for more than two decades without drawing the sword. Certainly the German nation loves its army and considers the years of military service as a fine schooling for manhood and as a splendid training in that discipline which gives backbone to the whole public life. Above all, living in the center of Europe, east and west tightly pressed by excitable neighbors, it knows that a strong army is the only safe insurance against national dangers and destruction. But the same German populace which is proud of its army has the strongest desire that there be no need of its being led to the battle-field. To be sure, German patriotism still mourns at the thought that the globe was divided among the great nations before Germany came to unity and strength, and that as a result Germany's colonies are unimportant compared with those of some other leading nations. Nor will Germany ever forget the warning of the favorite poet of the masses, the outcry of Schiller, that infamous is the nation which does not sacrifice everything for its honor. But the Germans of to-day know how easily any trivial quarrel can be made to appear an issue of honor to the hysteric element of a nation. They see clearly that the most fortunate war would be a disturbance of Germany's steady, sound development, while an unfortunate war would ruin everything. It is true that there is less heard in Germany than in America about the systematic agitation for peace. The peace societies have no considerable influence in German public life, there are no powerful promotors, and no Carnegie helps their cause. But this certainly does not indicate a weaker love for peace; it indicates an instinctive feeling that in the complicated situation of European rivalries mere declamations about disarmament cannot help the cause of peace in the least. There is even a wide-spread sentiment that the direct discussion of peace has its elements of danger. Peace is something negative; it means the absence of fighting and war, and all the pacificatory debates drag the idea of war and fighting constantly into the

midst of the popular imagination. Such ideas, which so easily appeal to the lower instincts of man and to his most excitable layers of emotions, may become causes for the excitements which they aim to suppress. The conditions, however, which really work toward the conservation of European peace become more stable and firm in Germany from year to year. The strong new nationalism and patriotism with all its pride in the German army and its contempt for a weak cosmopolitanism is not at all in contrast but ultimately in deepest harmony with this peace-loving internationalism which acknowledges and respects the characteristics of every other nation. Is this doubleness of mind really strange to the American social consciousness? Is not the American mind also deeply filled with the patriotism which believes in battle-ships and at the same time with the sincere, deep-rooted love for peace?

The most striking change, however, which has come to the new Germany is the unprecedented development of its material life, which seems in direct contrast with Germany's claim for pre-eminence in idealistic endeavors. If a German had left Berlin at the beginning of the eighties and returned to-day without having seen the capital in the mean time, he would hardly recognize the modest city of the time of the old emperor. Berlin has become rich and luxurious, and every city of the empire and almost every small town repeats this impression given by the metropolis. It has been the change from agrarian Germany to industrial Germany. In the beginning of the eighties more than two hundred thousand Germans went to America as emigrants every year, as the German soil was not rich enough to support them. Since that time the population has grown rapidly, and yet the emigration has gone down to a tenth part of that earlier figure because the industrialized life gives to the sixty-three millions a comfortable support; there are no slums in any German city. The change is a fundamental one, and this means that it has revolutionized not only the street life and the shop-windows, the hotels and the private homes, the places of amusement and the comfort of traveling, but that it has changed the inner attitude of the German mind. That Germany which seems old-fashioned to the younger generation considered the economic life and all which had to do with business and trade and commerce and industry as something of second rank,

more or less as a necessary evil. The strongest, best elements of the social organization, the intelligent boys of well-to-do families became officers and lawyers, scholars and physicians, government employees and land-owners, but they looked down on the calling of the business man and on all technical activities. To-day in exactly these social groups the callings of the lawyer and of the officer have somewhat lost in attractiveness, and the life-work of the banker, of the business man, and of the manufacturer, and above all the technical professions have risen rapidly in the general estimation. It is clear that this involves a circle: the prosperity of the land draws the best elements into wealth-producing activities, and it is just this support by the best and strongest minds which works most directly toward the increase of Germany's prosperity. Moreover, it is characteristic of this new commercial period that the long-inhibited spirit of enterprise comes to its own. In England and in France the population saves its wealth, and the national capital therefore gives a relatively small interest. In Germany, as in the United States, the new income is at once put into new undertakings with all their risks, and hence in both lands the population gains the highest dividends. The representatives of industry and commerce have gained a social importance in new Germany which the preceding generation would not have understood. The rapid spread of sport and sport interests, which presupposes abundant means, has become one of the most effective vehicles of the social changes. Even the modest householder who in previous times hardly thought of a little vacation now knows that the whole family must go to a summer resort for long weeks, and he who is better off and who in earlier times traveled to the Rhine must now visit Norway and Egypt and take a trip to St. Moritz or the Riviera in the middle of the winter.

Such a change is not to everybody's liking. Many do not want to forget the life of the time when Germany was poor but when its philosophy and literature were flourishing and the world looked on the Germans as dreamers and thinkers. They liked the queer streets of Weimar better than the avenues of Berlin West. But it would be utterly wrong to claim that Germany in the garments of wealth has become disloyal to its historic tradition. Does not the art of the Renaissance show the beauty and splendor of the German

life of the past? The Thirty Years War of the seventeenth century destroyed the prosperity of the land and for two centuries threw the fatherland into a state of poverty in which economy became the most necessary virtue, and a one-sided overestimation of the spiritual became the natural comfort in the physical distress. The days of the German Hansa were days of commercial pride. Now these old jubilant feelings of prosperity begin to revive again. But, just as in the glorious times of the Renaissance the life in wealth was most harmoniously connected with the life in beauty and with the highest appreciation of scholarship and art and literature, this new turn to commercial strength again seeks its expression in idealistic endeavors. It is not true, as the critics hastily claim, that this new comfort brings with it the vices of the parvenu, sensual materialism, and lack of higher standards; it is not true that Germany becomes unfaithful to its great traditions in the ideal realms, because it has ceased to be the poor underpaid and underfed schoolmaster of the world. On the contrary, the greater means of the land allow an expansion of the joy in art and music and drama such as has not been known before. The institutions for scholarship and research are multiplying on an unprecedented scale, and the alarmingly increasing number of new books which appear yearly in Germany indicates surely that the new-fashioned sports have not driven out the old-fashioned German sport of writing. He who looks to the deeper processes in the national life even discovers the beginning of a great idealistic movement in the younger generation. In philosophy and literature, in politics and art and religion, the mere naturalism and realism seem to be losing ground and to be yielding to a new romanticism. In the universities the philosophical lecture-rooms which were for a long time neglected again attract the scholars of to-morrow. There has come a kind of reaction against the mere collecting of facts and gathering of scientific data. A longing for wide perspectives and for unified views of the world begins a new reign. The eccentricities of the realistic drama have given place to exquisite poetry; the naturalistic stage-setting which was the pride of twenty years ago has been replaced by symbolistic stage effects which speak to the imagination through color and suggestion. The whole field of social problems has become the working-ground for a genuine enthusiastic ethical ideal-

ism entirely unknown to the older time which had not discovered its social responsibilities.

On the surface, to be sure, it looks more as if pleasure-seeking were the central aim. The stranger who comes to a German city is amused and sometimes even morally shocked by the abundance of dining-places and restaurants, cafés and beer gardens, which seem crowded from the morning hours to the early hours of the next morning. These German people seem to have nothing to do, they do not keep meal hours, but seem to dally away their days in light talk and light beverages. The same gayety fills the amusement places of a thousand types, the variety shows and the sport palaces, the circuses and the dancing halls. This artificial pleasure-seeking of the city dwellers is even outdone by the natural enjoyments of the people in every town and every hamlet. Whatever the source of their merriment may be, they seem to live in joy and in fun, taking life easily. Yes: there is no nation which has learned so well the one lesson which America has not yet learned, to gain true satisfaction from pleasure.

It is this life-enjoying side of the nation's character which has given to love and to the play of love such a surprisingly large place in the national culture. This is repeated on every level. The coarse and vulgar imitation of love has found an expansion which makes the night life of Berlin almost unique in the world. The Americans who formerly flocked to Paris as the gayest city have known for some years that the voluptuous turmoil of the Friedrichstrasse outshines all the capitals of Europe to-day. But every salon, every festival, shows the same playful indulgence in the game of the senses. No doubt much of the spirit of the rococo time has arisen again with all its tender fancies, with its silken waistcoats, and its hand-kissing cult, and with all its hidden symbols of erotic emotion. The visitor who strolls through the streets and looks over the display in the windows of the numberless bookstores is surprised at the abundance of books on sexual questions. It seems as if all Germany had nothing else in mind but love-making and love-giving and love-abusing; and this means that it appears like a country of leisure.

Even in the sphere of highest cultural interests this remoteness from the cares of the busy day is everywhere apparent. There is no greater contrast than labor and art.

Labor aims to change this world of brutal facts, and connects every effort with practical needs. Art seeks to make man forget the demands of practical life and sink with his whole heart into a beautiful appearance which is separated and cut off from the events of surrounding reality. The German evidently lives in this unreal world and wants to be enmeshed in the artistic creation. Berlin alone heard last winter fourteen hundred formal concerts, and to the Germans the ever-new efforts of the dramatic stage do not mean simply entertainments to fill an empty evening, but the most important affairs of life. The beautiful illusion which does not allow any intruding work appears more essential than the practical setting of a laborious existence. In Germany not girls alone read lyrics and visit the painting exhibitions. Esthetic enjoyment seems the deepest life-element of the happy nation. Is such a nation really able to do hard work and to fight its battles of industry?

Yet the expert who travels through Germany, who visits her workshops and her mills, her seaports and her commercial centers, her mines and her farms, is never in danger of being troubled by such a doubt. At every turn of his road he feels with certainty that this is a nation at work, an army of laborers. The story of Germany's assiduous efforts in the fields of education and science, of art and thought, has always been familiar to the world. But the outsiders know too little of the dogged earnestness with which the producers of wealth have gone to work and carried out their task. The American is too easily inclined to measure this economic achievement only by its final outcome as compared, perhaps, with the production of the United States. But if the value of the personal factor is correctly to be estimated, it is most important to recognize the fundamental difference in the economic setting of the two peoples. The Americans live in a gigantic country thinly settled in most parts and with treasures of nature which until recently appeared inexhaustible. The Germans live in a small land with little elbow room for the population and on a poor soil with scanty gifts of nature. In America there are less than nine inhabitants to the square kilometer of ground, in Germany about one hundred and fifteen to the square kilometer. When the German Empire was founded in 1871, 540,777 square kilometers were occupied by a population which amounted to seventy-five inhabitants to the square

kilometer, less than than forty-one million people. There had been a steady increase in the German nation before the foundation of the empire. In 1851 there were only thirty-six millions on the same ground, but with the new political strength the increase became more rapid. The year 1900 brought it to fifty-six million, the year 1910 to sixty-five million. The grain products of the fields at the time when the German Empire arose were sufficient to feed those forty million, and there still remained some grain for export. Five million more hungry people could not find their bread on German soil. Yet the sixty-five million of to-day live incomparably better than the forty million of forty years ago. The whole standard of living has been raised on every social level. The modest comfort of the laboring population and the luxury of the rich both surpass the dreams of the foregoing generation; and yet no precious metals have been discovered in the German mines, no cotton could be raised in its fields, no coal and iron beyond the internal needs of the nation have been found. Whatever change has come has come through German energy, and without fear the German nation looks forward to the days when eighty or a hundred million will live within the narrow boundaries on its ungrateful soil. It is true that Germany has to import much of its food and has to bring from far distances its cotton and silk and much of its iron and copper, of its wool and its oil, of its wood and its fur, of its coffee and its tobacco. But it has ample means to pay with the products of labor by mind and body, as the agrarian State has changed into an industrial country which may import much raw material, but which can export the finished products of organized activity. During the year 1909 Germany's total foreign commerce amounted to 16,297,000,000 marks, while that of the United States, expressed in marks, was only 12,494,000,000, that of France 9,187,000,000, of Russia 4,654,000,000, and only Great Britain overtowered by the figure of 22,322,000,000. The increase has been steady; in 1905 Germany's foreign commerce amounted to 13,507,000,000 marks, in 1900 to 11,088,000,000. Every statistical record shows how the new Germany has succeeded in a fight against tremendous odds. It has become rich in spite of a growth of population which no longer allowed it to feed itself with the product of its own fields, in spite of meager natural resources, and in spite of a geo-

graphical political situation which has forced the nation to carry gigantic burdens for military and naval preparations for the hour of danger. What are the forces in the make-up of the modern Germany which have secured this surprising success?

The student of social psychology cannot overlook the fact that very different tendencies have co-operated toward it, tendencies which seem to a certain degree contradictory and which indeed belong to very different sides of the German personality; tendencies, moreover, some of which are shared with the American economic worker and some of which are thoroughly un-American. For instance, the German shares with his American rival the spirit of enterprise which has contributed so much to the often feverish industrialization and which has drawn the German business man out into the world and has built up the German foreign trade. But at the same time the German believes in and loves an economy which does not allow the least waste and which tries to make use of the smallest by-products, a trait which appears to the typical American as contrary to the spirit of enterprise. The American would feel that such consideration of the small meant smallness, and that such petty carefulness would paralyze the great undertakings. In the German temperament economy and enterprise are intertwined. Yet they are of quite different origin in the nature of the German people. The economic tendency has resulted from a protracted period of suffering. The misery which the Civil War brought to the Southern States was insignificant compared with the devastation which the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century inflicted on Germany; while the new South began to prosper after a few decades, nearly two centuries were necessary to bring back the flourishing conditions of the past in Germany. In those periods in which Germany had raised itself to unprecedented heights in literature and philosophy, the people had to school themselves in economic modesty and carefulness. The Germans of the sixteenth century had been lavish, especially in the commercial centers, but the long training in national poverty entirely eradicated that trait; and, while in the last two decades with the new wealth a new education for economic splendor has set in, the people as a whole still remain fundamentally frugal and, above all, abhorrent of all waste. In this respect the development has

been exactly the opposite in American experience. In a land with unlimited treasures the people fancied that it was the greatest economy of energy to waste the gifts of nature, until only recently the national conscience awoke. This painstaking German economy has contributed enormously to the success in the material struggle of the young empire. Whoever compares the German methods of building dams across the valleys in order to save every fertilizing drop of water with American extravagance must be deeply impressed with the beneficial result of this hard training of the German nation. But the same disposition shows its effects in every simple business concern and in every humble household. It is an old experience that in the German kitchen nourishing and appetizing courses are prepared from material which the American housewife would throw away; and the impulse of the German woman would resist the capricious demands of the American fashion which throws away almost new garments because they are slightly out of style. The spirit of enterprise, on the other hand, is the inherited gift of the Teutonic peoples. It was for a long while subdued by the narrowness of the external conditions, but it has come to its own again with the joy in the new empire; and the same longing which made the Germans eager to cross the frontiers and the oceans has stirred them to pioneer work in every field of human activity.

But economy and enterprise would not have secured the actual results if the German had not an inborn delight in industrious activity. He loves his amusements in his leisure hours and can be happy with most naïve pleasures. But he knows that work is work and that it should be done with the best efforts of the whole personality. This instinct is not a matter of chance; it is a product of systematic education. It is a favorite and natural dogma of democracy that man as far as possible ought to be free and that discipline ought, therefore, to be reduced. This, no doubt, has its advantageous sides for the development of the future citizen whose spirit of independence will be stimulated early through an education which does not believe in anything which does not suit the taste and liking. But it also has its grave dangers. It brings superficiality into the human life; and America is beginning to discover that a youth who never has learned to be obedient will not be obedient to his own demands. America substitutes for this early educa-

tional discipline at first sport with its rigid demands, and later an overvaluation of money, which stimulates the working energies to their maximum. In Germany a systematic education with sharp training and hard discipline early inculcates into every mind a habit of hard work. This energy for doing one's duty in spite of all selfish temptations is, moreover, greatly strengthened by the years of military service, the great national high school of labor and disciplined effort. Just as the social and hygienic value of a free Sunday can be considered without any reference to religion, the economic value of the obligatory military service can be considered without any reference to peace and war. As a training time for energetic regulated activity the German army life is of unsurpassed value to the nation.

One other feature which has contributed not the smallest part to the success of German economic life is the product of school training, too — namely, the belief in expert knowledge. American development for a long while pointed in another direction. The democratic conviction is always at first that everybody is fit for every position and that an energetic, clever fellow can handle any proposition which the day may bring. The political structure of the land made it necessary that the cabinet ministers and the ambassadors, every rural postmaster and every custom-house officer, and in municipal service every mayor and every department chief, be found among men who never had had any training in the particular line of work. This political principle has strongly affected the instinctive attitude of the people in every sphere. Commercial and industrial life in America show the traces of this sentiment everywhere. In no other country do men go so often and so easily from one life activity to another, or step into business with so little specialized preparation. Only the last period of American civilization indicates a change. The growing complexity and the fierceness of the rivalry have slowly convinced the nation that even the most brilliant dash cannot always be substituted for the thoroughness of specialized training. From year to year the expert has more and more come to his own in American life. In Germany exactly the opposite principle was the starting-point. The entire political organization demanded firm and fixed careers controlled by examinations for the governmental service on every level.

This belief, deeply ingrained in the German mind, has shaped the whole German commercial world too. A man sticks to his specialty, and no one but a specialist is welcome for a responsible position. This idea that everything depends upon a thorough preparation has often, even against heavy odds, secured advantages for Germany in the market-places of the world. The young German business man who goes to foreign shores has certainly prepared himself at home for his task by a serious study of the language and usages of his prospective customers, and he brings with him his price-lists carefully translated into the foreign idiom. No country in the world has based its technical industries on such broad foundations of thorough scholarship. Some industrial chemical establishments have in their employ several hundred scientific chemists who are exclusively engaged in scientific research. This scientific spirit alone has brought the German cultivation of the fields to its present intensiveness which compensates for the character of the soil. Agricultural academies and agricultural schools on all levels of scholarship and in all branches of agricultural knowledge have spread their thorough preparation to the remotest farms. The young factory employee receives a similar training in the specialistic technical continuation schools. Everywhere theory leads to a deeper grasp of the practical requirements. Europeans outside of Germany like to tell the story of an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a German who agreed to inform themselves about the hippopotamus, and for that purpose the Englishman traveled to Egypt, the Frenchman went to the zoological garden in Paris, and the German went to the library. Every one has laughed at the rôle which the poor German plays there with his scholarly pedantry, but, seriously speaking, there can be hardly any doubt that after a short time the German would know far more about the hippopotamus than the other two. This German desire to make the mind independent of the personal chance impression and to substitute for the accidental the general which contains the experience of the whole race, has given to German labor much of its present ability to be successful in competition with much more favored countries. In short, the State and the individuals, the laws and the longings, the institutions and the emotions of the millions work together to make the Germany of to-day a tremendous work-

ing machine destined to success by hard labor—the same Germany which seems so freely given over to pleasure-seeking and esthetic enjoyment.

One more apparent conflict in the modern Germany may be pointed out, and here it may be less possible to acknowledge the two sides as a twofold aspect of an underlying unity. Here we have a real inner contrast which is responsible for a certain unrest in the German life. But just this unrest is a condition for progress. The contrast is that between the belief in the rights of the individual and the belief in the rights of the community. The words alone would suggest that the same holds true of American life, but that would be misleading. The relation of the individual to his individual neighbor and to the nation as a whole is in America very different from the German attitude. It might almost be said to be the reverse. Might we not hold that the whole development of America has been controlled by the conviction that the highest value lies in the individual? This was the Puritanic belief; this was the belief of the English law; ultimately the whole State and its organization has meaning and importance only in so far as it serves those millions of single individuals. Their freedom, their welfare, their spiritual growth, is the aim and end of everything in the national life. But while the right of the individual to welfare and perfection is the highest goal for the American, he tries to reach this end by subordinating himself to a community in which he aims to be as similar as possible to all the other members. His individuality is for him a center of his rights, but these rights are no different from the rights of his neighbors in the community. The whole American life with its longing for self-initiative and self-assertion, and yet with its subordination to the public opinion, to the fashion, to the taste of the masses, can be understood from this point of view. With the German it is just the opposite. For him the final aim is never the individual; his aim is the life and progress of the community, not as a mere summation of millions of individuals, but as an independent unity. The American would call it a mere abstraction, or perhaps even mysticism, but the whole German life is controlled by this belief in the real existence of the general mind as against the individual mind. To the German, science and art and religion and State are realities which everybody has

to serve without any reference to personal men. He is loyal to them as ideals and not as means to serve any individuals in the world. This abstract community is the real goal of interests and the claims of any individuals must be subordinated to it.

On the other hand, this service to the rights of the community, this living for State and art and science and religion and progress is to be achieved by every one in his particular way. This to the German is the meaning of his individuality. It is not a source of special rights to him, but a source of special duties. All his particular gifts and tendencies must come to expression; he is not to fulfil the task just as his neighbor does, but he must feel that he is expressing himself in his incomparable uniqueness, and he demands that his neighbor also do it in his own way. To subordinate himself to others means to him to prostitute his eternal right to his inborn personality.

This fundamental German demand that each one do his share in his particular way gives to the German life its incomparable manifoldness and inner variety. No one will for a moment deny that virtues and vices lie near together in this, and that this feature of the typical German often leads to intolerable stubbornness which paralyzes effective co-operation. All his little likes, and especially his little dislikes, his prejudices, and his moods must find their particular expression too. Every association becomes broken up in discordant groups, and in each group are as many opinions as members; every great party crumbles into smaller units because no one will give up the least fraction of his programme. This is, to be sure, a prolific source of perhaps unnecessary conflict. Any compromise appears a sin against the loyalty to one's convictions. A two-party system in politics would be unthinkable for Germany. The equilibrium in the German Reichstag is given essentially by four large groups, the Conservatives, the Liberals, the Clerical Catholics—the so-called Centrists—and the Socialists, but no effort to bring the Liberals, for instance, really into one party has succeeded. They are separated into three smaller parties, and the Conservatives are likewise made up of three independent parties. Finally this manifoldness becomes more complicated by the special parties of the Polish, the Danish, and the Alsace-Lorraine groups in the Reichstag. The same diversity shows itself in the

way in which every German State strives toward characteristic self-expression. In America, Kansas and Nebraska, and even Nevada and Montana are ultimately trying to be like New York and Pennsylvania; but Bavaria or Wurtemberg have not the least desire to imitate Saxony or Prussia. Germany has no London and no Paris. However Berlin may grow, Munich and Hamburg, Cologne and Frankfort, and Leipzig and the rest will remain centers for important functions of German life. A real centralization would too seriously thwart the wish that every one contribute his best in his own fashion. Accordingly the social life offers a greater manifoldness of personalities than American life would ever tolerate. The American feels that he is in society, that he plays a rôle, and that he is acknowledged as equal if he is not conspicuous and is behaving exactly like his set. The German, on the other hand, would feel that he was acknowledged as a full-fledged member of his set only if he had a particular feature to offer by which he was different from the others. This, it must be confessed, favors the outcrop of those who seek eccentricity in unimportant features down to the level of the cranks, but certainly it creates the most favorable conditions for the development of original minds, of individual talents and spiritual leadership. In America every month sees the appearance of new magazines because the old ones are so successful and the new ones want to imitate them: in Germany, too, every month sees the appearance of new magazines, but only because the editors of the new ones are convinced that all the old ones have been unsuccessful and they want to create something different. In every field likeness to others means to the German a lack of individuality which destroys the right to exist.

We have recognized that this movement finds its countermovement. The faithful belief in the independent value of the whole as a whole, without reference to the different individuals, necessarily creates the longing for a solid organization. In the field of politics this carries with it an enthusiastic devotion to everything which symbolizes the community as a whole. This is the real foundation of German monarchy. The nation as a totality is, from this German standpoint, not sufficiently expressed by the results of popular elections. They represent the struggles of individuals against individuals. But the symbol of the totality

must be exempt from the opinions of individuals; it must lie beyond parties and conflicts; it must be inherited and thus given without reference to personal likes and dislikes. Here, too, elements of weakness naturally creep in; above all, the reliance on the inherited monarchy with its responsible cabinet government produces a regrettable political indifference on the part of the average German. To be sure, the Socialists, who fight for a new order of things, are eagerly on the battle-field, and the Centrists are stirred up to a good fight by the Catholic Church, and certain smaller groups are politically wide awake because they fight for economic interests. But the political party life as such suffers from a widespread indolence. The typical German citizen without political ambitions does not take any trouble in State affairs because he feels vaguely that the government will take care that the interests of the community are protected. But in our time the mere confidence in the monarch and his government cannot alone secure the welfare of the community. In the complexity of modern life, with its gigantic technical achievements, the whole can never come to its own without a powerful organization. This belief in the efficiency of organization in the interest of the whole as a whole has become stronger and stronger in modern Germany. It has transformed the commercial life, it has molded the social movements, and it has finally begun to change the attitude of the individuals toward society. Public opinion, which is such an efficient organization of individual minds, has after all taken hold of the most modern life in Germany, and all its technical means such as the sensational newspaper and the muck-raking magazine have come to powerful existence. Even the fashion in the small and the large things has gained an importance which it never had before in German lands. The individual character feels himself threatened by the uniformizing tendency toward relentless organization.

Here we really have a conflict. The old German desire for individual diversity and the new belief in organization with its resulting uniformity of mind are two tendencies which cannot be completely harmonized. This antagonism of inner forces is the real problem which is at the bottom of all unrest among the Germans to-day.

HUGO MUNSTERBERG.

# THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT IMMIGRATION

BY W. JETT LAUCK

A LARGE audience was recently gathered in the city of New York to listen to a discussion of the immigration problem by a number of speakers of national reputation. The first address was made by the president of one of our largest northern universities, and the second by a distinguished archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church. Both speakers claimed the American republic was traditionally a place of refuge for the oppressed of all countries, and pointed out how the greatness of our national life had been built upon an absorption of alien peoples. The remarks of each were also concluded with a plea to open wide our doors so that the immigrant representatives of all races and nations of the present day, just as those of past years, might find for themselves and their descendants the opportunities of the new world. At this point a labor leader of local prominence, who had had an extensive association with recent immigrants, turned to a companion who was sitting beside him with the startling question: "I wonder what they would say if two shiploads, one of college presidents and another of archbishops, had landed last week, and the foreign-born college presidents and the archbishops were now trying to get their jobs."

By some persons this remark may be considered as the light utterance of a prejudiced mind. It cannot be received, however, as an expression of the attitude of organized labor toward immigration, for it is one of the peculiar phases of the present immigration situation that the greater number of labor leaders either tacitly or openly stand for a liberal immigration policy. In the light of recent developments the labor leader who asked the question at the New York meet-

ing exhibited a deeper insight into the immigration problem than the majority of his contemporaries.

As a matter of fact, sentiment should play but a small part in deciding our attitude toward immigration of the present day, for the reason that few of the recent arrivals, with the possible exception of some Hebrews, Poles, or Finns from Russia, and Macedonians or Bulgarians from Turkey, are compelled to come to the United States because of political or religious oppression in their native countries. Neither have unbearable economic conditions in the south and east of Europe been the cause of the constantly increasing stream of immigrants from that geographical area. Industrial opportunities in the United States have undoubtedly attracted a large number who have come to this country with the expectation that after a short term of labor and deprivation they would be able to return home to enjoy a much higher economic status. The most significant feature of the situation, however, is that the flow of immigration has been artificially stimulated beyond all normal bounds by the advertising schemes and general policies of steamship companies and private labor agencies. The greater number of immigrants who now come to the United States are not animated by the desire for religious and political freedom in a self-governing republic. Neither are the majority of the recent arrivals looking forward to establishing a home in a new country where advancement is easier than in their native lands. Urged forward by misrepresentations of interested agents or transportation companies, or deluded by the glowing descriptions of friends and relatives who have preceded them, the greater number of our recent immigrants hope by thrift, industriousness, and self-denying economy to be able, after a comparatively short period of labor in the United States, to accumulate an amount sufficient to raise a mortgage, to buy a small piece of land, to engage in business, or to carry to success in their native countries some other cherished plan. After reaching this country, the majority remain permanently, but it is because of conditions over which they have no control, or, on the other hand, because after a period of residence they like this country better than their own. In neither event had they originally intended to stay.

In the discussion of recent years relative to the effects of immigration, too great an emphasis has been placed upon

the social and political aspects of the problem. The recent immigrant from southern and eastern Europe has been more illiterate than the immigrant of former years from Great Britain and northern Europe. He has also been more of a social and political problem because of his uniform inability to speak English. There seems to be little doubt, however, probably because of greater stringency of our present immigration laws, that fewer dependent, defective, and delinquent persons are now admitted as compared with former years. Some startling disclosures, it is true, have been made within the past year as to the bearing of recent immigration upon the social evil and the importation of women for immoral purposes. It has been fairly well established, also, that some of the changes in the character of crime in this country have been due to recent immigration. Increases in the number of cases of homicide and abduction and kidnapping, and other crimes of personal violence, may be largely traced to the heavy immigration from southern and eastern Europe and especially from Italy. To immigrants from Italy, Greece, and Russia may also in considerable measure be ascribed the growth in the number of offenses against public policy, and to the Greek and Russian the violation of local ordinances in large cities. No satisfactory information has yet been secured, however, to show an increase in crime among aliens which is out of proportion with the growth in the adult population. The recent investigation of the Federal Immigration Commission also disclosed the fact that there are relatively more insane and mentally defective persons among the foreign-born than the native-born population, but the report of the same body stated that the provisions of the existing law for the exclusion of mentally unsound persons were complete and comprehensive and satisfactorily administered. Furthermore, a detailed investigation of pauperism by the Federal Commission has also shown that although persons of foreign birth are compelled to receive charity from a greater number of causes and in larger amount than native Americans, yet about equal proportions of both classes of persons are charity-seekers, and the main causes of dependency are the same in the greater number of cases among persons born in this country and those born abroad.

As regards the political condition of the immigrant population, a smaller degree of interest in acquiring citizenship

is manifested by southern and eastern European races than by those of Great Britain and northern Europe, but even in the case of the former races there is a steady increase in citizenship corresponding to period of residence in the United States. An exhaustive investigation of immigrant households in New York and other large cities has also shown considerable congestion and the existence of living conditions of a low order, but, contrary to general opinion, it also developed the fact that a higher degree of congestion prevails in the smaller industrial cities and towns of the country than in the principal cities.

If the social and political conditions, therefore, produced by recent immigration as outlined above constituted the entire immigration problem, the situation would not be one of serious import. As a matter of fact, it is not until the industrial or economic effects of immigration are considered that the real significance of the recent influx of southern and eastern Europeans is made manifest. The greater number of immigrants obviously are attracted to this country by a demand for labor, and the majority come with the expectation of improving their economic condition. During the past forty years an extraordinary expansion in manufacturing and mining has been in progress in this country, as a result of which the number of wage-earners or industrial workers has more than doubled or has increased from two to more than five million persons. This industrial development has been made possible by the availability of the immigrant labor supply and its employment or use in conjunction with improved machinery and industrial processes. As a consequence, there has obviously been a remarkable increase in industrial output and in the permanent wealth of the country. The main point, however, is whether the extensive employment of southern and eastern European industrial workers and the resultant increase in the national wealth has been marked by a corresponding advancement in well-being of our wage-earning classes, or, in other words, whether there has been no falling off in compensation or deterioration of conditions under which the native American has been accustomed to work. When the effect of recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe is measured according to this standard its real import becomes apparent.

The term " American wage-earner " is rapidly becoming

a misnomer. Almost three-fifths of the employees of the principal branches of mining and manufacturing in the United States at the present time are of foreign birth, and about one-fourth are of races from southern and eastern Europe. About one-fifth of the total number of wage-earners were born in this country, but their fathers were born abroad. Less than twenty per cent. of the entire operating forces of our mines and manufacturing establishments are native Americans. In many of our industries the proportion of employees of foreign birth ranges as high as seventy-five per cent., with a corresponding falling off in the number of native Americans. Among bituminous coal and iron ore mine-workers, by way of illustration, less than one-tenth are native Americans. The fact of greatest import in connection with the situation is that about one-half of the industrial workers of foreign birth are southern and eastern Europeans and Asiatics, principally representative of the north and south Italians, Poles, Croatians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Russians, Portuguese, Slovenians, and Russian and other Hebrews. This transformation in the racial composition of the wage-earners of the country has been brought about by the immigration to the United States during the past thirty years.

The most general effect of this extensive employment of recent immigrants in American industries is found in the character of the industrial communities of the country at the present time. There is no manufacturing city or town or any mining community of any importance in the Middle West, New England, and the Middle States which has not a foreign section made up of industrial workers from southern and eastern Europe. In the older industrial cities and centers of the country, immigrant communities have gradually developed and attached themselves to the original population. On the other hand, a large number of immigrant communities have come into existence within recent years because of the development of some natural resource, such as coal, iron ore, or copper, or by reason of the extension of the principal manufacturing industries of the country. In both classes of industrial communities there has been a distinct segregation of the immigrant and native-American population, and there is little contact or association beyond that rendered necessary by business or working relations. The immigrant workmen and their households usually live

in colonies according to race, attend and support their own churches, maintain their own business institutions and places of recreation, and have their own fraternal and business organizations. As a consequence of this general isolation, the tendencies toward Americanization exhibited by the southern and eastern Europeans are small, and the maintenance of old customs and standards leads to congestion and unsanitary housing and living conditions. Agencies for the Americanization and assimilation of the immigrant wage-earners and their families are rare, and the native Americans, as a rule, are indifferent in their attitude toward the immigrant population and its problems.

The problems which have been created by immigrant communities, however, are mainly political and social. In a consideration of the effect of the influx of southern and eastern Europeans upon native Americans and older immigrant wage-earners of races from Great Britain and northern Europe, the real significance of recent immigration is to be found. In the first place, it is undoubtedly true that the entrance into the operating forces of American mines and industrial establishments of large numbers of southern and eastern European immigrants has exposed the original employees to unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, or led to the imposition of conditions of employment which the Americans and older immigrants have considered unsatisfactory and in many cases intolerable. Unlike the immigrants of past years from Great Britain and northern Europe, the southern and eastern Europeans and Asiatics have had no training or experience to fit them for the occupations which they enter in this country. Consequently they do not know conditions of living or employment which the native American wage-earners consider a necessity, and as a large proportion of the recent arrivals are illiterate and unable to speak English their progress toward American standards has been very slow. The recent immigrant, as a rule, also has very little money when he arrives in search of work, and being in a necessitous condition and without special qualifications, he has no bargaining power and is forced to accept employment under the conditions offered. As a result of the constantly increasing pressure of competition of laborers with these general characteristics, the native American or older immigrant wage-earner has been compelled to acquiesce in the conditions produced by their

employment or to leave the industry entirely. The general effect has been, however, to retard improvements in conditions of employment and to check the advance in wages which might have been expected as a result of industrial expansion had it not been for the available supply of labor from southern and eastern Europe.

The standards of living of the southern and eastern European wage-earners have also been very low. A high percentage of the recent immigrants to our mines and establishments are single, or, what amounts to the same thing, are married men who have left their wives and children in their native countries. They are, therefore, able to adopt a group instead of an independent family method of living and to reduce the outlay for living to a point far below that of the native American. The usual household arrangement among recent immigrants in our industrial communities consists of what is popularly known as the "boarding boss" system. Under this arrangement, a fixed sum, from $2 to $3 each month, is paid by each member of a group to the head of the house or the "boarding boss" in return for washing, cooking, and lodging. The cost of the food is either divided in equal shares among the members of the group, or each member buys his own food and has it separately prepared. In many cases, especially among the Bulgarians, Greeks, Ruthenians, and Slovenians, all the rooms of the houses occupied are used for sleeping purposes and as many persons as possible are crowded into one room in order to reduce the per capita rent payment. As a consequence, a higher degree of congestion with all its attendant evils is found in the immigrant households of our industrial communities than in the large cities. Both in our cities and industrial communities, however, the main consideration of the recent immigrant is to live as cheaply as possible, and under the "boarding boss" system, the general monthly living expenditures of the average immigrant industrial worker of recent arrival in the United States do not exceed fifteen dollars, and in the case of the members of a number of races the average cost of living is much lower. As a matter of fact the earnings of the immigrant male heads of families are usually so meager that supplementary funds have to be provided by taking boarders or lodgers into the home, or through contributions of children who are placed at work as soon as possible. Of

more than 22,000 immigrant wage-earners, eighteen years of age or over, who were studied by the Immigration Commission, the average annual earnings were only $455. The average annual income of immigrant families was also only $704. In the case of a number of races from the south and east of Europe, the average for all wage-earners as well as for heads of families was less.

Another significant result of the extensive employment of southern and eastern Europeans in mining and manufacturing is seen in the general weakening and, in some instances, in the entire demoralization of the labor organizations which were in existence before the arrival of the races of recent immigration. This condition of affairs has been due to the inability of the labor-unions to absorb within a short time the constantly increasing number of new arrivals. The southern and eastern Europeans, as already pointed out, because of their tractability, their lack of industrial experience and training, and their necessitous condition on applying for work, have been willing to accept, without protest, existing conditions of employment. Their desire to earn as large an amount as possible within a limited time has also rendered the recent immigrant averse to entering into strikes which involved a loss of time and a decrease in earnings. The same kind of thriftiness has led the immigrant wage-earner to refuse to maintain his membership in the labor-unions for any extended period and has consequently prevented the complete unionization of certain occupations in some cases, and, in others, the accumulation of a defense fund by the labor organizations. The high degree of illiteracy among recent immigrants and the inability of the greater number to speak English have also caused their organization into unions by the native Americans and older immigrants to be a matter of large expense. The difficulty of the situation, from the standpoint of the labor organizations, is further increased by the conscious policy of the employers of mixing races in certain departments or divisions of industries and thus decreasing the opportunities for any concerted action because of a diversity of language in the operating forces. In mining operations, by way of illustration, in many sections, no one race is permitted to secure a controlling number in the operating forces of a single mine or mining occupation because of the fear that a common language would enable them to be readily organ-

ized for the purpose of seeking redress for real or fancied grievances.

The impossibility of competing with the recent immigrants or of educating them to demand their own standards of living and conditions of employment has voluntarily or involuntarily led to the displacement in many industries and occupations of native Americans and older immigrants from Great Britain and northern Europe. These displacements have manifested themselves in two ways. In the first place, many of the original employees have entirely withdrawn from the industry or have migrated to other sections of the country where the pressure of the competition of the southern and eastern European was not so strongly felt. The situation in the bituminous coal industry is illustrative of this tendency. Recent immigrants first found employment in large numbers in the mines of western Pennsylvania. The native Americans and older immigrants attempted to control the incoming labor supply, but by the year 1895 were completely inundated. The labor organizations were also disrupted, and finally the early employees practically abandoned the western Pennsylvania field and sought work in other industries in the same section or moved to the coal-producing areas of the Middle West, where the southern and eastern Europeans had not penetrated in considerable numbers. The pressure of competition of the recent immigrants in the mines of the Middle West, however, soon became so strong that the native Americans in large numbers migrated to the mines of Kansas and Oklahoma. Within comparatively recent years, southern and eastern Europeans have in increasing number found employment in the mines of the southwest, and the older employees have again been retreating farther westward to the coal and metalliferous mines of Colorado and other States. On the other hand, there has been in the case of all the principal branches of mining and manufacturing a series of displacements from, or in other words, segregation into, distinct occupations within the industry. This tendency, as contrasted with the abandonment of certain occupations or industries to recent immigrants, has been largely psychological in its nature, and is the result of the feeling uniformly met with in all of our industrial communities that a certain social stigma or lack of respectability attaches to native Americans or older immigrant wage-earners who do the same kind of work as

southern and eastern Europeans. It is the outgrowth of racial prejudice and has always been operative in our industrial establishments. As early as 1840 the Yankee girls who were operatives in the New England cotton-mills abandoned the looms and spindles because of the employment of Irish-women. At a later date the Irish in like manner demurred at the entrance into the mills of French-Canadian girls, and at the present time the French-Canadian female operatives are leaving the cotton factories because of the employment of Polish and other women of recent immigration. In the case of certain industries it is also true that the native Americans have abandoned occupations such as that of pick or hand mining in some of our bituminous mining fields, because of the danger of working by the side of the newcomer from the south and east of Europe. Whether arising from one cause or another, or whether the displacements have resulted in the segregation into certain occupations within or abandonment of the industry by native Americans and older immigrants, they have usually been attended with an economic loss or lower remuneration for the original employees and have directly or indirectly resulted from the impossibility of competing with the incoming immigrant labor supply. Only in the case of a small proportion of native Americans and older immigrant employees has an advancement in the scale of occupations been made possible by the increase in the number of executive and skilled positions due to the expansion within recent years in all branches of mining and manufacturing. The general tendency in our industrial development, however, has been constantly to eliminate the element of skill by the invention of new machinery and processes, and consequently to decrease relatively the number of occupations requiring training and experience.

When the effects of recent immigration, as briefly outlined above, are considered in connection with the fact that the movement to this country has not arisen from political or religious oppression or intolerable economic conditions abroad, it is at once evident that the immigration of the present day is fundamentally an economic or business problem. In analyzing the results of its exhaustive investigations the Immigration Commission formulated for its own guidance the following general principles:

"1. The measure of the rational, healthy development of a country is not the extent of its investment of capital, its output of products, or its

exports and imports, unless there is a corresponding economic opportunity afforded to the citizen dependent upon employment for his material, mental, and moral development.

"2. The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage-earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment."

Upon applying these principles to the facts brought to light by their investigations the commission was unanimously led to the opinion that: "further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people." As a consequence, the commission in its report to Congress recommended that the incoming immigrant labor supply should be checked either by imposing a larger head-tax, by requiring incoming aliens to be in possession of at least twenty-five dollars, or by compelling them to undergo a literacy test. By the adoption of one of these measures it was thought that the number of unskilled laborers annually entering this country could be limited to a point where their absorption into our industrial system would be possible without injury to or the retarding of the natural progress of the native American and the older immigrant wage-earners. To accomplish this end is in reality the immigration problem.

W. Jett Lauck.

# CHARLES DICKENS: A TRIBUTE

BY AGNES LEE.

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Who is the little quiet London drudge
Plodding at eve through mist and misery,
Warming his heart at the world's flickering fire?
Who is the young recording wanderer,
Threading, at some rare hour of liberty,
The dim and narrow windings of the town,
Where men and women pass and go their ways,
Unconscious pictures of an art to be,
And heeding not the ever-heedful boy?

'Tis he who liveth in our midst to-day,
If heaven accord us worthiness to know
The radiant spirit shining o'er our threshold,
Spirit immortal, childlike, of a man
Who won the world with laughter and with tears,
Whose pen, a sounding arrow, pierced the core
Of evil and awoke a race from slumber
To look with seeing eyes upon oppression.

Strong to draw healing from the haunts of pain,
From out the festering dark of circumstance
He freed the little unextinguished lights.
Brave to find beauty's form in all, he spied
The blade of grass between the grimy cobbles.
His home the crowded street, the intricate byway,
Where he might lose or gain his fancy's creatures,
His soul went forth, and, filled with plot and plan
And weft of dreams that waited to be woven,
Sought life's enigma, knew the subtle charm
That lingers in a melancholy stair
Forgotten feet have pressed, a moldering wall,
A window touched by myriad unseen hands.

Humanity was knocking at his heart.
He flung it wide and showed the waiting store:
A brook for sorrow's thirst, a loaf for hunger,
A flowering staff for honor's deep emprise.
Attuning every note to life's one music,
Whether a tremulous delight, or sound
Of minted coin that falleth upon stone,
He wrought in kingly power to achieve
Triumph of mercy and defeat of malice.
Dear master, still he lives, who laid his hand
With such a tenderness upon his time,
He lives, with kindly ridicule and love
To fight the buzzing fads of this our day,
And feed the sacred amphora of truth!

The pageant moves. The pictures are unblurred.
How in a chain of changes they survive!
For, while humanity endures, the past
Confronts us with the types of what we are.
Lo, here amid the foremost, cometh Nell—
Never a child, yet dear to every child—
Fragile to bear her burden's loneliness,
Giving the world the sweet of charity
That varies not, though Time the burden vary.
Tom Pinch is gazing upward from the crowd,
And needs no aeroplane to reach the skies.
Tigg Montague from out a steedless chariot
Calleth his mandate to his liveried men,
Nor careth what he rout, so he but hasten.
The pageant moves. We watch the forms go by
And know them every one, the gay, the weary,
Sun in the shadow, shadow in the sun.

Ah! well are we whom solitude may bring
To dwell within the living page, or we
Who in the throb of some vast audience
Are gathered to the glowing heart of genius,
Genius whose wide hope led to heights afar,
Whereof the song of fame was not life's all,
Nor death but the applause that cuts a cadence.

AGNES LEE.

# ON RE-READING WALTER PATER

BY RICHARD LE GALLIENNE

It is with no small satisfaction, and with a sense of reassurance of which one may, in moods of misgiving, have felt the need during two decades of the Literature of Noise, that one sees a writer so pre-eminently a master of the Literature of Meditation coming, for all the captains and the shouting, so surely into his own. The acceptance of Walter Pater is not merely widening all the time, but it is more and more becoming an acceptance such as he himself would have most valued, an acceptance in accordance with the full significance of his work rather than a one-sided appreciation of some of its Corinthian characteristics. The Doric qualities of his work are becoming recognized also, and he is being read, as he has always been read by his true disciples—so not inappropriately to name those who have come under his graver spell—not merely as a *prosateur* of purple patches, or a sophist of honeyed counsels tragically easy to misapply, but as an artist of the interpretative imagination of rare insight and magic, a writer of deep humanity as well as esthetic beauty, and the teacher of a way of life at once ennobling and exquisite. It is no longer possible to parody him—after the fashion of Mr. Mallock's brilliancy in *The New Republic*—as a writer of "all manner and no matter," nor is it possible any longer to confuse his philosophy with those gospels of unrestrained libertinism which have taken in vain the name of Epicurus. His highly wrought, sensitively colored, and musically expressive style is seen to be what it is because of its truth to a matter profound and delicate and intensely meditated and such faults as it has come rather of too much matter than too little; while his teaching, far from being that of a facile "Epicureanism," is seen, properly understood, to involve something like the austerity of a fastidious Puritanism, and

to result in a jealous asceticism of the senses rather than in their indulgence. "Slight as was the burden of positive moral obligation with which he had entered Rome," he writes of Marius, as on his first evening in Rome the murmur comes to him of "the lively, reckless call to 'play,' from the sons and daughters of foolishness," "it was to no wasteful and vagrant affections, such as these, that his Epicureanism had committed him." Such warnings against misunderstanding Pater is careful to place, at, so to say, all the cross-roads in his books, so scrupulously concerned is he lest any reader should take the wrong turning. Few writers, indeed, manifest so constant a consideration for, and, in minor matters, such a sensitive courtesy toward, their readers, while in matters of conscience Pater seems to feel for them an actual pastoral responsibility. His well-known withdrawal of the "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance* from its second edition, from a fear that "it might possibly mislead some of those young men into whose hands it might fall," is but one of many examples of his solicitude; and surely such as have gone astray after such painstaking guidance have but their own natures to blame. As he justly says, again of Marius, "in the reception of metaphysical *formulæ*, all depends, as regards their actual and ulterior result, on the pre-existent qualities of that soil of human nature into which they fall—the company they find already present there, on their admission into the house of thought."

That Pater's philosophy could ever have been misunderstood is not to be entertained with patience by any one who has read him with even ordinary attention; that it may have been misapplied, in spite of all his care, is, of course, possible; but if a writer is to be called to account for all the misapplications, or distortions, of his philosophy, writing may as well come to an end. Yet, inconceivable as it may sound, a critic very properly held in popular esteem recently gave it as his opinion that the teaching of Walter Pater was responsible for the tragic career of the author of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Certainly that remarkable man was an "epicurean"—but one, to quote Meredith, "whom Epicurus would have scourged out of his garden"; and the statement made by the critic in question that *The Renaissance* is the book referred to in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as having had a sinister influence over its hero is so easily disposed of by a reference to that romance itself

that it is hard to understand its ever having been made. Here is the passage describing the demoralizing book in question:

"His eye fell on the yellow book that Lord Henry had sent him. . . . It was the strangest book he had ever read. It seemed to him that in exquisite raiment, and to the delicate sound of flutes, the sins of the world were passing in dumb show before him. Things that he had dimly dreamed of were suddenly made real to him. Things of which he had never dreamed were gradually revealed.

"It was a novel without a plot, and with only one character, being, indeed, simply a psychological study of a certain young Parisian who spent his life trying to realize in the nineteenth century all the passions and modes of thought that belonged to every century except his own, and to sum up, as it were, in himself the various moods through which the world-spirit had ever passed, loving for their mere artificiality those renunciations that men have unwisely called virtue, as much as those natural rebellions that wise men still call sin. The style in which it was written was that curious jeweled style, vivid and obscure at once, full of *argot* and of archaisms, of technical expressions and of elaborate paraphrases, that characterizes the work of some of the finest artists of the French school of *Décadents*. There were in it metaphors as monstrous as orchids, and as evil in color. The life of the senses was described in the terms of mystical philosophy. One hardly knew at times whether one was reading the spiritual ecstasies of some medieval saint or the morbid confessions of a modern sinner. It was a poisonous book. The heavy odor of incense seemed to cling about its pages and to trouble the brain. The mere cadence of the sentences, the subtle monotony of their music, so full as it was of complex refrains and movements elaborately repeated, produced in the mind of the lad, as he passed from chapter to chapter, a form of reverie, a malady of dreaming, that made him unconscious of the falling day and the creeping shadows. . . .

"For years Dorian Gray could not free himself from the memory of this book. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he never sought to free himself from it. He procured from Paris no less than five large paper copies of the first edition, and had them bound in different colors, so that they might suit his various moods and the changing fancies of a nature over which he seemed, at times, to have almost entirely lost control."

The book thus characterized is obviously by a French writer—I have good reason for thinking that it was *À Rebours* by Huysmans—and how any responsible reader can have imagined that Walter Pater's *The Renaissance* answers to this description passes all understanding. A critic guilty of so patent a misstatement must either never have read *The Picture of Dorian Gray,* or never have read *The Renaissance.* On the other hand, if on other more reliable evidence it can be found that Oscar Wilde was one of those

"young men" misled by Pater's book, for whose spiritual safety Pater, as we have seen, was so solicitous, one can only remind oneself again of the phrase quoted above in regard to "that soil of human nature" into which a writer casts his seed. If that which was sown a lily comes up a toadstool, there is evidently something wrong with the soil.

Let us briefly recall what this apparently so "dangerous" philosophy of Pater's is, and we cannot do better than examine it in its most concentrated and famous utterance, this oft-quoted passage from that once-suppressed "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance:*

"Not the fruit of experience, but experience itself, is the end. A counted number of pulses only is given to us of a variegated dramatic life. How may we see in them all that there is to be seen in them by the finest senses? How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point, and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To burn always with this hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life. . . . While all melts under our feet, we may well grasp at any exquisite passion, or any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment, or any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange colors, and curious odors, or work of the artist's hands, or the face of one's friend. . . . With this sense of the splendor of our experience and of its awful brevity, gathering all we are into one desperate effort to see and touch, we shall hardly have time to make theories about the things we see and touch. . . . Well! we are all *condamnés,* as Victor Hugo says: we are all under sentence of death, but with a sort of indefinite reprieve—*les hommes sont tous condamnés à mort avec des sursis indéfinis:* we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest, at least among 'the children of this world,' in art and song. For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. Great passions may give us this quickened sense of life, ecstasy and sorrow of love, the various forms of enthusiastic activity, disinterested or otherwise, which come naturally to many of us. Only be sure it is passion—that it does yield you this fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness. Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most. For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake."

Now, if it be true that the application, or rather the misapplication, of this philosophy led Oscar Wilde to Reading Gaol, it is none the less true that another application of it led Marius to something like Christian martyrdom, and Walter Pater himself along an ever loftier and serener path of spiritual vision.

Nothing short of wilful misconstruction can make of the

counsel thus offered, with so priestly a concern that the writer's exact meaning be brought home to his reader, other than an inspiration toward a noble employment of that mysterious opportunity we call life. For those of us, perhaps more than a few, who have no assurance of the leisure of an eternity for idleness or experiment, this expansion and elevation of the doctrine of the moment, carrying a merely sensual and trivial moral in the Horatian maxim of *carpe diem,* is one thrillingly charged with exhilaration and sounding a solemn and yet seductive challenge to us to make the most indeed, but also to make the best, of our little day. To make the most, and to make the best, of life! Those who misinterpret or misapply Pater forget his constant insistence on the second half of that precept. We are to get "as many pulsations as possible into the given time," but we are to be very careful that our use of those pulsations shall be the finest. Whether or not it is "simply for those moments' sake," our attempt must be to give "*the highest quality,*" remember, to those "moments as they pass." And who can fail to remark the fastidious care with which Pater selects various typical interests which he deems most worthy of dignifying the moment? The senses are, indeed, of natural right, to have their part; but those interests on which the accent of Pater's pleading most persuasively falls are not so much the "strange dyes, strange colors, and curious odors," but rather "the face of one's friend," ending his subtly musical sentence with a characteristic shock of simplicity, almost incongruity—or "some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement," or "any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment." There is surely a great gulf fixed between this lofty preoccupation with great human emotions and high spiritual and intellectual excitements, and a vulgar gospel of "eat, drink, for to-morrow we die," whether or not both counsels start out from a realization of "the awful brevity" of our mortal day. That realization may prompt certain natures to unbridled sensuality. Doomed to perish as the beasts, they choose, it would seem with no marked reluctance, to live the life of the beast, a life apparently not without its satisfactions. But it is as stupid as it is infamous to pretend that such natures as these find any warrant for their tragic libertinism in Walter Pater. They may, indeed, have found esthetic pleasure in

the reading of his prose, but the truth of which that prose is but the beautiful garment has passed them by. For such it can hardly be claimed that they have translated into action the aspiration of this tenderly religious passage:

"Given the hardest terms, supposing our days are indeed but a shadow, even so we may well adorn and beautify, in scrupulous self-respect, our souls and whatever our souls touch upon—these wonderful bodies, these material dwelling-places through which the shadows pass together for a while, the very raiment we wear, our very pastimes, and the intercourse of society."

Here in this passage from *Marius* we find, to use Pater's own words once more, "the spectacle of one of the happiest temperaments coming, so to speak, to an understanding with the most depressing of theories." That theory, of course, was the doctrine of the perpetual flux of things as taught by Aristippus of Cyrene, making a man of the world's practical application of the old Heraclitean formula, his influence depending on this, "that in him an abstract doctrine, originally somewhat acrid, had fallen upon a rich and genial nature, well fitted to transform it into a theory of practice of considerable stimulative power toward a fair life." Such, too, was Pater's nature, and such his practical usefulness as what one might call a philosophical artist. Meredith, Emerson, Browning, and even Carlyle were artists so far related to him and each other in that each of them wrought a certain optimism, or, at all events, a courageous and even blithe working theory of life and conduct, out of the unrelenting facts of existence unflinchingly faced, rather than ecclesiastically smoothed over—the facts of death and pain and struggle, and even the cruel mystery that surrounds with darkness and terror our mortal lot. Each one of them deliberately faced the worst, and with each, after his own nature, the worst returned to laughter. The force of all these men was in their artistic or poetic embodiment of philosophical conceptions, but had they not been artists and poets their philosophical conceptions would have made but little way. And it is time to recall, what critics preoccupied with his "message" leave unduly in the background, that Pater was an artist of remarkable power and fascination, a maker of beautiful things, which, whatever their philosophical content, have for our spirits the refreshment and edification which all beauty mysteriously brings us, merely because it is beauty. *Marius the*

*Epicurean* is a great and wonderful book, not merely on account of its teaching, but because it is simply one of the most *beautiful* books, perhaps the most beautiful book, written in English. It is beautiful in many ways. It is beautiful, first of all, in the uniquely personal quality of its prose, prose which is at once austere and sensuous, simple at once and elaborate, scientifically exact and yet mystically suggestive, cool and hushed as sanctuary marble, sweet-smelling as sanctuary incense; prose that has at once the qualities of painting and of music, rich in firmly visualized pictures, yet moving to subtle, half-submerged rhythms, and expressive with every delicate accent and cadence; prose highly wrought, and yet singularly surprising one at times with, so to say, sudden innocencies, artless and instinctive beneath all its sedulous art. It is no longer necessary, as I hinted above, to fight the battle of this prose. Whether it appeal to one or not, no critic worth attention any longer disparages it as mere ornate and perfumed verbiage, the elaborate mannerism of a writer hiding the poverty of his thought beneath a pretentious raiment of decorated expression. It is understood to be the organic utterance of one with a vision of the world all his own striving through words, as he best can, to make that vision visible to others as nearly as possible as he himself sees it. Pater himself has expounded his theory and practice of prose, doubtless with a side-thought of self-justification, in various places up and down his writings, notably in his pregnant essay on "Style," and perhaps even more persuasively in the chapter called "Euphuism" in *Marius*. In this last he thus goes to the root of the matter:

> "That preoccupation of the *dilettante* with what might seem mere details of form, after all, did but serve the purpose of bringing to the surface, sincerely and in their integrity, certain strong personal intuitions, a certain vision or apprehension of things as really being, with important results, thus, rather than thus—intuitions which the artistic or literary faculty was called upon to follow, with the exactness of wax or clay, clothing the model within."

This striving to express the truth that is in him has resulted in a beauty of prose which for individual quality must be ranked with the prose of such masters as De Quincey and Lamb, and, to make a not irrelevant comparison, above the very fine prose of his contemporary Stevenson, by virtue of its greater personal sincerity.

There is neither space here, nor need, to illustrate this opinion by quotation, though it may not be amiss, the musical and decorative qualities of Pater's prose having been so generally dwelt upon, to remind the reader of the magical simplicities by which it is no less frequently characterized. Some of his quietest, simplest phrases have a wonderful evocative power: "the long reign of these quiet Antonines," for example; "the thunder which had sounded all day among the hills"; "far into the night, when heavy rain-drops had driven the last lingerers home"; "Flavian was no more. The little marble chest with its dust and tears lay cold among the faded flowers." What could be simpler than these brief sentences, yet how peculiarly suggestive they are; what immediate pictures they make! And this magical simplicity is particularly successful in his descriptive passages, notably of natural effects, effects caught with an instinctively selected touch or two, an expressive detail, a gray or colored word. How lightly sketched, and yet how clearly realized in the imagination, is the ancestral country-house of Marius's boyhood, "White-Nights," "that exquisite fragment of a once large and sumptuous villa"—"Two centuries of the play of the sea-wind were in the velvet of the mosses which lay along its inaccessible ledges and angles." Take again this picture:

"The cottagers still lingered at their doors for a few minutes as the shadows grew larger, and went to rest early; though there was still a glow along the road through the shorn corn-fields, and the birds were still awake about the crumbling gray heights of an old temple."

And again this picture of a wayside inn:

"The room in which he sat down to supper, unlike the ordinary Roman inns at that day, was trim and sweet. The firelight danced cheerfully upon the polished three-wicked *lucernæ* burning cleanly with the best oil, upon the whitewashed walls, and the bunches of scarlet carnations set in glass goblets. The white wine of the place put before him, of the true color and flavor of the grape, and with a ring of delicate foam as it mounted in the cup, had a reviving edge or freshness he had found in no other wine."

Those who judge of Pater's writing by a few purple passages such as the famous rhapsody on the "Mona Lisa," conceiving it as always thus heavy with narcotic perfume, know but one side of him, and miss his gift for conveying freshness, his constant happiness in light and air and particularly running water, "green fields—or children's faces."

His lovely chapter on the temple of Æsculapius seems to be made entirely of morning light, bubbling springs, and pure mountain air; and the religious influence of these lustral elements is his constant theme. For him they have a natural sacramental value, and it is through them and such other influences that Pater seeks for his hero the sanctification of the senses and the evolution of the spirit. In his preoccupation with them, and all things lovely to the eye and to the intelligence, it is that the secret lies of the singular purity of atmosphere which pervades his *Marius,* an atmosphere which might be termed the soul-beauty of the book, as distinct from its, so to say, body-beauty as beautiful prose.

Considering *Marius* as a story, a work of imagination, one finds the same evocative method used in the telling of it, and in the portrayal of character, as Pater employs in its descriptive passages. Owing to certain violent, cinematographic methods of story-telling and character-drawing to which we have become accustomed, it is too often assumed that stories cannot be told or characters drawn in any other way. Actually, of course, as many an old masterpiece admonishes us, there is no one canon in this matter, but, on the contrary, no limit to the variety of method and manner a creative artist is at liberty to employ in his imaginative treatment of human life. All one asks is that the work should live, the characters and scenes appear real to us, and the story be told. And Pater's *Marius* entirely satisfies this demand for those to whom such a pilgrimage of the soul will alone appeal. It is a real story, no mere German scholar's attempt to animate the dry bones of his erudition; and the personages and the scenes do actually live for us, as by some delicate magic of hint and suggestion: and, though at first they may seem shadowy, they have a curious way of persisting, and, as it were, growing more and more alive in our memories. The figure of Marcus Aurelius, for example, though so delicately sketched, is a masterpiece of historical portraiture, as the pictures of Roman life, done with so little, seem to me far more convincing than the like over-elaborated pictures of antiquity, so choked with learned detail of Flaubert and of Gautier—Mr. Swinburne's famous praise of whose *Mademoiselle de Maupin* applies with far greater fitness to Pater's masterpiece; for, if ever a book deserved to be described as

"The golden book of spirit and sense,
The holy writ of beauty,"

it is *Marius the Epicurean.*

It has been natural to dwell so long on this "golden book," because Pater's various gifts are concentrated in it, to make what is, of course, his masterpiece; though some one or other of these gifts is to be found employed with greater mastery in other of his writings, notably that delicate dramatic gift of embodying in a symbolic story certain subtle states of mind and refinements of temperament which reaches its perfection in *Imaginary Portraits,* to which the later "Apollo in Picardy" and "Hippolytus Veiled" properly belong. It is only necessary to recall the exquisitely austere "Sebastian Van Storck" and the strangely contrasting Dionysiac "Denys L'Auxerrois" to justify one's claim for Pater as a creative artist of a rare kind, with a singular and fascinating power of incarnating a philosophic formula, a formula no less dry than Spinoza's, or a mood of the human spirit, in living, breathing types and persuasive tragic fables.

This genius for creative interpretation is the soul and significance of all his criticism. It gives their value to the studies of *The Renaissance,* but perhaps its finest flower is to be found in the later *Greek Studies.* To Flavian, Pater had said in *Marius,* "old mythology seemed as full of untried, unexpressed motives and interest as human life itself," and with what marvelous skill and evocative application of learning, he himself later developed sundry of those "untried, unexpressed motives," as in his studies of the myths of Dionysus—"The spirit of fire and dew, alive and leaping in a thousand vines"—and Demeter and Persephone—"the peculiar creation of country people of a high impressibility, dreaming over their work in spring or autumn, half consciously touched by a sense of its sacredness, and a sort of mystery about it"—no reader of Pater needs to be told. This same creative interpretation gives a like value to his studies of Plato; and so by virtue of this gift, active throughout the ten volumes which constitute his collected work, Pater proved himself to be of the company of the great humanists.

Along with all the other constituents of his work, its sacerdotalism, its subtle reverie, its sensuous color and perfume, its marmoreal austerity, its honeyed music, its

frequent preoccupation with the haunted recesses of thought, there goes an endearing homeliness and simplicity, a deep human tenderness, a gentle friendliness, a something childlike. He has written of her, "the presence that rose thus so strangely beside the waters," to whom all experience had been "but as the sound of lyres and flutes," and he has written of "The Child in the House." Among all "the strange dyes, strange colors, and curious odors, and work of the artist's hands," one never misses "the face of one's friend"; and, in all its wanderings, the soul never strays far from the white temples of the gods and the sound of running water.

It is by virtue of this combination of humanity, edification, and esthetic delight that Walter Pater is unique among the great teachers and artists of our time.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

# WHY IS HISTORY REWRITTEN?

BY LUCY M. SALMON.

A YOUNG engineer was recently talking with a group of persons who are giving their lives to the study of history, and during the conversation he remarked, "Your work is of course plain sailing; you do not have to contend with such difficult problems as we do." The verdict expressed by a member of a different guild of workers in the field of knowledge possibly reflects the opinion held by many intelligent persons everywhere. The problems of history doubtless do appear simple to those not actively engaged in attempting their solution—do we not all bear with ease the burdens of others, assume with success their responsibilities, expend with wisdom their income, and invest with large profit their capital? But the student of history is not misled by outward appearances; he knows his task is not an easy one, however much so it may appear to others.

Among all the many problems that confront the historian, none is more serious than that of the necessity of constantly rewriting history. Yet to the incredulous this may seem but an imaginary difficulty. Why, they may ask, does the historian feel this pressure to do over again what has once been done? Surely, if history has been once written it ought to stand; history deals with facts, these facts do not change, and the duplication of work already done means wasted, fruitless effort. Moreover, history is an interesting form of literature, and any one who has a mind "of ordinary education and experience," as Alexander Bain has expressed it, and wields a facile pen will have no difficulty in making his contribution to the literature of history. If the facts of history do not change, and if they have been presented in attractive literary form, the historian is condemning himself to a veritable labor of Sisyphus. Why does history need to be rewritten?

The question is not unreasonable. The largest literary output to-day is said to be in the field of history, yet much of this is apparently a duplication of what has already been done. Within the past few years in America, England, France, and Germany there have appeared various general histories of the world, usually written on the co-operative plan, all practically covering the same field. Within recent years the history of England has been written and rewritten and this not simply to afford a choice between an epitome of English history and an exhaustive description of its past, between a constitutional and an ecclesiastical history, between a history of a limited period and one covering the entire field; but in many cases the histories apparently cover practically the same ground, with the same exhaustiveness or the same condensation, and illustrate the same phase of England's past. Nor has America offered the historian a less fertile soil. History after history has come from the press, and these histories have been written by the individual historian, or through the co-operation of many historians; they have been published in one volume or in a dozen; they have dealt with the military or with the literary aspects of our past; they have presented the point of view of different geographical sections or of different political parties; yet fundamentally they are apparently the same. Nor are the conditions at all different in the case of a more remote period. From the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus, to the current year, historian after historian has found his theme in

> "the glory that was Greece
> And the grandeur that was Rome."

And yet of all these countless histories few to-day satisfy either the writer or the reader of the past—"the six best sellers" of last year are not more effectively forgotten than are, for the most part, the works of the great historians of the past.

In undertaking to give a partial answer to the question, two great groups of reasons may be presented here; one of these pertains to the questions that deal with the subject-matter of history, and the second group relates to the improvement in methods of work.

The most obvious reasons that compel the rewriting of history concern its subject-matter, and of all of these the

most obvious is the simple fact that new material is being constantly found. The recovery of *The Constitution of Athens,* attributed to Aristotle, "has rendered obsolete any history of the Athenian constitution that was written before the year 1891"; the recovery of the manuscript of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* made possible a new history of the Pilgrims; a previously unknown contemporaneous account of the death of Luther found in an old book in Philadelphia, and the marginal notes of a sixteenth-century Bible in the library of an American university, contribute new knowledge of the times of Luther—these are but hints of what prolonged, systematic search, or the chance of a day, may add in the way of new literary material to the stores of the historian.

Yet while the discovery of new literary material makes the rewriting of history from time to time necessary, this is, after all, but a minor element in the rewriting of history. The rewriting of history is made necessary rather because large classes of material previously unknown or neglected have been placed at the service of the historian. To-day the historian of Greece feels that it is almost possible for him to rewrite the history of Greece from its dawn until its twilight, and the history of the individual Greek from the cradle to the grave, from the study of inscriptions alone. Yet so recent and so voluminous a work as Grote's *History of Greece* shows little trace of the use of inscriptions as a source of Greek history. While it is true that Herodotus and Thucydides, as other Greek historians, made use of inscriptions, it was not until Boeckh, in 1825, began the publication of his monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* that their general use became possible. To-day we have available for the study of Greek history at least thirty thousand or forty thousand inscriptions, while Mommsen's great contribution to our knowledge of Rome has not been his own *History of Rome,* but rather his edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* which, with its continuation, has placed at the service of historians nearly two hundred thousand inscriptions bearing on the history of Rome prior to the establishment of the Roman Empire.

History needs to be rewritten because of the growing spirit of democracy in the republic of letters. Once the records of history were practically inaccessible to all except the elect. To-day material that was previously available

only for the few is being made available for all. The growing demand for publicity in the conduct of business, in the enactment of legislation, in the transactions of courts, has made itself felt in the opening up to all of many State records and of secret archives the use of which had previously been reserved to a few or even denied to all. Again, many private and personal records, as diaries, journals, memoirs, letters, and correspondence, are from time to time made available by the expiration of the time limit set by their original authors or owners for their publication. Frequently this material is of too personal or intimate a character to make its publication wise or advisable during the lifetime of any of the persons mentioned, and its publication is prohibited by will prior to a certain fixed date. The memoirs of Talleyrand were not given to the world until fifty-three years from the date of their author's death. The diary of John Quincy Adams remained in manuscript for nearly thirty years after the death of its author. Frequently important papers remain for an indefinite period in the possession of private families, but are ultimately deposited in public libraries or are purchased by the State, and hence their usefulness is multiplied. The papers of Andrew Jackson have but recently been acquired by the Library of Congress, and will soon for the first time be accessible to all. Much material has been unavailable for general use because but a single copy has been known to exist, and the reprinting or duplication of single copies has often made possible new points of view for the historian. Publishers long hesitated to republish works that were out of print, but they are now meeting the recognized demand for inexpensive reprints. Even so indispensable a work for the study of the French Revolution as Arthur Young's *Travels in France* was long to be found only in great libraries, but to-day may be in the hands of every reader and student.

History again needs to be rewritten, in order to prune away the excrescences of tradition—in history, as in nature, "tall oaks from little acorns grow." Eginhard, for example, in writing in the ninth century his life of Charlemagne, describes the battle of Roncesvalles and enumerates among those who fell "Roland, Governor of the March of Brittany." This is the only mention in history of the hero who for a thousand years has been a central figure in the literature and the art of every nation in Europe west of

Russia. Here, as in so many instances, an initial kernel of truth has become so surrounded by legend as to be entirely concealed, and thus history must be rewritten to separate this kernel from the worthless husks.

The poet also has laid a burden on the historian. The Duke of Marlborough is credited with saying that all the English history he ever knew he had learned from Shakespeare. This source of his knowledge must have left wide *lacunæ* in his stores of historical knowledge—*King John* gives us no hint of Magna Charta or of the meeting of the barons; *Henry VIII.* cannot be considered an exhaustive account of relations between Church and State; in *Richard III.* the king as an individual occupies the foreground; questions of succession and of rival royal lines rather than statecraft lend themselves to dramatic interest. The purpose of the dramatist and that of the historian are in a sense diametrically opposed to each other—the good dramatist must almost of necessity be found wanting as an historian, and the historian with dramatic tendencies is in danger of being disqualified as an historian. To expect the dramatist to be at the same time an historian is to expect the impossible. Yet the dramatist and the poet often deal with historical events, and not infrequently deal with them in such a manner as to give rise to serious misconceptions that must be corrected by the historian. There is, for example, a somewhat hackneyed phrase to the effect that the sea and the mountains are the natural home of liberty, and this is often taught as an historical truth. Yet Mr. H. B. George has found its source to be, not in history, which, indeed, contradicts it, but in a sonnet of Wordsworth's. Macaulay, in his *Lays of Ancient Rome,* has dealt gently with the probabilities of history, and has not hesitated to use them in such a manner as will produce the best dramatic effect. To the poet laureate must be charged many misstatements that make it necessary for the historian to follow in his wake and correct the excesses of his imagination that grow out of his official position—Dryden's *Cromwell* and *Ad Astra* may well be interchanged in their eulogies of Cromwell and of Charles II.

Another reason for rewriting history is the necessity of correcting the false assumptions of writers of history. History has often been written along the line of least resistance; and thus it has been easier to write history by the deductive

rather than by the inductive method, to assume an hypothesis either through carelessness or ignorance, and to make facts, if any are used, conform to these assumed theses. These assumptions, frequently clothed in language that carries conviction, usually deal with large generalizations and are often extremely difficult to disprove. Many of them are the familiar coin of the pseudo-historian, and many of them have passed current even till to-day. Among the favorite assumptions that have gained currency are those that the western division of the Roman Empire fell in 476, that the belief that the year 1000 was to bring the end of the world was universally accepted, that Peter the Hermit instigated the first crusade, that the fall of Constantinople introduced Greek learning into the west, that taxation without representation caused the American Revolution, that Washington as a boy chopped down his father's cherry-tree, that Jefferson tied his horse to a fence and walked alone to his Inauguration. These assumptions and their kin, whose numbers are legion, crowd the pages of history, and their presence there affords one of the most fruitful reasons why history has to be rewritten.

Next of kin to these false assumptions, on the part of writers of history, are the false and perverted statements of historians. Perhaps no period of history has afforded so inviting a field for these false statements as has that of the French Revolution. The temptation has been strong to write of it in terms of black or white, and the temptation has not always been resisted. Carlyle may not have been the chief of sinners in his treatment of this period—Lamartine preceded him in point of time, and his *The Girondists* set the example for an impassioned, rhapsodical view of the times, while Hillaire Belloc, in his *Ten Lines of Taine,* has shown that the succession has been maintained. But it has been Carlyle that has given us word-pictures that have held up to scorn and ridicule the chief actors of the period—pictures that have clung in the mind and are with difficulty dislodged in spite of the painstaking efforts of accurate historians to set the matter right. The historian of to-day must, indeed, feel that "he is wounded in the house of his friends" when his predecessors have been at little pains to ascertain the truth in regard to the past and have preferred to give a picturesque version of imaginary events rather than a sober, accurate account of what really oc-

curred. It is much to be regretted that the writing of history has always suffered and must always suffer from the inability of historians to know the facts of the past. But it is little less than tragic that so many historians able to reconstruct the past aright are forced to spend a large part of their lives in attempting to correct the errors made by careless, indifferent, ignorant writers who pose as historians.

History must be rewritten to correct the personal equation. All histories written during the supremacy of a strong line of kings, or of a powerful political party, or emanating from an influential church organization, are prone to be affected by the personal elements involved. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion,* with the best of intentions, could scarcely fail to be colored by the ultimate success of the Royalist party. For nearly two hundred years after its downfall, all histories of the Commonwealth were written by representatives of the Royalist party, and the publication of Cromwell's *Letters* was necessary to correct the personal equation in the work of previous historians, as it has in turn been necessary to correct the work of Carlyle by that of Firth. Text-books used in the schools of the north and of the south are still far apart in their treatment of our own Civil War, yet ultimately they must approach each other as the personal and sectional element in each is eliminated.

History must, therefore, be rewritten because many questions affect the subject-matter with which it deals—new material is constantly being discovered; material previously inaccessible is made available for the use of all; tradition must be separated into its component parts; poetry must be regarded as poetry, and not interpreted with literal exactness; the unsubstantiated assumptions of historians must be investigated; the false and perverted accounts of pseudo-historians must be set right; and the personal equation of former historians must be corrected. Were no other factors involved in the problem aside from those that affect the material with which history deals, it is not too much to say that the history of every period and of every subject that has ever been written would have to be rewritten.

But weighty as are all these reasons for rewriting history, even more weighty ones are found in that class that relates to improvements in methods of work. These include not

only improvements in technique, but the fundamental ones that are involved in methods of research, those that grow out of the application of the principle of division of labor, and others that come through the development of other branches of knowledge, while increasing precision and growing refinements of classification have affected for the better the methods of the historian, as these have also been affected by the realization of the important part played both by the constructive imagination and by the development of the science of historical criticism, and most of all by the substitution of the inductive for the deductive method.

The activities that are involved in methods of research concern first of all the discovery and location of historical material. As one of the great works of the astronomer of to-day is charting the heavens, so one of the tasks of the historian of the day is charting the location of historical material. Sixty thousand new worlds are reported to have been discovered as a result of the observations of one department of the Carnegie Institution, and the net results of this one department bid fair to be rivaled by the amount of important historical material located through different agencies. In more than one country is found to-day a great center of activity charged with the task of finding out what material exists for the study of definite periods of history. In America the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has already sent its representatives to England, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and Mexico to investigate the location and the condition of manuscript material available for the study of American history in its international relations. In England workers in the Public Record Office are making the treasures of the office available for historians. Conferences of archivists discuss the relative advantages of keeping and of making serviceable the documentary material of every country.

But the locating of material implies the succeeding step of preparing it for the use of the historian, and this involves first of all, as far as it has to do with literary material, the question of editing manuscripts. The time is not beyond the reach of memory when any writer or teacher who was broken in health or had made a partial failure in his profession was believed to be abundantly qualified to act as an editor. Happily for historical research those days are past. The principles of correct, reasonable editing

have been worked out from both theory and experience, and they have been incorporated in such perfect illustrations of ideal editing as is seen in Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America,* Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations,* and Paltsits's *Minutes of the Executive Council.* The editor no longer corrects the spelling, the grammar, the phraseology, and the moral sentiments of the authority he is editing in order to make them conform to the standards of his own day, but he gives the original manuscript or printed page in precisely the same form as when it came from the hands of the author. It is a far call from Jared Sparks, with his pious emendations of the language and morals of Washington, as is shown by a comparison of the original manuscripts with the form they assume in the *Works* as edited by Sparks, to the later edition of Washington's *Works* as given by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The work of the editor has been facilitated, as well as in a sense made more difficult, by the increasing demands made upon the copyist and the transcriber. Formerly any one could act as a copyist. Now so exacting are the demands made by editors on the copyist that copying and transcribing are professions in themselves. With the increasing demands made by historians on the editor, and by the editor on the transcriber, a perfection well-nigh impossible to attain has come to be expected. The aid of photography has been evoked, and the editor is content with nothing short of the facsimile of the manuscript or the rare printed page to put before his readers as the text for his editorial work. International congresses, as those at Liège and Brussels, are called to consider the question of the best methods of reproducing manuscripts, coins, and seals so as to make them generally available for scholars. The work of representatives of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in connection with photographing manuscripts in European archives shows how rapid has been the progress in meeting the demand for the absolutely perfect reproduction of historical material.

But beyond the locating and the editing of manuscript material lies the question of the selection of material from the standpoint both of authenticity and of authoritativeness. Time was when everything that was in print "went," but in recent years the reputation of more than one so-called

history has been shipwrecked on the rock of taking everything in print at its face value. The work of every historian is to-day discredited unless it carries with it indisputable proof of the reliability of the sources on which it is based, and it is because of ignorance of this fundamental principle, indifference to it, or disregard of it in the past that the burden is now laid on the historian of doing over again a large part of the work once considered final.

History needs to be rewritten because into the work of the historian, as into every other field of human activity, has entered the principle of division of labor. Once the historian was like the man who decides to build a house and then himself digs the cellar, lays the foundation walls, does the carpenter work, and decorates the interior. Oliver Wendell Holmes comments on the house that its owner boasted he had built entirely by his own hands, "It is better to be built in that way than not to be built at all." The historian was long forced to be "jack of all trades"—he collected his material, he examined its authenticity, passed upon its authoritativeness, and combined the results of his work into an historical narrative. To the result not even Dr. Holmes's phrase could be applied—the history was written, but it had better not have been written at all, since it has been necessary to do over again the work, beginning at the very foundation. If a history is tainted with inaccuracy, if its conclusions rest on insecure premises, if its foundations are on shifting sands, then it must be rewritten, and it is inevitable that this must be the case when the historian attempts to perform the work of the historical architect, builder, mason, plumber, and decorator. But to-day division of labor comes to his relief. Great editors have mastered the art, the science, and the technique of editing manuscript material, and the historian can avail himself of the expert knowledge of the editor. The bibliographer also has relieved the historian of a part of his necessary work. The great work done for the historian of England by the late Charles Gross, for France by Charles Langlois, and for America by the group of scholars whose evaluations of the literature of American history have been edited by J. N. Larned has all been of the greatest assistance to the historian. The historian also shares in the advantages that come to all from the extraordinary development of the library. It is the age of great librarians, and their stores of

knowledge and their facilities for placing this knowledge at the service of all have smoothed the path of the historian, while a similar service has been rendered him by the curator of the historical museum.

The development of other branches of knowledge has made it necessary to rewrite history. In law the formulation of the laws of evidence has clarified for the historian many troublesome questions connected with the acceptance of testimony. The impetus given by science to the training of the observation has sharpened the eye of the historian, and he sees innumerable records of the past that once escaped him. The increasing study of language and of linguistics has not only opened the doors to new fields of knowledge, but it has given the historian greater precision in the use of historical terminology. The enormous strides made by the subject of psychology have profited the historian and enabled him " to go behind the face of returns " and to understand the mental processes of the actors in the drama of the past.

Another improvement in the method of work grows out of the refinements of classification that are being developed. The different ways of classifying the subject-matter of a novel are quickly discerned; its plot, descriptions, dialogue, analysis of character, development of character, local color, language, solution of ethical questions—all appeal to different classes of readers. But the composite nature of the material with which the historian deals, and the consequent necessity of determining with precision its classification, are less apparent. The historian finds an important record in inscriptions, and to him the inscription means its subject-matter. But the geologist is concerned solely with the nature and probable original location of the stone on which it is carved, the philologist studies its language, the artist is interested in the form of the letters, the archæologist considers mainly its age, while to the epigraphist " epigraphy is just epigraphy." In the study of coins, the metallurgist considers their substance, the artist their form, the philologist their language, the financier their intrinsic value, the archæologist their location, and the historian their inscriptions. Libraries have hitherto classified coins in as many different ways as there are libraries, with corresponding confusion in the minds of all who use coins as historical records. The admirable work of Miss A. R. Hasse in pre-

senting schemes for classifying Government publications and all public documents, and for classifying coins and the literature pertaining to them, has shown how much has been done for the historian in simplifying and also clarifying the classes of materials with which he works, as it also shows how much still remains to be done. The obscurity and uncertainty of the past that has led to the classification, for example, of historical museums under the head of "amusements" must disappear as orderly, simple, and natural classifications are developed. But every new refinement in the classification of historical material makes it necessary to rewrite history that has been based on an obscure, confused classification.

History must be rewritten because historians are learning to distinguish between different forms of the imagination and to appreciate the value of some of its phases in all historical productions. The term imagination has often connoted literary imagination—that form that has given rise to the highest types of literature found in poetry and romance. It is self-evident that this variety of imagination must bring discredit on every work of history where it is used—poetry soars aloft while history penetrates below the surface. The occasional attempt to use literary imagination in historical literature has led to the hasty condemnation of every form of the imagination. At times even the use of the historical imagination has been condemned. The great narrative histories, like those of Macaulay and Motley, have succeeded, through the use of the historical imagination, in reanimating men and making them again actors in the theater of life. It is in large part due to this form of imagination that the historical novel owes its success. But histories written with the aid of the historical imagination have been, after all, but histories written "in the flat." They must be rewritten "in the round" through the use of the critical imagination. It is this imagination that makes alive not simply men, but abstractions: it is the imagination that enables the historian to understand allusions and suggestions; to look below the surface and to see the records of history in everything about him; to see in the marriage ceremony, in funeral customs, in the oath of office, in *viva voce* voting, in all institutions and customs, the records of what men have done since the world began. The attempt to write history with the aid of the literary

imagination has produced a hybrid that has been neither literature nor history, as is illustrated in Gayarré's *Flowers of History;* the use of the historical imagination has given us a panorama of the past; but, while the pictures drawn have been vivid and even truthful, they have been but pictures and have lacked the reality of life itself. History must be rewritten through the aid of the constructive imagination if the past is to live again.

We have recently celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of Niebuhr's call to a professorship in the University of Berlin. It is difficult to realize that within this comparatively brief period of a single century, largely owing to forces set in motion by Niebuhr, there has been developed the science of historical criticism that has almost revolutionized the writing of history, that has made it necessary to reconstruct our views of the past with reference to the principles enunciated by him, that probably more than any other single cause is responsible for the constant necessity of rewriting history.

Another great change in methods of work that has affected the writing of history is found in the substitution of inductive for deductive reasoning. It is not necessary to accept literally Macaulay's famous apotheosis of the inductive method to appreciate the revolution that has been made in the writing of history since historians have substituted conclusions derived from the study of facts for the assumption of a thesis and the selection of facts to prove the thesis. Many histories that represent preconceived ideas, rather than conclusions deducted from a study of facts, must be rewritten in accordance with the reversal of these two principles.

To the end of time, as far as the human eye can see, history will need to be rewritten, and in that very fact lies one of its chief interests. Progress is made not by advance on a plane, but by an ever-ascending spiral where the road doubles and redoubles on itself and at every turn presents a wider outlook than was afforded from the lower level, yet the summit of the highest peak is never reached, for unscaled heights always lie beyond. Clio holds in her hand a half-opened scroll, and we shall never read its unopened part.

Lucy M. Salmon.

# THE PHILIPPINE CIVIL SERVICE AND WHAT IT OFFERS

BY JOHN R. ARNOLD

Some one has said, with more than a little truth, that for the majority of Americans the history of our most important dependency ended with the capture of Aguinaldo. Whatever the measure of truth of this statement, it has had the unfortunate result of leaving all the subsequent policy of our Government, and the reputation of the Islands in general, a target for all kinds of misleading criticism, especially at the hands of a large body of American ex-residents who, victims while here of a tropical homesickness like that pictured so strikingly in Kipling's "Christmas in India," have returned to edify their sympathizing relatives and the editor of the local paper with accounts of the disadvantages—for the most part either imaginary or distorted—that make the Philippines, in their words, "no place for a white man."

The atmosphere thus created tends continually to hamper us in our task of maintaining in the Islands a reasonably stable body of American civil servants, equipped for their task not only by their knowledge, but by their mental attitude; and increases what would in any case be among our greatest difficulties in that we have at home no leisure class of "younger sons" such as in England find colonial service traditionally and socially attractive, while the pressure of numbers in the learned and technical professions is not yet great enough to force young men to seek such a distant field of work.

It is precisely because these difficulties exist that we who are still, more or less consciously, taking an active part in this great and novel experiment in the government of an undeveloped people owe it to ourselves, not indeed to claim that conditions here are millennial, but to state, what I be-

lieve to be the truth, that the work we are doing is one in which the energies of educated men can be worthily employed; and that, furthermore, the opportunities of the members of the Philippine Civil Service with respect to income, tenure, and such incidental matters as travel, amusement, and social intercourse have been generally misconceived and underrated. It will be my purpose now to make plain the reasons on which this opinion is based.

The first point, clearly, is to show with what prospects and by what means a man who has once become interested can secure an opening. Examinations, as the result of which nearly all new appointments are made, are given periodically in the principal cities of the country by the United States Civil Service Commission. Some of them are of a technical nature intended to secure men trained as physicians, surveyors, accountants, and so forth; others are more general in their scope, as, for example, the teachers', stenographers', and assistants' examinations. The first of these two latter have the reputation of being fairly difficult of their kind, but they are hardly novel enough to require any detailed description; the last is intended to test the general education of such candidates as have no special "trade." With the exception of "Colonial Government" and possibly "Economics," none of the subjects presuppose a college training, nor are the questions, as a rule, very profound; but they do cover a great deal of ground, they demand an extensive and accurate knowledge of details, and the marking is pretty rigid. A general average of seventy per cent. is required as a passing grade. Supposing this to be attained, the applicant's prospects of actual appointment will, of course, depend on a great variety of considerations about which it is hardly possible to generalize. Technical men are often badly needed; others, under present conditions, have what may fairly be called a good chance. In any case the taking of the examination opens a fair field, while at the same time it involves little expense and no risk whatever.

Once the applicant has arrived at the point where the choice between acceptance and rejection lies in his own hands, the question of most immediate concern is the amount of salary offered; and this is to be considered, if the figures are to have any value, in direct connection with the normal rate of expenses in the community where he must live. Most technical and professional men are at present appointed with

salaries of at least fourteen hundred dollars; but the general rule is to start Americans newly arrived from the United States at twelve hundred. These latter are enrolled in the lowest of nine grades or "classes," the compensation of which increases at intervals of two hundred dollars up to Class Five at two thousand, and thence at intervals of two hundred and fifty. Promotions must ordinarily be of not more than one class and not less than a year apart, though the first may come at any time after six months of probational service; under any other circumstances an increase of salary is approved only in cases where unusual merit or greatly increased responsibility is shown to exist. It would plainly be dangerous to attempt any very definite statement as to the rapidity with which an appointee under these conditions can expect to be advanced; but one thing, of course, is true of this service as of practically every calling: there is a period of a few years, say three to five, during which any employee who shows himself reasonably intelligent and energetic may expect to be promoted up to a certain point without waiting for special vacancies to occur. Outside of some teaching positions, the salaries of which are arranged on a different scale, it is safe to say that such a man in the Philippines, if appointed at twelve hundred dollars, may consider as fairly certain a second promotion to sixteen hundred before the end of this period; and a third, to eighteen hundred, as well within his reach. Those who entered originally in a higher class should be proportionately better off.

It is better to postpone for a moment any discussion of the chances for advancement beyond this point in order to take up, while these figures are fresh in the reader's mind, the question of the purchasing value of these salaries as expressed in terms of the cost of living in this part of the world. This is far from an easy matter, because on such a point a clerk transferred from a departmental position in the City of Magnificent Prices must evidently have a standard of judgment very different from that of his fellow just arrived from the rural South or West. Still, it is beyond reasonable dispute that any American must be prepared while resident here for certain increases in his expenses and obligations. Rents are high everywhere, owing chiefly to the comparative scarcity of buildings which from the Occidental point of view can be called comfortable or even

decent. Board is relatively high, because all places which cater to Americans serve for the most part imported articles; and a judicious compromise between native and foreign diet, though probably more hygienic as well as cheaper, is very hard to obtain. Laundry, moreover, in this land of white clothes is bound to be a heavy item. Taking all this into consideration, it may be said that the lowest usual cost of reasonably good board and lodging for a single person is thirty-five dollars a month, increasing in some situations to thirty-seven and a half or forty. Higher rates are often charged by more pretentious establishments, but can hardly be looked upon as normal. To any of these must be added a sum of approximately five dollars a month for laundry. In the case of families, it is a little dangerous for one not qualified by experience to attempt to give estimates; but I believe that the living expenses, including laundry and necessary servants, for a family of two could seldom fall short of double the minimum for one person, say seventy dollars, and would rise from this point with increasing numbers and the individual's notion of what his comfort and social position demanded.

It is necessary also to take into consideration a certain increase in the cost of many miscellaneous articles, resulting both from the expense of importation and from the high profits naturally expected by foreign merchants, especially Americans. As might be inferred from this, much can be saved by trading in the more out-of-the-way places, especially with the Chinese, remembering, by the way, that with this peculiar people one needs a certain "canniness" and no little patience to avoid barefaced cheating. This item of extra expense cannot be figured out with any exactness, but it must be reckoned with.

Last of all, the American here is confronted with a new obligation—that of providing for the transportation when returning to the United States of himself and any who may be dependent on him. The expense of coming to the Islands does not have to be considered, as it is advanced by the Government and does not ultimately come out of the employee's pocket. Without going into details, it may be said that the man who is figuring on the basis of a three years' stay (the minimum if he intends to return for a second period) must lay by in one form or another, as a fairly liberal provision for his own transportation, from seventy-five

to a hundred dollars for each year of this stay, plus a similar amount for any adult of his family or half as much for a child. Passage can frequently be secured to San Francisco on an army transport at a cost of about thirty dollars for each person, but this can in no sense be relied upon.

It is now desirable to sum up these scattered figures in regard to salaries and expenses, and to see just what light our knowledge of the latter throws on the vexed question of the purchasing value of the former. If for one person we must allow from seventy-five to a hundred dollars a year as provision for transportation and fifteen to twenty dollars a month for increase in living expenses, we cannot, if we are to leave any leeway for the increased cost of miscellaneous necessities, estimate the difference between the purchasing value of a salary here and at home as less than three hundred and fifty to four hundred dollars for a single man or from five to seven hundred for one with a family. Personally I regard this estimate as generous, or something more; but, considering that the long journeys and the general atmosphere of the American colony tend to encourage spending, it would probably be wise to let it stand as an average.

If we carry the calculation one step farther, and deduct these amounts from the figures given when we were touching on salaries, it would appear that the man appointed to the service at twelve hundred dollars may, if he is single, reckon his salary as having a purchasing value, after all deductions, of eight hundred or possibly nine hundred; if he is married, at not over seven hundred and not improbably as low as five hundred. Substituting, however, in this comparison the salaries which, it was stated, could reasonably be expected at the end of the first few years of more or less automatic promotions, the relative values would be for the former twelve to thirteen hundred; for the latter, nine to eleven hundred. These figures, unless observation and experience have greatly deceived me, indicate that the single man who enters the Philippine Civil Service at an early age —say twenty-two—is placed for some years in a position which, as compared with the average of his own age and education at home, must be called distinctly favorable. Those whose professional or technical schooling prevents them from beginning quite so early are apparently less well placed; their promotion, on the other hand, is likely to be more rapid. For the man with a family it may be frankly

admitted that conditions are not at the start very favorable. Many do come out with their wives at the usual entrance salary; but I do not think it can fairly be called other than very risky for Americans to attempt to practise love in a cottage in the Philippines. The importance of this handicap is very much diminished, however, by the fact that, both for pecuniary and other reasons, it is clearly to the advantage of any man to enter the service as young as practicable. With the salary which, we have calculated, he has a fair chance of attaining by the time he is twenty-six or seven, he is still in a position to marry about as young as most stay-at-home Americans of the same degree of education.

In what has been said so far I have purposely avoided discussing the prospects of a member of the Philippine Service after he has once passed these first years of apprenticeship and reasonably certain promotions. This is a question on which, in speaking of any calling, it would not be very safe to dogmatize; since such prospects must depend chiefly on the occurrence of vacancies and on the impression made by the man and his work upon his superiors, while these in their turn depend on such incalculable elements as the capacity, the temperament, the luck, if you will, of the individual. Still, every ladder has its top rungs, and in the long run a fair reward will usually come to such as give their best energies; unless, indeed, the conditions which govern such matters are, in their particular calling, abnormal. If it can be shown that these conditions in the Philippines are very much less abnormal than is sometimes alleged, the result will go far to prove that our service offers about the same chances of advancement as do other careers.

The first and most striking of the arguments which would commonly be advanced against this position is to the effect that at some indefinite time this Government will be violently transferred from the hands of Americans to those of Filipinos, and that as a consequence the careers of such of the former as may then be in the service will be abruptly ended. So far as this view is based on our widely proclaimed intention of preparing the Filipinos as soon as may be for self-government, it should be enough to point out that such a course of action would not only be a grave injustice to a large body of public servants, but also a complete reversal of our present common-sense determination to make haste slowly. Our object here both can, and ought

to be, accomplished gradually by appointing Filipinos to such suitable posts as may in the usual course fall vacant, so that when the shift of control finally comes there will be no difficulty in making fair provision for the relatively small number of experienced Americans who would then remain.

There are others, however, who advance this same argument on different grounds. They say that even if our own authorities do not consciously bring about such a catastrophe, it will probably come through defeat in war with some foreign country, through a local insurrection, or even through our own Democratic party winning an election and incontinently cutting the tow-line. Neither of the first two of these events is impossible, but doubtless most cool-headed men on both sides of the ocean would agree in pronouncing them unlikely. The idea that the third is probable is based on a total misunderstanding of the time-honored propensity of Anglo-Saxon minority parties to find useful as campaign ammunition some violent denunciation of their opponents' policy, only to recoil when victorious from the consequences of giving their threats practical effect. There is a possibility that any human organization may some day go to the wall; it exists in the Philippines as in the best-established mercantile concern, but I doubt if it is any greater.

This, of course, is not the only argument put forward to show that the path of advancement here is beset with abnormal obstacles. It is contended by many that the highly paid posts are neither so numerous nor so quickly reached as similar positions would ordinarily be in the United States. Such a statement is easy to make and almost impossible to prove or disprove. No doubt the salaries sometimes paid at home to the ablest technical and professional men are beyond the resources of this Government. It is equally true that some individuals, in any line of work, would miss their calling by coming here; but when this same claim is made offhand by any and every employee who chances to feel a trifle discontented, I for one am frankly incredulous, for the attitude is in many cases too clearly the result of a double vision which looks at Philippine and at home conditions through opposite ends of the telescope. "If we only," say these men in effect, "were employed by some one besides this Government our promotion would be as the sparks fly upward"—a frame of mind which is apt to make

their hearers justly skeptical. The very numerous applications from former employees for reinstatement furnish, in my opinion, pretty good evidence of the extent to which this attitude is the merest self-delusion.

Another contention holds that the appointment of Filipinos, to which we have already referred, will, even if it does not actually cut short the careers of Americans, close to them the most desirable avenues of promotion. This is undoubtedly a real danger, but it ought with care to be averted. It is always possible, even if more direct methods do not seem feasible, to reserve advisory positions of suitable salary and dignity, like those in which English colonial administrators have done some of their most distinguished and indispensable work.

In the last place, it is urged that this Government has lagged behind all others of the kind as regards the establishment of a system of pensions or long-service retirement. It is a question if this has so far done much harm in practice, but it is undeniably a defect which will call before very long for a remedy. It is, in fact, already engaging the attention of those in control, and it is in all probability a mere question of time before this objection will, like the others enumerated, be fairly disposed of.

The points we have so far touched upon all relate to the purely financial and practical sides of the subject; but these, important as they are, do not always fill so large a space on the mental horizon of Americans as do the sacrifices of creature comforts and social amenities which most of them believe they must make if they are to fix their residence here. That this foreboding is to a certain extent justified it would be idle to deny; yet it would seem that many of these sacrifices have been very generally exaggerated, and that various advantages on the opposite side of the balance have not been sufficiently understood.

It is not necessary to dwell at any length on the fact that to enter the Philippine Service means living in the tropics. The worst things that have been said about the climate here have been abundantly disproved; for those who are willing to do as the Romans do, it is neither deadly nor abnormally uncomfortable. The best months of the year are very nearly ideal, while the worst part will henceforth see a large portion of the American civil servants removed to the summer capital at Baguio, in the cool plateau of

northern Luzon. Even without this last advantage many have managed to live here for upward of a decade in at least average health and spirits. It is certainly significant that a large proportion of those who take leave of absence " to get a change of climate " do so in April or May, which brings them home at a time of year when the advantages of a " temperate " zone are, to put it mildly, not strikingly apparent. Moreover, it does not appear that dislike of the climate actually plays any great part among the reasons assigned for the resignations that take place.

Of more real importance than the living in a tropical climate is the sense of distance from home and from the great centers of western civilization which strikes the newcomer when he realizes that he must reckon the normal period of waiting for an answer to a letter at very nearly three months; or that, after reading in the local paper a bare announcement that the Sultan of Turkey is deposed or the Mayor of New York shot, he must possess his soul in patience for five or six weeks before he sees an account with sufficient details to make the event intelligible. The number of Americans who have lived here and have not felt this must be very small; on the other hand, even setting aside the system of " accrued leave " whereby employees are assured of a vacation at home at intervals of three years or more, this very deprivation carries with it opportunities in the way of travel and of living in an extraordinarily interesting part of the world, which must, at least to a good many men, be very real privileges. The first of these, indeed, has been so much exploited and abused that I rather hesitate to dwell on it; for natural as it may be to regard a two or three years' stay here merely as a price to be paid for a trip around the world, it is clear that such a government by tourists would be hard to square with any sound conception of our position. Still, even with this reservation, the chances for " seeing the world " are to be reckoned among the very greatest advantages of the service. Far fewer, of course, will be those for whom the opportunity of merely living in this part of the world will have any appeal. Yet there are some who will feel that this being plunged into the very midst of the great melting-pot in which the ambitions and ideals of the primitive Malay, of the sixteenth-century Spaniard, and the twentieth-century American are being fused into an unpredictable product—that all

this, coupled with the nearness of the Philippines to an awakening China, and to a Japan that has become a great expanding power, to mention only two of many neighbors, quickens the imagination to a degree that overcomes the sense of exile; and it is these men who can be most unreservedly advised to come.

It is true, of course, that a residence here involves, beyond the actual separation from home, something of a sacrifice of the customary avocations and diversions of American social life. In Manila this does not amount to much more than the absence of first-class newspapers, and of theatrical entertainments outside of the cinematographs and an occasional peripatetic stock company on its way between the China coast and Australia. But in the provinces—except for a few of the larger towns—the choice of American, or, for that matter, of any Caucasian society, is likely to be pretty limited. The severity of these deprivations will, of course, depend in practice on individual tastes and habits. One who has hitherto found his chief pleasures in the closely-knit social life of a medium-sized American town will doubtless feel a sense of loss, but for most men there should be in the long run some very real compensations.

In the first place, they will find that our community, gathered from every State and Territory and from not a few foreign countries, is very tolerant of local or personal peculiarities. It has little unity; but its intercourse is characterized by a breadth and variety—an unconventionality, if you will—which is likely to be not unpleasing to men whose tastes do not happen to be cast precisely in the mold that the "social circles" of the average American town prescribe for their members. They may not find it any easier to make acquaintances, but they are almost certain to find more easily just the kind of acquaintances they would like to make. Many would doubtless say that there is another side; that local opinion is too tolerant of some things which at home would be at least frowned upon in public. It is probably true that this is not the best place to send your children or your friends in the expectation that the pressure of the surrounding community will furnish them with a moral strait-jacket. But for such as do not need that kind of garment this looseness of the social structure means an opportunity for a kind of life that has the immense advantage of being independent and yet not secluded.

There is one other consideration which should also be at least placed before the American who is contemplating entrance upon this work: the fact that there is involved in it a very real chance for service of the kind that is not wholly for a man's self. On both sides of the ocean the somewhat blatant note with which we at the beginning proclaimed our altruistic purpose in the Philippines has died away into a whisper; to say much about it here is to incur a charge of hypocrisy or sentimentalism. Yet in spite of this I would maintain that this conception—that we are here primarily to teach the people we govern to do some things which it is practically certain that they could not now in the mass do for themselves—gives to our work a definite element of progress, in which lies its real source of strength. Such a position is morally impregnable save by a confession of cynicism or selfishness; and if we can get here enough men who take too deep an interest in the work they are doing to make such a confession, it will become impregnable from the point of view of practice as well. Nor, moreover, is this attitude incompatible with what is properly the first desire of a young man on entering any calling—namely, to advance himself. I have already tried to show that conditions in this service as to salary and tenure are, even by an exacting comparison, reasonably favorable; that to enter it means living in a most interesting world, and that the social sacrifices for which it calls are not without their compensations. It cannot detract from these advantages in the eyes of the kind of men who are most needed here to lay stress on the fact that this work, of which our country was the first to see the vision, is one worthy to be done; and that a part of the ultimate reward of those who engage in it will come when they see it progressing to a fair consummation and are able to write beside the record, *Quorum pars minima fui.*

JOHN RANDALL ARNOLD.

# JEW AND CHINAMAN

BY WILLIAM TRANT

THE Jew is a peculiar person, so is the Chinaman; and the peculiarities of the two races are not similar, but diverse. The Jews were ever wanderers on the face of the earth, and scattered so effectually that ten of the twelve tribes wandered out of existence. The Chinese, on the other hand, kept themselves within the four limits of their empire until white people forced a way through, out of which Chinamen go to all the countries of the world. The Jews, in their past, with a warrior God, were ever fighters, extending conquests and meeting reverses, as things happened, to and from every point of the compass. The Chinese fought nobody but themselves and always in their own country. In modern times this state of things is reversed. The Jews, no longer a nation, fight no one nor are ever likely to. China, consolidating into a powerful empire, has learned a lesson in fighting from the Japanese and is now ready to fight anybody.

Another dissimilarity is worth noting. The Jews have been persecuted as no other people were ever persecuted. "Suffrance is the badge of all our tribe," said Shylock, and he spoke truly. England set the pace, and when persecution had spent its fury and could do no more, their long agony was ended by expulsion from the realm. Other countries followed suit. The Jews were cut off from their fellow-citizens and were forbidden to marry except under restrictions designed to check the growth of the Jewish population; statute after statute hemmed them in, and they were excluded from all political power and their civic rights were of the scantiest.

Such persecutions (by others than themselves) have not fallen upon the Chinese—not yet, for there has hardly been time since the way was opened into the empire. But the white

people are beginning the process, and it is noticeable that the incipient persecution of Chinamen is confined to colonies and new communities. The peoples, young and inexperienced, are narrow in their sympathies and have not yet sufficiently realized the causes of the fall and ruin of nations and empires. Hence at San Francisco, Vancouver, and elsewhere the Chinese are subjected to a heavy import tax and are excluded altogether from some places in the southern seas. In British Columbia and Saskatchewan they are denied the franchise (as the Jews were everywhere at one time), and are otherwise hampered and harassed. Such legislation is cowardly and must make an unfavorable impression upon a race so sensitive that they are ever ready to discover the profoundest gratitude for the smallest favors. The United States recently refunded to China the surplus of the indemnity fund connected with the Boxer losses. China shows her appreciation of this act (which, after all, was but one of common honesty) by sending a hundred students every year to be educated in American universities. The thin edge of persecution of Chinese then has been inserted into our legal code, and Frank Oliver, a former Canadian Cabinet Minister, did his best to drive it home by means of legislation.

It is well to notice the consequences of such persecution. Taking the Jews first, it is learned that, harassed and hindered from every direction, they found themselves obliged to rely upon their own resources and ingenuity. Every man's hand being against them, they devised means of effectively turning their hands against every man. They early perceived the power of wealth and contrived means to secure so potent an instrument, and from the beginning accumulated money and quickly developed into capitalists. The Jews are now the financiers of the world. Cabinet ministers cannot arrange a budget without consulting Jews, for they govern the money market; a triple alliance cannot be made without the three sovereigns each summoning a Jew to their council; they are the power behind every throne in the world. As Lord Macaulay wrote: "The scrawl of a Jew on the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the word of three kings or the national faith of three new American republics." In short, the deprivation of political and civil rights has not prevented the Jews from possessing political power and civil influence. They possess

the power and the influence, and so long as they are allowed to accumulate large fortunes they must possess them. Where wealth is, there must power inevitably be.

Will it be the same with the Chinese? Hitherto people have imagined that because the Chinaman is an Oriental, therefore he is a dullard. There could not be a greater mistake. China has a history, and if that history discover one thing clearer than another it is that the Chinese are gifted with perspicacity in a greater degree than is any other nation. In shrewdness they excel the Jew, in cunning the Yankee. Like the Hebrew, too, they amass wealth and show business acumen not excelled anywhere by anybody. White-faced nations are but just beginning to realize this, and the Chinese are only just beginning to allow them to realize it. The Chinaman, as the Jew, has discovered that where wealth is there also is power, and he is rapidly becoming wealthy, so that the position of the Jew as arbiter of the world's affairs is being threatened by the Chinaman. What cares he for import taxes, deprivation of voting, social disabilities, and all the other restrictions to which he is subjected? He knows that dollars shall sweep them all away whenever he elects to exert their influence. When he sees Jews (and others) with seats in the British House of Lords that within recent years have been bought in every sense but the technical sense; when he knows that to locate a provincial capital a legislature is bought in every sense, including the technical sense; when he realizes that a Montreal grafter will prefer a dollar from a Chinaman to ninety-nine cents from a Canadian—when he knows and remembers these things (and he does know and remember them), he smiles at acts of Parliament to impede his movements and at the thousand and one petty annoyances concocted for his discomfort, as he would at the efforts of Mrs. Partington to set back the Pacific with a mop. The Chinaman is the coming Jew.

If Canadians or Americans do not desire Chinamen within their gates, there is a method of excluding them less insulting than that which now obtains. If it be desired to keep Chinamen out of Canada or any other country, let no one employ them either here or elsewhere, and they will not come here or go there. If they are employed in any country, they are needed in that country. Chinamen will not come to Canada unless Canadians employ them. If, too,

Canadians desire to employ them and are prevented from or harassed in employing them, it is a direct and unjustifiable interference with the boasted liberty of the Canadian subject.

When the objections to Chinese immigration are examined they do not seem weighty, as indeed do the objections to the coming of all so-called "undesirables." It is urged, for instance, that the Chinaman does not come to stay, but to make what he can and then—home again. The statement is not altogether true, but, were it so, is that not precisely what Lord Strathcona, Lord Mount Stephen, and some scores of others have done, and the process is still going on? Again it is said that Chinese cheap labor supplants the white laborer and throws him out of work. Is that not precisely what machinery does and what it is the mission of machinery to do? The whole history of immigration shows the fallacy that underlies the theory of "undesirables." The Mennonites were undesirables in Russian eyes, and yet they laid the foundations of the wheat trade of Odessa. The refugees to England from persecution in the Netherlands were regarded more meanly than to-day are the Galicians by some people in Canada. They were not allowed to enter towns, as being unfit for respectable company, but had to live in camps afar off. Yet they produced a stalwart race of workers from which many a British artisan that voted for Lloyd-George's budget is proud to be descended. The Flemings, too, were similarly regarded, and yet they introduced the manufacture of worsted into England and established the city of Worcester. The history of the Spitalfield silk-weavers and that of the potteries tell a similar story.

To some persons history has no teaching or warning, experience no lessons. Mr. Frank Oliver, Canada's ex-Minister of the Interior, whose pen and tongue have alike ever been devoted to an enlightened and broad-minded liberalism, has views amazingly distorted on the question of "undesirables." A few years ago, writing of the Doukhobortsi, he said: "They have shown themselves to be nuisances, personally, socially, and politically. Such people as these this country has no use or room for." Language of this kind indicates a lamentable incapacity to appreciate the teachings of history or to learn by experience. The Doukhobortsi are not the first persons that have behaved in eccentric fashion.

I read in history as follows: "The early Quakers were, indeed, a sore trouble to all decent communities. Some of them went abroad stark naked 'for a testimony.' . . . A woman presented herself in this state before the Protector in Whitehall Chapel, and the same thing was done in America." England with Oliver-like zeal drove these people out of her borders. It would have been better had she treated them as Canada treats the Doukhobortsi. England lost a community the mere remnant of which produced a Bright and a Cobden. The Quakers went to Massachusetts, but there were Frank Olivers there even then. Amid wholesale cruelties she drove the Quakers from her. Neither England nor Massachusetts gained anything by their dungeons and torturing-irons. The red-skinned worshipers of Manitou showed more of the love that is the corner-stone of our faith than did the Puritan Fathers who had themselves "been persecuted by an intolerant church and government 'for conscience' sake'; and amid kindly savages our Quaker friends established Pennsylvania and built Philadelphia." England lost by this transaction and this continent gained, and we do not read that these Quakers "have shown themselves to be nuisances, personally, socially, and politically," and that "such people as these this country has no room or use for." The matter in a nutshell is that the Doukhobortsi are behind the civilization of the day, just as the early Christians and the early Quakers were behind the civilization of their respective periods. The wise policy is to bring them into line with twentieth-century ideas and not to call them names and push them aside. Their fanatical follies vanish in a generation. This digression is to show the folly in and fallacy of the "undesirables" theory. Incidentally it tells us more, and not even the follies in a state of nudity, the peculiar vagaries, the maniacal derangement of the Doukhobortsi have any counterpart among the Chinese. They do none of these things; on the contrary, they have a clean record so far as the police court is concerned. Neither Canadian nor British nor any other race in the Dominion figure less in the criminal statistics than do the Chinese.

But, say the detractors of the Chinese, they will not, cannot assimilate, and are, therefore, undesirable citizens. Is this so? Can they not assimilate, and if they cannot or will not, does it matter? The parallel instance usually

quoted is that of the negro in the Southern States of the American Union. Mr. Bryce, in his book on the *American Commonwealth,* says the negroes are "unabsorbed and unabsorbable," but immediately (unwittingly, doubtless) he gives a reason for the delusion that is quite apart and distinct from racial or ethnological reasons. There are statutory prohibitions against intermarriage of blacks with whites, and persons in Maryland have been convicted and punished for breaches of the statutes. So far, therefore, from the negro being unabsorbable, contamination by his absorption is the one thing dreaded, or surely legislatures would not enact measures to prevent its happening. In other words, the negro and the white would assimilate but for the law that prevents them. It might be the same with the Chinaman. There are no physiological or psychological difficulties in the way. The Manchus were

"originally far nearer the European than the Chinaman; and if ages ago he had only moved west instead of east he would doubtless now be mixed unrecognizably with his cousins in the extreme southeast of Europe."

It is not difficult to show that we, too, have Aryan blood in us, and there is abundance of Tartar blood now developing the plains of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Mr. Frank Oliver may not like the picture, but he and Li Hung Chang are cousins.

But why should the improbability or inexpediency of assimilation make any difference respecting the Chinaman's position as a citizen? There is no difference as far as Jews and negroes are concerned. Chinese might, indeed would, become good Canadian or American citizens without being absorbed or without absorbing. Mr. Bryce, in his work already mentioned, does indeed say:

"Whoever examines the records of the past will find that the continual juxtaposition of two races has always been followed either by the disappearance of the weaker or the intermixture of the two"—(vol. ii, p. 514.)

Surely this is either a slip or Mr. Bryce is thinking of the ultimate intermingling of all the races of the world. The example of India proves quite the contrary. In that country there are British, Chinese, Hindoos, Mussulmans, Parsees, and a score of others keeping to their respective customs, their own religions, not intermarrying, and each maintaining a racial exclusiveness. Yet they obey the same laws, are citizens of the same country, subjects of the same sov-

ereign. Something similar obtains in Transylvania, where are Saxons, Magyars, and Roumanians, and it is not unduly stretching the point to refer to the French and the other nationalities in Canada, and it is difficult to see what harm the addition of a few thousands of useful Chinamen would do to the negroes, the Galicians, the Doukhobortsi, the Servians, and the Roumanians already enjoying the rights and privileges of full Canadian citizenship.

People are too apt to regard Chinese as barbarians, although every school-boy can tell us that they have the oldest history in the world. It is no exaggeration to say that many of the most important inventions the world has known, many of the greatest social, moral, and political reforms, have either been copied from or anticipated by the rulers and statesmen of China. The waters of the Deluge could hardly have subsided when the yellow empire began, fire was discovered, iron found by its first ruler, and the sciences of botany and chemistry so far advanced as to be applied to the cure of disease. About the same time silk manufactures and old-age pensions were established twenty centuries before they were introduced into Europe. The temperance movement, not yet a century old with us, was inaugurated in China over two thousand years ago, and the unlucky discoverer that an intoxicant could be got from rice was banished in disgrace. At the same time government based on the popular will, with the all-men-equal doctrine, was inaugurated. Seven hundred years before Christ federal government was advocated. Of inventions and utilities, gunpowder, glass, the mariner's compass, writing-paper, public libraries, and porcelain were old before Christ. The engineering works of China, roads, suspension bridges, canals, and aqueducts awaken to-day the admiration of the expert engineers of America. Printing was discovered nine hundred years before it was known in Europe; and in the eighth century the *Peking Gazette* and the first college in the world were established, both of which are in existence to-day. Even socialism was not forgotten by China of old. It was not Lloyd-George or John Burns, but Wanganchi, a statesman in the reign of Chintsong, about A.D. 1000, who declared that

"the State should take the entire management of commercial industry and agriculture into its own hands, with the view of succoring the working classes and preventing them being ground to dust by the rich."

An obvious retort to what is above written is that whatever the Chinese have been in the past they are now an inferior race and unfit for western civilization. This, however, is but a retort and not a reply. When did the deterioration begin and in what does the unfitness consist? Persons who know China and the Chinese do not speak of any degeneracy: quite the contrary. In Singapore there are only 3,000 Europeans, including half-breeds, and there are 87,000 Chinese. The latter are the bankers, merchants, lawyers, doctors of the island. They are, too, the school-teachers, and there is the unique state of affairs of British children being taught by Chinese teachers. In Shanghai Chinamen are as good and efficient members of the legislative council as is anybody. Indeed, it may be boldly said that everywhere, when not oppressed, harassed, and persecuted, they are equal to any others. Even in colonies and new countries that "keep them out" they assert themselves in a way that shows no inferiority.

An important matter to remember is that China never sought western civilization. It was thrust upon her and is being thrust upon her now. Says a high authority:

> "The deep feeling of the Chinese people has always been to be left alone in peace to pursue the even tenor of their way"—(*Life of Sir Robert Hart*, p. 221).

It may be all very well for us Westerners to wrap ourselves in our own conceit and say that because China did not at first appreciate our railways, telegraphs, and telephones, therefore they are dullards. It is a mistake to suppose that a civilization, because it is different from ours, is consequently inferior to ours. If four hundred millions of people say they do not want or desire western ideas, having abundance of their own, why should we force our notions upon them, especially as the only object is our own arrogant selfishness? We wish for or need their teas and silks, and we deny their right not to sell to us; and when we do buy we deny their right to come to us for payment, except under insulting restrictions. We send our battle-ships, battalions, and Bibles to force our methods upon them, and then we think they ought to be thankful for the western blessings to which we have introduced them. But they are not thankful. Yung Ching asks us: "What would you say if we were to transport ourselves to Europe and to act there as

you have done here? Would you stand it for a moment?" As a matter of fact, even now the Chinese would like us to leave: they know we are only in their country to exploit it. Minister Wen Hsiang said to Sir Robert Hart: "We would gladly pay you all the increased revenue you have brought us if you foreigners would go back to your own country and leave us in peace, as we were before you came." With China the dollar is not omnipotent. Ethics counts for something.

The awakening of China, then, is entirely due to the policy of the white people toward the country and their actions within it. Whether the result shall be a "yellow peril" depends also entirely upon the policy and actions of the white people in the future. There is no "white man's burden" about the matter unless the white man himself makes it a burden. England and the United States are spending $10,000,000 yearly in sending missionaries to China to teach its people that they are equal to all other people, as good as any other people, as dear in the sight of God as all other people: that is to say, in heaven, but not in Canada or the United States.

China, I repeat, is assimilating western customs, ideas, and civilization generally. It may be a bitter pill to swallow, but she is doing it as a matter of prudence and precaution. She has established a complete system of education from the kindergarten to the university on the English plan; her young children are flocking by hundreds of thousands to schools of western learning. A postal service has been established with remarkable rapidity; telephones, telegraphs, and railways are spreading faster than in any other country; and commerce, manufactures, and every department of human activity are throbbing with the impulse of a new life. China, always rich in agriculture and minerals, is developing her resources by western methods. Cotton-mills and steel-mills are multiplying to such an extent as to threaten the supremacy of England along these lines. Truly, China is learning much from the white man. What is to be the result—peril or peace? This depends upon the white man; the Chinese are peace-loving, but they are proud; they desire no aggrandizement of empire, but they claim the freedom an Englishman, a Canadian, or an American claims—*viz.*, to go where he likes and when he likes.

Contact between the East and the West is inevitable; it

is close at hand. Is it to be a friendly contact or a conflict with blood and iron? That is the question. The asking it is preparatory to a feature in the awakening of China not above mentioned. Many centuries ago China invented gunpowder to force from her rocks their hidden treasures. The white man has taught her another use for the explosive. How will she use the information? The Chinese are a quarter of the world's inhabitants; compact, united, harmonious, imperial. The inventor of standing armies many centuries ago, China will have next year an army of four millions of soldiers, or more than the combined armies of the British Empire, Germany, France, and the United States, and the soldiers are real soldiers. General Gordon, Lord Wolseley, General Ian Hamilton, and many others testify that the Chinese soldiers are equal to any others and not to be surpassed as artillerymen. China is arming quietly, steadily, and mechanically. She is drilling carefully, far-seeingly, patiently, and with an entirely new spirit. She is building arsenals. One of them at Hanyang is manufacturing 50 Munro rifles and 25,000 cartridges every day, and 100,000 shells a year. Four years ago she had 464,000 rifles and 1,058 cannon, and the manufacture is going on and other arsenals are being built. The latest news is that China is adopting the German plan of conscription. Should this be achieved, China will have an army of sixty millions of soldiers. It is also said she is anxious to engage the services of some leading British or American general to organize her military system. I hope something in this direction will take place, believing that it will tend to make the coming contact one of friendliness and to the common advantage.

What does all this preparation mean? Let us look into ourselves a little. The white man laughed at the yellow man and sent him battle-ships, battalions, and Bibles. Suppose the yellow man copies our morality and our example and comes to Vancouver and San Francisco with his battalions and battle-ships and millions of brave soldiers armed with the best arms the world can produce, what then? A simple sum in proportion shows that if the Chinese lost every battle and had killed ten men for every one they killed they would have a strong and powerful army long after the allied armies of England and the United States were exhausted. No wonder people talk of a yellow peril!

Such a disaster cannot come just now because China has

no fleet. China never dreamed of battle-ships until the white man introduced them to her notice, and now China is organizing a navy with marvelous rapidity. Battle-ships, cruisers, gunboats, torpedoes are being built; a force of marines is being organized; naval bases are being established, dockyards constructed, naval schools instituted, and there is a Board of Admiralty on the white man's plan. The weak point in China's strength shall shortly disappear. Such a people with such an army and a navy in keeping could sweep away any likely combination arrayed against her if she once turned her force to conquest and destruction.

The question is, What are we to do about it? So far as respects the Jews the matter is settled; they forced a settlement by their wealth, ingenuity, and persistency. They are now as other people, except an occasional recrudescence of medieval intolerance toward the poorest classes of Jews in some of the countries of eastern Europe. The Jews have survived one empire after another of their oppressors, but have never had an empire of their own. If success has attended their efforts with all their immiscibility, a character so unattractive, even repellent, their shortcomings even in righteousness, and their insignificance in everything else, without poetry, without science, without art, and without character, what shall be the result with the Chinese, with their intense solidarity, their marvelous industry, with faith in their new destiny, with a history, literature, and science that are and have ever been the wonder of the world?

China cannot be kept bound in her geographical empire forever. The history of the world shows the fatuousness of the notion. Nor will the overflow be across the plains of Asia and Europe, as was the great movement of long ago. It will take the line of least resistance—*viz.*, across the Pacific.

Is it not foolish to resist the inevitable? This one thing is certain: the young nations that show such little resistance to the scum of the cities of Europe and to the blackest of negroes shall meet with no support of or sympathy with their excluding policy from the mother country whose proud boast is that all peoples have protection beneath the folds of the British flag. Material advantages alone are sufficient to keep England to her old-time policy. To-day England handles one-half of the entire vast trade of China. (Why should not Canada have a share?) England owns

more than half the shipping that throngs Chinese waters, her welfare is bound up with China's welfare, and yet neither nation has ever objected to any other nation coming in for a share.

The real "yellow peril" is not the competition of Chinamen here, but industrial competition in their own country, as Goldwin Smith and Minister Lyon Mackenzie have pointed out. Orientals are not deficient in industrial quality. They "are the most satisfactory workmen that have come to the United States." Their navvies constructed the transcontinental railways of America. It is true that Chinese workmen are rivals of Canadian and American workmen, as the Asiatic railway servants were rivals of English railway servants in India thirty-five years ago. The matter was adjusted by the admission into the trade-union of their Hindoo competitors, and the Canadian and American unions should follow that example. They will have to do it at last, and may as well do it at first.

Napoleon said of China: "There lies a giant sleeping. Let him sleep, for when China moves it will move the world." The white man has awakened the giant, and China is moving. She is making history. The Jews are buying up Palestine and are gathering there to await the coming of their king. Perhaps with them history will repeat itself. Chinese history is not repeating itself: it is new history that is being made, and we, willy-nilly, have to share in that history. Prudence and ethics alike dictate that we shall treat China as we would have her treat us, as she does treat us. Our duty, then, is to throw aside racial prejudices and animosities and to recognize common interests, obligations, and advantages with the mighty nation with nothing between us and it but a ten days' trip across the ocean. Whether we are to work together as brothers or fight to the death rests entirely with the white man. The responsibility is great, because war would be not merely between nations, but between hemispheres.

WILLIAM TRANT.

# A CARIBBEAN DERELICT

BY W. P. LIVINGSTONE

THE protection of the Panama Canal when it connects the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been met to a certain extent by the decision of the United States to construct fortifications at Colon and Panama, but the possible sources of danger in the situation extend farther than the immediate vicinity of the works. It will be found necessary not only to provide for local defense of the Canal, but to acquire a larger measure of control over the waters on both sides of the Isthmus, and particularly of the Caribbean Sea, from which an attack could most easily be delivered.

It is true that the position of the United States in the West Indies is now less disadvantageous than it was before the Spanish-American War. There is no longer an unbroken front of foreign outposts extending from Florida to South America. Of the islands lying in the direct route to Central America one, Puerto Rico, has passed into her possession; another, Cuba, is under her protectorate and has supplied her with naval bases of the greatest strategic value. But between these two is situated another, which, although more than any other the key to the Caribbean, is practically derelict from a social and political point of view. The larger half is occupied by the republic of Santo Domingo, with a small Spanish-speaking population: the western portion by the black republic of Haiti, in which the language is French. The island is one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world; the land rises from sea level to peaks seven to twelve thousand feet high and embraces many varieties of climate. On the plains one finds the usual tropical conditions, whilst on the hills the writer has ridden over undulating ground which might have been mistaken for Scottish pasture-ground, and has been unable to sleep at night on account of the cold. Apart from its physical attractions it possesses

natural sites for naval harbors and coaling-stations unequaled in the West Indies. In the east Santo Domingo has Samaná Bay, a well-sheltered indentation thirty miles long, bordered by luxuriant cacao and tobacco lands; and in the west Haiti has, opposite the American acquisition of Guantanamo, the Môle St. Nicolas, a harbor which fully justifies the title once applied to it of the Gibraltar of the New World.

Santo Domingo has considerable relations with the outside world and is not averse to developing them. American influence is predominant, and when it became necessary to satisfy foreign financial claims United States officers were placed in charge of the customs. But Haiti takes up a different position. Racial fear and hostility have caused the natives to cut themselves off from the rest of mankind: they have few dealings with other nations and they resolutely decline to allow any encroachment on their isolation. They are careful not to give occasion to any Power to interfere in their internal affairs, and they keep clear of foreign loans and other entanglements which might menace their autonomy. "We do nothing to bring the white man here," said a President to the writer, "because we know that once he was here our independence would be gone."

This attitude has hitherto been regarded with the tolerance of indifference by the Powers who have tacitly agreed to give the negro a chance of development untrammeled by the exigencies of the higher civilization. Whether sufferance of the present state of things will continue after the inauguration of the Panama Canal is more than doubtful. The bulk of the world's shipping will pass within sight of the island, and it is impossible to conceive that it will be able to remain, as it has done for the past hundred years, self-contained, unprogressive, helpless, in the midst of a great stream of commercial traffic. The spirit of modern life does not allow stagnant conditions to exist within its sphere of activity, and circumstances may at any moment combine to bring the republics into notice and call for a reconsideration of their position.

In any settlement of their status in the future the United States must naturally have the greatest say. Haiti especially is a point of supreme strategic importance in relation to the Isthmian waterway, and it cannot be permitted to pass into hands that might utilize it to lower the prestige

and damage the interests of America in this region. So long, however, as the existing conditions continue it will always be a cause of anxiety and an increasing source of peril to the Washington Government. Its position has, moreover, a close connection with the ascendancy of the United States in South America. Europe, which has for centuries been busy exploiting the East, is awakening to a realization of the enormous potentialities of Latin-America, and nothing is more obvious than that the whole of this vast area will yet be the theater of great events. Americans entertain the comfortable assurance that the Monroe Doctrine hedges it round with an inviolate boundary within which the United States alone acts as guardian and dictator; but the unforeseen has a habit of disturbing what appear to be settled relations and values, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that some first-class Power, bitten with the desire for colonial expansion, may, on some plausible pretext, seize a territorial advantage from which neither the suasion of the Hague Tribunal nor fear of the arbitrament of war would serve to dislodge her. Political and dynastic changes on the continent of Europe may easily have far-reaching consequences, and should any such Power not already established in the New World obtain a foothold in the West Indies it would not only materially weaken the strength of the American position, but provide a jumping-off point for further acquisition in South America. Against any such contingency, however fanciful it may at first seem, it is the duty of American statesmen to provide.

The question is how it can be accomplished. The annexation of Haiti pure and simple would, no doubt, prove the most direct and efficacious plan, and it is probable that as good a plea could be made out for this step as was put forward to justify intervention in the case of Cuba. It has been amply demonstrated that, left to themselves, neither the Haitians nor the Dominicans evince any capability of evolving a higher ideal of national life than that of autocracy and revolution. It is clear that they need to come into bracing contact with more advanced peoples before they can make headway in the art of self-government and the development of social virtues. So far as Santo Domingo is concerned there would be little difficulty in carrying out such a policy. Local sentiment is, on the whole, favorable to any régime that will insure peace in the country and

the opportunity for quiet and continuous progress. An effort in this direction was, in fact, made in 1869, when, with the authority of the populace, a proposal for annexation was made to the United States. A commission was sent down to investigate the situation, and a treaty to carry the scheme into effect was prepared and strongly supported by General Grant, who was then President. It was, however, opposed by the leading statesmen of the day, and failed to obtain the requisite two-thirds vote of the Senate. In his message to Congress, General Grant said he had been thoroughly convinced that the best interests of the country demanded its ratification. His chief fear was that a free port would be established in the island by some other nation and that Samaná would become a great town capable of supporting millions in luxury. It is noteworthy that while the commissioners were on the spot they were desirous of extending their observations to Haiti, but were on some diplomatic pretext prevented from entering and exploring that republic. It is the African element in the island that will resent and resist any plan involving the loss of the constitutional freedom which they secured at so great a cost and the retention of which, however much they misuse it, they still regard as a matter of life and death.

Americans, on the whole, are not very anxious to extend their activities as a colonial Power. They have now had some experience of the difficulties of such a position, and there is a not unnatural reluctance among the responsible classes to bring a further batch of the colored race into a commonwealth already dominated and overshadowed by the negro problem. The most satisfactory solution of the question will probably be found to lie in some plan short of actual annexation. Something more than sentiment suggests a policy that will give the Haitians a further lease of self-government. However discouraging their history has been up to the present, the republic nevertheless constitutes what is, perhaps, the most interesting experiment in racial evolution which the world has seen, and a further chance should be given it of showing what the race might be able to attain to under better conditions than those which have hitherto governed it. The aim should be to place the country under the tutelage of a nation which, while refraining from exploiting it, would bring to bear upon the natives the outside influence that seems to be necessary to lead

them into a higher national existence. Such a relationship the United States could establish by creating a protectorate over the republic and applying to it some such wholesome check as that contained in the Platt Amendment or in some other special way guaranteeing the stability of government and securing the efficient and honest administration of the public services. In order to maintain its authority, and at the same time to protect its wider interests in the Caribbean region, it would occupy the Môle St. Nicolas and Samaná Bay.

The United States may be reluctant to take a formal step of this character, but it will sooner or later be forced to act as a matter of necessity. General Grant was wise before his time; and the situation to-day cannot be better summed up than it was by him forty years ago:

"The acquisition is desirable from its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce: it possesses the richest soil, best and most capacious harbor, most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of forest, mine, and soil of any of the West-Indian islands. The acquisition of Santo Domingo is an adherence to the Monroe Doctrine: it is a measure of national protection: it is asserting our just claims to a controlling influence over the great commercial traffic soon to flow from east to west by way of the Isthmus of Darien. So convinced am I of the advantage to flow from the acquisition, and of the great disadvantage—I might almost say calamity—to flow from non-acquisition, that I believe the subject has only to be investigated to be approved."

W. P. Livingstone.

# OUR GREAT NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

BY HERBERT L. SATTERLEE

It has always been a question as to whether or not it would be a good thing to have a national university in this country. We have the other two kinds of universities—that is, those supported by the States and those established upon religious or charitable foundations. The latter are all private corporations although exerting an ever-increasing influence in public affairs. Columbia University, the largest in the United States, was started with the money furnished by a lottery; Chicago, the next largest, by the generosity of a single individual; Michigan, the third in size, by the State in which it is situated. Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, and Cornell follow in the order named. The aggregate number of students in these six universities in 1910 was 34,318, and was a little in excess of that figure in 1911.

It has generally been considered that these universities, as well as the many others, furnished ample educational opportunities and served the needs of the country. It is as generally conceded, however, that no matter how much professional education might be represented by the diploma of any one of them, not a single university gives exactly the training that is most needed by the young men of a republic. Certainly none of them was organized for such a purpose. Most of them were molded by the traditions of the old world, more or less modified to suit the circumstances of their environment.

If it should be argued that no foreign country has a true national university, the answer is that no other country in the world needs one as much as we do. With such a variety of racial characteristics, with so many different religions, and with such divers climatic and physical conditions, a spirit of nationality must be the breath of life to our great federation of States. With no dynastic nucleus—with the

personal element left out—in a republic, this nationalism must be to a certain extent cultivated. The ordinary affairs of every-day life do not engender it. To fit a young man to take his place as a citizen of the United States in this day and generation, what should be the most important topics in his curriculum? Surely the first should be patriotism. He should have a reverence for the flag and for everything it stands for. Secondly, he should have a respect for duly constituted authority. These two traits, more than any other, are lacking to-day in American character, and both are absolutely essential to the permanent life of a republic. To-day our patriotism is purely emotional as compared, for instance, with that fine quality of patriotism possessed by the Japanese, and which the Germans also have in such high degree. As for respect for duly constituted authority, there is none. Every one in office, from the President of the United States to the policeman on the beat, is the subject of caricature by the press and ridicule on the stage. All this adds to the gayety of the nation; but it is dangerous, and if long allowed to continue, is going to mean something lacking in individual character, the aggregate of which means national character.

It would be well that a young citizen of a republic should be taught hygiene—how to live healthfully and to take care of his body properly. His muscular strength, agility, and quickness and accuracy of movement should all be developed. In other words, he should be trained to be as nearly physically perfect a man as possible.

And to be able to appreciate what his country is and what place it has (and ought to have) among the powers of the earth, he should be taught something about other nations. Further, every young citizen of a republic should be capable of manual self-support. No matter what other and higher education might be given him, he should be taught a trade. Even a man who is to have a professional career or intends to go into business would have a broader view of life if his hands were so far trained that he was a reasonably good carpenter, machinist, electrician, painter, or the like.

These are perhaps the five cardinal principles for the training of boys who are going to be the healthy, broad-minded men who shall keep this republic virile and strong to fulfill its destiny. And which of the American universities in existence to-day gives such a training? In none of

them except those which have a quasi-military character is there any attempt to teach patriotism or respect for authority. In almost all of them athletics are outside the regular curriculum. In but few is instruction in a trade compulsory, and in not one of them is there any attempt to give a boy a better idea of the characteristics of other nations than can be had from the study of geography, history, and languages.

There is no question about this, and since it is true why should we not have a national university? Why is it not a prime necessity for the training of the young men of America? This question has nothing to do with higher education, scholarly attainments, or accomplishments. It has only to do with inculcating those principles which make for the best type of citizenship in a republic, in addition to which, of course, professional men must have their special education and the whole field of the arts and sciences must be covered in just the same way that it is to-day.

The remarkable thing is that, in spite of the carefully determined plan not to have a national university in this country, the United States Government has built up the greatest institution in the world for fitting young men for citizenship in a republic. It has on its roster to-day 57,000 as compared with the less than 35,000 total of the six largest American universities. Its teachers are not theorists (as they must be in many cases in universities), but each one deals with those things which he has done with his own hands and is the leader physically, mentally, and professionally of the men under him. No university, no matter how richly endowed, has a plant or equipment comparable, for its purpose, with that of the Government.

To-day, when a large part of the offensive purpose of the Navy seems likely to be made unnecessary by the closer relations of nations and the higher development of mankind, it is ready to fit into the new order of things and take its place as the greatest national university in the world for the training of citizens of a republic. The young Americans who go into the Navy after about three months preliminary training begin their course of duties as enlisted men. This training lasts four years—exactly as long as the course of an undergraduate in a university—but there are no vacations. Surely no institution teaches patriotism, love, and reverence for the flag and respect for authority as well as the Navy. In none is hygiene and physical development

made such a matter of routine. In few are such opportunities given for learning a useful trade. And, perhaps best of all, the broadening influence of foreign cruises helps every young man to a better conception of what his own country is and how it should be developed. The two latter features make the Navy a better training-school than the Army.

Those who believe in unlimited arbitration treaties and universal peace and disarmament have entirely lost sight of the unique educational features of the Navy. And they must not think that the same result could be obtained by omitting the military character and having merely a floating university. Just as there can be no patience without pain, or resignation without suffering, there can be no such patriotism or respect for authority as must exist to keep a republic alive, without a martial spirit. This ought to be too axiomatic to any student of history to need argument.

If the people of this country will only study the requirements of citizenship and see how perfectly the Navy trains young men for it, there will be no question as to whether the country needs one or two new battle-ships a year. Familiarity with the subject will convince any one that nothing less than a battle-ship for each State in the Union will begin to satisfy the demands of the situation. Even then it would be possible to train only about 60,000 young men at a time. There is no reason why these young men, who finish their course of enlistment when twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, should stay in the Navy all their lives. The old race of " web-feet " has gone out. We do not to-day need a man trained in the habit of the sea to the extent that he was needed in the days of the old " square-riggers." A navy with a " capital ship " (that is, an all-big-gun ship, which was at first called a " Dreadnought ") for every State in the Union and the requisite number of auxiliaries would be the greatest educational institution that could be devised for the young men of the country. The traditions of the United States Navy are a greater inspiration than those of any university in the world. No college graduate can feel toward his *alma mater* as the man who has been a bluejacket or a marine feels about the service. An " honorable discharge " does not mean a knowledge of Latin and Greek as a diploma does, but it *does* mean (according to Navy regulations) " fidelity, obedience, and ability," which very briefly describes a pretty high type of character. The

"A. B." of the Navy should be a better warrant of the qualifications of good citizenship than the "B. A." of the university.

Think of a national university situated inland, most naturally in some interior State. Imagine it with highly picturesque surroundings and with a great and beautiful building for each State in the Union. Think of it as being equipped to train young men in just the things that the Navy trains them. Yet how incomparably more inspiring are forty-seven battle-ships, and how much better fitted for the service intended! The boy from New England who goes to a university in Massachusetts or Connecticut is apt to have his New England characteristics emphasized. The young man from Florida or South Carolina who goes to a Southern university generally graduates with his feeling for that section of the country increased and not diminished. As an enlisted man, either one of them during the same four years would have served, perhaps, on U.S.S. *Maine,* U.S.S. *Mississippi,* U.S.S. *Utah,* or U.S.S. *California,* with a new affection for each name and a new interest in each State, and he might, coincidently, have seen foreign lands and obtained some knowledge at first hand of two or three different nationalities. It would be quite possible to calculate the difference in the cost of maintenance and replacement of the university buildings and of the units of the fleet, but that difference, considered as an annual contribution to the maintenance of peace for this nation, would be but an almost infinitesimal percentage of the nation's wealth. Unquestionably in times of international unrest such a fleet would often be the factor which would decide for peace. Every year thousands of men who have had at least four years' training in the Navy go back to civil life. Each one is an exponent of the healthful life, good habits, and discipline of the service. The chances are that he influences others and the benefits of naval training are indirectly much more widely spread than the statistics of the Bureau of Navigation would show. It would seem to be a complete answer to the critics of naval expenditure that every dollar that has been spent up to the present time has produced its value in improving the standard of citizenship. Using the word "university" in this broad sense, the greatest national university in the world is the American Navy.

HERBERT L. SATTERLEE.

# APOLOGIA PRO NOVA ANGLIA

BY ARTHUR COLTON.

THOSE who go apart into unrailroaded intervals of New England know well the grassy road, the pasture grown up to scrub, the fallow that has forgotten the plow, the white disconsolate farmhouse with the ell occupied by Latin or Scandinavian, the old gray farmhouse empty, or merely some wayside maple trees and a weedy cellar hole. Our villages that are more than five miles from a station have usually—not always—dropped behind. They look out on the world with faded eyes from the autumn and downward slope of community life. The young men went away, their elders died, this house is empty, that was burned down, and the next harbors the immigrant. "The railroads did it," some say, "and the West"; and others say, "There is a systole and diastole in human epochs."

And if the inquisitive loiterer among quiet hills is himself of New-England Puritan stock and grew up on the edge of Puritanism's long afternoon shadows, he has the further experience of seeing himself in relation to an historic movement. A stage in the spiritual journey of the race has lately been left behind. He feels in his own nature the two pressures, of the Puritan feeling and of the reaction against it. He is of it and yet detached from it. He comes into acquaintance with the great Puritans of the past—Knox, Cromwell, Milton, Bunyan, the New England theologians from Edwards to Bushnell; in memories of his own childhood he recognizes the same tone of thought and feeling, and he is far enough from it to see that the tone was peculiar. Men will always be religious, but history will not repeat itself. No age will ever be "Puritan" again, will ever again look at life in just that way, ever again turn upon it that unforgettable face, or cast in the same set drama of far heaven and surging hell that vision of all

things and their consummation which Augustine saw before Calvin. And if there has already risen the analogy, that something like which Augustine saw in the drama of souls is now seen in the process of nature, in the birth of myriads that a few may survive, the many called and the few chosen, the analogy is but another glimpse and muffled upheaval of the mystery which underlies all definition.

Of the two most evident forces which have brought—or are bringing—that cultural epoch in New England to an end, one is economic, and comes as an invitation to the young countryman to seek more fertile farmlands, more stirring fortunes; the second is intellectual, and part of a world-wide movement that may yet come to be called "The Second Renaissance." The nineteenth, like the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was an era of horizons suddenly widened, of domains conquered from conjecture and annexed to knowledge, of unsettlement and readjustment in consequence, of awakened energies and a quickened pace. Its speed has made gaps between the generations, made fathers and sons strangers to each other's intellectual life. This generation of New-Englanders feels in its own being "the melancholy long withdrawing roar" of one tide that ebbs, and the rise of another flowing in with power from the deep.

The average man in new countries, or sections of country—and herein lies his attractiveness—is not afraid of life. He is not so because he has not yet been compelled to be, because he does not yet know what it can do to him. In the long run, among massed humanity, life is too strong and beats it down; and this beaten condition becomes an inherited fear. Wherever the pressure of population is felt, the majority learn to know that their safety and refuge against life is their little hole or rut, their bit of property, their business or practice or trade, the set of circumstances into which they have fitted themselves so as to find it possible to get along. They see all around them what it is to be without that refuge, to fall from their narrow niche into the pit that gapes beneath. But in new regions, among manifold demands and possibilities, one becomes versatile, able to do many things well enough for the hurried purposes of the place, instead of one thing extremely well. So that if one undertaking fails, another is not compromised. If a man falls, he rises easily. He can be ruined and laugh, for ruin in a new country is not like ruin in an old country.

It is quite a different thing. And this buoyancy and indifference to the oppression of life is because the oppressing hand as yet lies lightly. The reason is largely economic. Whoever has something, or is something, for which the demand is greater than the supply, is on the sunny side of the market, and life goes gallantly with him while that condition lasts. In the far West there are still more things to be done than there are men to do them, and this continuing, or only gradually vanishing condition, has, in part at least, given rise to the western type, which characterizes all America against older countries, and the newer parts of America against the older parts. For our freedom and our hope are not governmental. Our form of government is a result rather than a cause. Whether some other form might not have done as well, or whether something like this was the only possible form, we were not made what we are by the Constitution, but by space and opportunity, and changing conditions and diminishing space will remold us to further results. The West clamors for more population, and this clamor is a singular compound. Much of it comes from an interest in real estate and nearer markets. Much is of local pride in the growth of State or city or township. But what it would seem to be at first sight, an altruistic desire that others should come to share the advantage—which advantage is certain to be lost in proportion as they come—this is hardly an element in the clamor at all.

It may still be wise then, in the main of chance, for the young man who has not yet learned to be afraid of life, to go West, provided he goes far enough. He is still somewhat less likely there to be compelled to learn it. Wisely, at least inevitably, he has been going these several generations. Hence it comes that leaves fallen from the maple-trees lie, flaring red with October, here beside so grass-grown a well curb, and far down in the well the water-bugs skate about on the gloomy glimmering surface; that goldenrod and purple asters underbank so deeply the glassless windows and hide the foundations of the gray old house.

"Why is it that we stray
Around that sunken sill?
They are all gone away;

"And our poor fancy's play
For them is wasted skill;
There is nothing more to say."

It is wasted for them. But for his own purposes one may use whatever fancy he finds significant, and may find it useful to imagine a voice flying westward from this land of lonely hillsides and autumnal beauty, saying to whom it may concern: "I have given my best for your upbuilding. I have stripped my hearths for you. The brain and courage that made you was mine. And you hold up your strength against me for a reproach!"

How closely silence pursues the footsteps and conversations of men is seen in grass-grown cellar holes better than in those Roman burial urns into which oblivion dropped her poppy a millennium and a half ago, and upon which Sir Thomas Browne wrote an essay full of quaint considerations and solemn harmonies. He remarked how the iniquity of this oblivion "deals with the memory of man without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Twenty-seven names make up the first story before the Flood, and the recorded names ever since make up not one living century." But let the roof of an abandoned farmhouse in New England have fallen in as little as fifty years back and you may inquire vainly for their names who sunned themselves in its doorway.

The American traveler in England has drawn inferences slighting to his countrymen from the solid masonry he saw there. Emerson, Hawthorne, and Burroughs have exclaimed at its bridges and walls. How massive and enduring! As men build, so they are! The Englishman is solid and trustworthy, and could not put up with our flimsy structures. But if further travel leads to the discovery that the Frenchman and Italian build their bridges as solidly as the Englishman, if not more so; that the house walls in Paris and Rome are, if anything, more solid than in London; that the fickle Athenian set more stalwart columns about his temples than the conservative Roman; that the Egyptian and Etruscan built more solidly than either the Greek or Roman, and mainly for the reason that they did not know so much about architecture; it seems to follow that the inference of the distinguished travelers was a hasty one.

Our ways of building, the wooden country house, the steel-framed city, have their own philosophy. The Roman masonry and the steel frame have much in common—some-

thing in appearance and more in the spirit behind them—a certain sense of the command of physical resources, a scorn of difficulty, a ruthless efficiency to the end in view, distinct in both and less evident in the constructions of intermediate times. The stalking arches of the Claudian Aqueduct and the bridges that leap from Manhattan to Brooklyn express a like virility and speak with the same accent. Our farm-house walls are ephemeral mainly for the not very significant reason that wood is abundant, makes a warm enclosure against biting winters, and decays when no longer cared for; yet it is not a meaningless fact, nor without relations, that with us the life of a house is as the life of a man, some threescore years and ten, unless by reason of strength it be more. The fact has its significance, but it does not signify that the spirit of the builder was itself built of slight materials.

One of the long, slow social changes of the race has been the merging of small compact groups into larger and looser groups, the emerging of the individual from the looser organization, and the stronger emphasis put upon the rights of individuals as distinct from the needs of the group. The American, in particular, is little apt to think of his personality either as absorbed in his nation, or as a momentary ripple in the stream of his race and on the endless tide of life. Something in his blood persuades him of an independent value. "Masses!" cries Emerson, voicing the deeper sense of his age and people; "the calamity is the masses!" Let us have persons! Let the unit be the person, not the class, caste, type, tribe, nor even the family. For if there is a divinity resident among us, its abiding-place is separately in the soul of each man apart, and there, if anywhere, is the inner temple. There is more direct divinity in one man's secret aspiration than in all the long fugue of history. If, then, on this side of the Atlantic there is a more distinct tendency for a man to stand by himself, to some extent as regards his own generation, and more so with respect to the generations before him, it shows us—no less than our larger and looser grouping shows us—so far to be in the vanguard of change. Among the Breton peoples, says Renan, life is not "a personal adventure, undertaken by each man on his own account, and at his own risks and perils; it is a link in a long chain, a gift received and handed on, a debt paid and a duty done." Among us there is some-

thing of a tendency to regard life as precisely that "personal adventure," a tendency which, applied to house-building, might take the form of the question, "Why build a house to outlast my time and hamper my descendants with the refuse of me? Each generation has a right to its own period. Let it build its own walls, and face its own issues with a present valor."

Cardinal Newman distinguished two types of minds, "the Catholic and the Puritan, to one of which the visible and invisible are only two different aspects of one great reality, while to the other they stand apart as sundered if not antagonistic"; and whatever doubt there may be of the soundness of the distinction so stated, it is certain that the Puritan set the invisible at a bleak distance above the visible, as well as made his own search after the invisible a personal adventure, compared with which a westward voyage over wintry seas to an uncharted coast may easily have seemed like a trip from the fireside to the cupboard. He saw his own soul less as having part in an institutional or associate salvation, than, as Wordsworth saw the mind of Newton, "voyaging through strange seas—alone." So that, if, feeling each life to be isolated and distinct, his instinct in house-building was not for permanence; if he was content to render to the earth all things that belonged to the earth, to leave his habitation, like his body, to a swift decay—a depression only where the one had stood, a low mound where the other had been laid beneath; it was surely not a trivial way of conceiving the matter.

I once shocked a Southern lady, unintentionally, by saying that I was a "Yankee" and she was so good as to deny it with indignation. For it appeared on inquiry that "Yankee," to her mind, was not—at least was not any longer—exactly identical with Northerner or New-Englander, but meant some kind of a tricky, pushing, and rather vulgar person. Even so, the situation seemed a little depressing.

The word "Yankee" is not, however, in general usage altogether a term of reproach. Apart from reproach, it appears in Europe to mean any one from the States, in the South any one from the North, and in the North any one from New England; while, on the other hand, the man born and bred in New England is puzzled when he considers this

imaginary type of his native land, this conception which seems to be connoted or described by the word "Yankee" —is puzzled because it has little or no resemblance to the New-Englander as he knows or once knew him. It is not an unattractive type in its own way, and it is found in New England, as elsewhere, but it is no more like the old New-England farmer than like the Southern planter or Western ranchman. It smacks no more of the hay-field than of the cotton-field or the range. It is not a rural type at all, but a trader. It reminds one most of a commercial traveler. The rural New-Englander, loosely generalized from observation, has the stamp of the country—that is, he is, or was of old, a slow man, of reluctant speech, fixed in character, reserved in opinion, by no means inquisitive, and as the world goes singularly honest; but the imaginary "*Yankee*" seems to be, to some extent, the opposite of all these. Nor has he the features of the Puritan. Where did he come from?

If he could be shown to have for his chief if not "only begetter" one who was, in fact, a commercial traveler, and no other than the traveling peddler of old days, the puzzle might be explained.

By reason of its denser population in a country of more limited arable land, its rigorous climate, abundant water power and innumerable harbors, New England developed manufactures on the whole somewhat earlier and more variously than other sections. There being no other means of transport to the inland and remote consumer, the smaller products of these industries were carried by peddlers, foot and horseback and wagon. The Yankee peddler went wherever a road went. Alabama, the Pennsylvania frontier and such distant interiors knew him, which knew no other New-Englander. He had the habits and characteristics bred of his business. He was quick, talkative, tricky, humorous; his daily and hourly life was guile and gossip, penny and profit, pertinacity and push. How should a planter know that the man at his door was the product of an occupation rather than of a locality, and as far from the type of Everett and Emerson as it was from the type of Calhoun and Lee?

The genius of New England found its best expression in its literature. Whatever "Yankee" may mean, the New-Englander, who still speaks with the voice of that literature, was a man more intellectual than emotional, more original than intense, more refined than rugged, less profound in

his passions than passionate for ideas, a lover of justice and knowledge, a clear and forgetive intelligence, that often brooded and dreamed, but more often turned a keen, often a troubled face home to the need of things, one to whom ideals were things.

According to Thomson's "Seasons," the English autumn has a subdued and brooding personality.

> "Fading, many colored woods,
> Shade deepening over shade, the country round
> Imbrown; a crowded umbrage, dusk and dun,
> Of every hue from wan declining green
> To sooty dark—a sober calm
> Fleeces unbounded ether—clouds imbibe the sun,
> And through their lucid veil his softened force
> Shed o'er the peaceful earth."

Such are not our Octobers among the hills. The spirit of New England is never keener than then, the year never more daring and full of inventions than in the early days of its decline. It is as if a man well past his climacteric should suddenly discover that existence was more than ever a vivacious and sparkling affair; should set out with a springing stride, in a military garb of scarlet, gold, and blue, to infect the world with his gusto; and so pass on blowing his requiem on a bugle, and proclaiming that he would die as gladly as he has lived, and lay him down with a will in the faith that death also is an act of energy.

Goldenrod and purple asters fringe the grassy road, and opulently bury the foundations of the abandoned house. The maple-trees in front of it are ablaze with red and yellow. The winds have in them no sound of languor or regret, but are full of piping business. Cardinal flowers, single and self-sufficient, stand by small tempestuous streams.

But "life and thought have gone away" from the gray old house; its foundations are sunken, its roof subdued.

> "They are all gone away,
> The house is shut and still,
> There is nothing more to say";

only to wish them well, whom Roger Williams called "the people of God, wherever scattered about Babel's banks."

ARTHUR COLTON.

# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

RECOLLECTIONS GRAVE AND GAY. By Mrs. BURTON HARRISON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

MRS. HARRISON has gathered up, in a very entertaining form, a series of recollections, for the most part of considerable historical value, which she justly describes as "grave and gay,"—grave, because she was, from start to finish, in the thick of the Civil War—gay, because even those terrible scenes could not always repress the cavalier spirit of the Southerners. In her youth she was intimate with people who were as familiar with the traditions of Mount Vernon, Arlington, Monticello, and Belvoir as with those of their own homes. Much of her early life was passed at Vaucluse, a Fairfax homestead, not far from Alexandria. This was a typical Virginian mansion, which received an endless procession of cousins and aunts; the stalls accommodated their horses; the slave-quarters their attendants; and "nobody ventured to think that any one was inconvenienced." Here our authoress led the life of an adventurous little Virginia girl of that period—sometimes curled up in an alcove reading *Sir Roger de Coverley* or *Gulliver's Travels;* but more often out-of-doors scouring the woods, climbing trees, riding horses to water, wading the streams, or picking wild flowers. This life was varied by visits to Washington in the family coach; and she recalls that on these journeys her mother and grandmother loved to discuss "the latest doings of Queen Victoria's Court." Was she influenced by inherited veneration in the scene with the Prince of Wales at Mount Vernon? "I had the glory," she says, "of standing by a box hedge in the garden, and presenting to his Royal Highness a basket of flowers picked from bushes traditionally said to have been planted by Mrs. Washington."

War was declared, and as Vaucluse was in the path of the Federal army, her grandmother and mother decided to take refuge with the Confederates near Manassas. Their first act was to bury the family silver in the cellar. The house was afterward burned, its site became a Federal camp, but the presence of the silver was not discovered. After the war, when dug up, it was found to be as black as the old negro who had assisted, four years before, in hiding it.

As soon as the little party of refugees arrived at a place of safety near the Confederate army, the life of vivid contrasts began. "We drove to several impromptu entertainments at Camp Pickens," Mrs. Harrison records of this time: "there dinners were cooked and served to us by our soldier lads, spread on rough boards, eaten out of tin plates and cups, amid such a storm of rollicking gayety and high hope that war seemed a merry pastime." A week later, the battle having been fought, Miss Cary, as she

then was, accompanied by a party on horseback, rode over the field, "between hillsides piled with hecatombs of dead horses and scattered with hasty graves."

Her mother was anxious for her to return to her school-books as more suited to her immature years. "Alas, it was war-time!" exclaims Mrs. Harrison. "I had already tasted the sweets of emancipation; the woods were full of handsome and delightful officers and privates eager to be entertained and heartened to the fray." She and her beautiful cousins, Hetty and Jenny Cary, of Baltimore, were soon busy with providing the Confederates with flags and a new "Marseillaise." The air was that of the famous "My Maryland." It was reported at the time that the flag which each of the young ladies sent to a favorite general was made of her own dress. This Mrs. Harrison denies. Her flag, which was presented to General Van Dorn, passed through many battles, and, torn by bullets and stained by the weather, is now preserved in her home in Washington.

In the winter of 1862, Mrs. Cary and her daughter, accompanied by the charming cousins, took refuge with an uncle in Richmond. Here the life at Manassas—only more startling in its contrasts—was resumed. "Several times," she says, "we gave suppers, to which we contributed only a roast turkey, a ham, and some loaves of bread, with plates, knives, and forks. It was an amusing sight to see a major-general come in hugging a bottle of brandied peaches, and a member of Congress carrying his quota of sardines and French prunes." Then followed the battle of Seven Pines which gave the other side of the shield. "The first guns sent our hearts into our mouths like a sudden loud knocking at one's door at night. . . . No one wept or moaned aloud. All were about their task of preparing for the wounded, making bandages, scraping lint, improvising beds."

The sounds and sights of the city are vividly presented. "The tramp of rusty battalions, the short imperious stroke of the alarm bell, the clash of passing bands, the gallop of horsemen, the roar of battle, the moan of hospitals, the stifled note of sorrow." Inevitably, the fearful tension was followed by moments of complete relaxation. "Night after night," writes a friend to Mrs. Harrison, "I galloped into town to attend dances, charades, what not, and I did not get back to camp until two, three—what matter the hour!" Many of these gallants did not survive to tell the tale of their short-lived happiness, as the following shows: "Ellis Munford was killed at Malvern Hill and was brought home in the dusk of the evening, lying across his own caisson, and delivered to his own family, sitting, all unconscious of their loss, upon the steps of their dwelling, seeking the cooler temperature that falls after dark in a Southern summer."

This life of feverish comedy and terrible tragedy only came to an end with the evacuation of the city by the Confederate forces.

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MEMORIES OF TWO WARS, CUBAN AND PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCES. By GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

THE adventures described by General Funston smack more of the irresponsible imaginings of De Foe and Stevenson than of the unvarnished

and unembroidered record of a modern soldier. This epitome of stirring memories of two wars may not possess the consummate literary finish of *Captain Singleton* or *Kidnapped,* but it is as full of romantic scenes, and of as many "hairbreadth 'scapes," by field at least, as either of those well-known tales of sanguinary daring. The pirate has been driven from the sea, and the freebooter from the land—Kidd and Blackbeard no longer lie in wait along any coast, and Rob Roy has retreated for good into his Highland cave—and yet this volume with its extraordinary wealth of wild incident in tropical countries proves that our own times are far from lacking in those dangerous situations, and those dramatic characters, which the great novelists have seized upon to vivify their pages.

The most interesting portion of General Funston's recollections is devoted to his Cuban career. Here is reflected in full the reckless spirit which animated the vagabond filibusters who followed Walker in Nicaragua. As a youthful volunteer with the Cuban guerillas, he threw himself into the sharp hostilities of those hide-and-seek campaigns with all the ardor of one who loves danger for danger's sake alone. He was not impelled by patriotism, or by desire for his wage, or even by a natural aspiration for military promotion. It was this spirit in him which looked upon adventure as an ample reward in itself that gives a high degree of fascination to the narrative of those Cuban experiences, which is not so conspicuous in the account of the more regular fighting in the Philippines, though varied by such a sensational episode as the capture of Aguinaldo. We seem to be carried back to another century, when the fighting man was closer to the uncivilized man than he is to-day; but for that very reason, we obtain an impression of such romantic freshness as few books recounting military adventures of our own times are able to convey.

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Social Forces in American History. By A. M. Simons. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

There are two statements in Mr. Simons's preface which raise high expectations in the reader—he informs us that he has devoted ten years to the preparation of this volume; and that it is based upon original research. A work springing from such prolonged reflection, and illumined from the original sources, should possess an uncommon merit.

But no such claim can be advanced for this work. Mr. Simons is very much in the condition of Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield*—it is evident that he has not turned a single page of American history without expecting the head of the capitalist to pop in—the undissevered head, unfortunately, as he seems to think—and if not there already, he drags it in. It is not a history which he has written, as his title would indicate, but an argumentative, *ex-parte* pamphlet, sometimes ingenious, almost always violent, in which he has gathered up all the facts that he thinks confirm his assertion that the annals of the United States constitute but a continuous crime against the rights of labor. Periods in which laboring men are supposed to have enjoyed equal opportunities for advancement are held up as particularly odious for tyranny to that section of the community. There has been an impression abroad that this country, even in Colonial times, was a harbor for the oppressed of all lands, high

and low, but especially for those persons who have to make their way with their bare and empty hands. Mr. Simons endeavors to dispel this comfortable impression.

According to him, the Revolution was simply "a violent upheaval of society, by which the capitalist class overthrew feudalism." The Constitution was suggested and framed by "a band of conspirators" merely to promote the welfare of that class. When the Constitution had been once adopted, the merchants, manufacturers, and bankers threw overboard the Southern planters, who had united with them in drafting it, and, led by Hamilton, enacted the measures relating to the tariff, the national debt, and the national bank which were to establish the supremacy of their interests without regard to the interests of the community as a whole. The controlling class at this time was really the merchants, since the bankers and the manufacturers were as yet comparatively unimportant.

It was not until after the War of 1812-15 that the tariff began to swell abnormally the income of the manufacturer. For a time, says Mr. Simons, he wrested possession of the "governmental machine" from the merchant; but his hand was gradually unloosed by the Southern chattel slaveholder, who, when forced in his turn to relax his grasp, seceded. As soon as the Southerner left the Union, the manufacturer again acquired control of the central government, and has kept it down to the present time. But there are, according to Mr. Simons, portents in the political sky that he will, for the second time, have to give way. The laborite, like the merchant, the manufacturer, and the slaveholder before him, is fighting fiercely for political power—*i. e.*, for the possession of the government at Washington. Mr. Simons predicts that he will succeed in this contest. "All other classes," he remarks, "have gained power only as they have persuaded, bribed, or terrorized workers into fighting or voting for them. Now that the working class is fighting its own battles, there is no possibility of defeat."

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SERVING THE REPUBLIC. MEMOIRS OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY LIFE OF NELSON A. MILES, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911.

A MAN who could, in real warfare, without any previous training at a military school, win a colonelcy at twenty-three, and a generalship of division—temporary, it is true—at twenty-five, has no reason to apologize for publishing his autobiography.

General Miles has described, with the frankness and simplicity becoming a soldier, the events of his distinguished life. In spirit he is optimistic, kindly, liberal, and intensely patriotic—sometimes more than generous to individuals, and always never less than fair to sections, even when touching subjects of bitter controversy. Although he was designed for mercantile pursuits, his military training began at his majority with a lieutenancy, and at middle age ended with the incumbency of the great office of commander-in-chief of the Federal army. As the Civil War was his first experience of active hostilities, it would have been natural had he given it a disproportionate importance in his reminiscences. Recognizing that a full account of the battles he participated in would be, in substance, a mere repetition, and being apparently unwilling to confine

his recollections to details entirely personal to himself, he exhibited excellent judgment in restricting the space devoted to this part of his military career.

The most valuable part of his work is taken up with his achievements as an Indian-fighter. The narrative here is quite properly very full. When ordered to the West in 1869, as commander of the Fifth United States Infantry, the Indians were practically in complete possession of the vast area of country lying east of the Rockies, which embraced some 600,000 square miles. When he was transferred to Governors Island many years afterward, that fertile region had, as a whole, been rescued from the aboriginal marauders who had so long overrun and terrorized it, and thrown open to permanent white settlement. "Between the home-builders and the home-destroyers," he says, "our little army had been placed, and by its constant watchfulness and splendid services peace and security had been established."

It was largely due to General Miles's talents as a soldier, and to his conciliatory spirit as a negotiator, that this happy condition had been brought about.

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FRANZ LIZST. By JAMES HUNEKER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

This study of Lizst and of his work is neither exhaustive and thorough, nor has it the distinguishing incisiveness of a carefully written monograph. It is rather like a collection of hastily written notes thrown together than a constructed book.

There are pronouns running about the page without antecedents. There are sentences like the following:

"But he, the darling of the gods, fortune fairly pursuing him from cradle to grave, nevertheless the existence of this genius was far from happy."

Whatever became of "he" at the beginning of the sentence is never divulged.

There is no consistency at all about the translations. Sometimes quotations are given in the original or a paragraph is written in a hodge-podge of various languages; again so familiar a bit as Francesca's speech:

> "nessun maggior dolore
> Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
> Nella miseria,"

is given in a very bad translation only. For dignity, restraint, scholarship, and care we may always search Mr. Huneker's work in vain. He is, however, one of the most broadly read men in America to-day and has a wide knowledge and ready acquaintance with the seven arts. He is often brilliantly clever as to phrase-making and he has flashes of insight. Nothing could be more to the point than his complaint that the music of Lizst, Wagner, and Berlioz, all three, suffers from *an excess of profile*. He continues to use the barbarous phrase "he stems from," probably an attempt at rendering the German *stammt her*.

The best parts of the book are the careful analysis of the B-Minor

Sonata, some of the symphonic poems and the Études. As a piece of finished work the book cannot compare with the earlier study of Chopin, but it contains good enough material to be rewritten and amplified at some later time.

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The Renaissance of Italian Art. By Selwyn Brinton, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911. Third edition.

Whoever would understand the significance of the Renaissance Movement in Italian Art turns first to Pater and Symonds and possesses himself of all of Mr. Berenson's monographs. As a compendium these nine attractive small volumes are invaluable. They are beautifully bound and printed, and amply supplied with photogravure illustrations and a separate analysis, for reference, of artists and their works. In the matter of attributions the volumes might well be brought more up-to-date. The paintings of *The Life and Death of St. Francis* in the upper Church of Assisi are still ascribed to Giotto, although they are now pretty definitely proven to be school pictures; while the great frescoes of the Arena Chapel in Padua are set down as of secondary importance. These are matters to be settled only by experts, and beyond knowing the state of the discussion they mean little to the average student. These volumes are full of information, poetic and able description, and they form a most excellent and readable work on that most fascinating of subjects, the Art of the Renaissance.

The author has some amateurish tricks of writing, such as beginning a paragraph with an unnecessary and unrelated particle, but in the main the work has proven its value by three reprintings and deserves being called to the attention of all students of Renaissance Art.

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William James and Other Essays. By Josiah Royce, LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

This volume by Professor Royce contains five essays, of which the first is really the least important and the last two are the best exposition of Dr. Royce's philosophical idealism, as he calls it; but which might also be described as his philosophical brief for dogmatic theology.

Professor Royce sets Dr. James, as a philosophical thinker, in direct natural succession to Jonathan Edwards and Emerson. He analyzes him as typically an American; no disciple of Greece or the Orient, still less of Germany or England, but one whose thought, emotion, and speech are the natural product of American soil. He is also the successor to the storm-and-stress period, and heir to the second great period of evolutionary thought—namely, to that period when thinkers no longer discuss, but simply accept the notion of the natural origin of organic forms and continuity of the processes of development. Professor Royce points out James's turning from the Old World types of reverence and external forms of the Church, as well as his alienation from the barren and hostile free-thinking by many European philosophies. James's ready and inclusive comprehension of all the types of religious experience, Dr. Royce sets down to his democratic training. That this inclusion should seem unsatisfactory to our author is a fore-

gone conclusion to those who know Dr. Royce's philosophy. "The spirit triumphs," he says, "not by destroying the chaos James describes, but by brooding upon the face of the deep till the light comes, and with light, order."

The second essay, "Loyalty and Insight," serves excellently to introduce Professor Royce's continuing tenet; namely that having chosen a belief, a profession, a theory, we get the value of choice only by consistent adherence or loyalty. Loyalty, he urges, binds men together and induces the separate wills in the business firm, the household, the profession, the spiritual community, to unite and be woven into one so that our fortunes and interests are no longer detached and individual but have the force of a social group. "The whole moral law can be summed up in the two commandments: first, be loyal; and, second, so choose, so serve, and so unify that life-cause to which you yourself are loyal that, through your choice, through your service, through your example, and through your dealings with all men, you may, as far as in you lies, help other people to be loyal to their causes."

To a student unversed in Professor Royce's work, the essay on "What is Vital in Christianity" will bring a momentary shock of surprise, when he finds that not the historic Christ, not the human example, and most assuredly not the direct teachings of Christ are what the author conceives as vital, but the ecclesiastical dogmas of the incarnation and atonement. There is the time-honored attempt to account for an evil world as the product of an omnipotent and perfect God, by our fragmentary perceptions of world-processes and the doctrine that perfection is only reached through pain. Of course the eternally recurrent reply is, that if our world is even a fragment of the divine it should partake of the nature of the Whole. Must not the part be the same *in kind* as the whole? But this question Professor Royce does not touch. "Like the Logos," he says, "the entire world is not only with God but is God."

The fourth essay, on "The Problem of Truth in the Light of Recent Discussion," was an address delivered before the International Congress of Philosophy, at Heidelberg, 1908. Of course this essay attempts a refutation of the pragmatist contention that truth is relative; namely the relation of the less fixed parts of our experience to the more fixed parts. Dr. Royce accounts for the pragmatist's theory by three modern tendencies or motives. The first, that motive which leads many of us to describe human life altogether as a more or less progressive adaptation to natural environment. The second is the motive glorified by Nietzsche, the attempt to be self-possessed and inwardly free, and unsubmissive to any external authority. The third is the motive which leads us to seek for clear, exact self-consciousness regarding the principles of our belief and conduct. The natural result of these three controlling motives is, thinks Professor Royce, a relativistic, evolutionary theory of truth; a theory that transforms truth from a barren repetition of dead reality to the self-created, empirical realities of our successful activities. Those who know "The World and the Individual" also know the reply to this: that truth can be measured by no one man's experience and that in order to cope with it at all there must be a spirit which is more than any man's transient consciousness of his own efforts unless there is unity of experience, an unity objective, real, supra-temporal.

What this spirit is, one may best tell by quoting from essay V, on Immortality, the definition of God:

"I mean by the term God, the totality of the expressions and life of the world—will, when considered in its conscious unity. God is a consciousness which knows and which intends the entire life of the world." Here one has come around again to the same point in the circle. Why are the fragments of the whole evil if the whole itself is good? One cannot but wish that Dr. Royce had brought in the mystic doctrine of unification; namely that as consciousness throws off its personal limits, as the fragment *does* identify itself with the whole there is resultant joy and good. The sense of separateness is the world's great woe.

From the standpoint of lucidity, since these lectures are admittedly popular, one wishes that Dr. Royce were occasionally more terse and willing to emphasize by repetition. It is annoying to the reader to find his author saying, "I will now state the third motive" and then be obliged to read thirteen pages before that motive is mentioned, holding the mind meantime in suspense. A statement made at the beginning and repeated after the exposition would have bettered the style and been most helpful to the reader.

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THE QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES. By RUFUS M. JONES. Assisted by ISAAC SHARPLESS and AMELIA M. GUMMERE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

The name of Rufus M. Jones stands for the quality in writing most needed in American literature. It necessarily means thorough scholarship, careful and dignified writing, and permanent work. Two years ago Rufus Jones published an invaluable contribution to the history of mystic philosophy in his *Studies in Mystical Religion*. That book contained studies that reached from the mystic element in primitive Christianity, studied chiefly in Paul and John and the early Church Fathers; passed through the various outbreaks of mystical emotion in the Waldenses, the Franciscans, the sect of the New Spirit, the various Brotherhoods of the thirteenth century, the Friends of God (a most excellent study), the Brethren of the Common Life, the Anabaptists, the Seekers and Ranters; and ended with George Fox and other individual mystics of the seventeenth century.

The present volume begins where the last one ended. The mystics of the later centuries have been of a totally different type from the mystics who, in passionate search for enlargement of consciousness, chose a negative path. The practical, militant English character furnished the type of the Quaker fellowship treated in the new volume.

Although in the last analysis Professor Jones admits that religion is a personal matter, he always emphasizes that one cut loose from social interests, isolated from the purposes and strivings of his fellows, cannot become a personality at all. It is the part of the saint, the religious superman, to combine the two interests, to keep ever before him the vision of the Church Invisible while he labors in the necessary politics of the Church Militant. The Quakers have always been shy of the word "saint," "but almost every meeting from Maine to South Carolina had," writes the author, "some persons who through help from Above

refined and sublimated their natures and all unconsciously grew sweet and fragrant with the odor of saintly life." The real glory of the Quaker movement the author takes to be that "leveling up of an entire community." Messages of spiritual power were brought on meeting-days by farmers with rough hands that had just let go of the plow-handle; women with but little chance at culture, by some subtle spiritual alchemy, were transformed into saintliness. The movement was a real experiment in the priesthood of believers, the forerunner of one of the great spiritualistic forces of our country—the unordained lay ministry.

If the Quaker movement developed saints in a rough pioneer community, it also developed some of the hardiest and stanchest martyrs known to history. Indeed, the early history of Quakerdom is a recital of adventure, dauntless acceptance of cruelty in the cause of conversion, rarely equaled.

The more limited subject of this book makes it less generally appealing than the *Studies in Mystical Religion,* but to those interested in the early religious history of our country and in the course of Quakerism it is an invaluable study.

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The Soul of an Indian. By Charles A. Eastman. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

In these latter days, when circus-poster adjectives in huge type are lavishly plastered over advertising pages which announce juvenile experiments at story-writing as "Great Novels," which characterize swashbuckling valentines in cloth covers as worthy successors to the works of Dumas, which hail as epoch-making dramas crude, undeveloped playlets such as draw tears of pity from the judicious—in these latter days of bargain-counter "literature" it behooves one to be careful in calling attention to a new book that is written and published with serious intent.

Bearing this in mind, therefore, it may be said deliberately that in his latest volume, *The Soul of An Indian,* Dr. Charles A. Eastman has accomplished successfully the most remarkable study of his own people—the North American Indians—that has ever been published anywhere, at any time. It is more than a study; it is an interpretation of Indian life, habits, customs, before the Indian came in contact with the whites; it is a revelation of the spiritual life of the Indian, as he was originally, which shows him in constant effort to "walk with God," as truly, in his own way, as the ancient Hebrews tried to "walk with God" in their way. There are differences, of course; the Indian, for example, spoke of the Creative Power of the Universe as "the Great Mystery." So wonderful, so sacred, so infinite, was the Great Mystery, that the Indian, with innate wisdom, never tried to define it, even to understand it, knowing far better than some of his white brethren the limits of human understanding.

The foundation of the Indian's entire life was his belief in, his worship of, the Great Mystery, which pervaded the world, whispering messages of peace, comfort, courage, in the rustling of leaves in tall treetops, singing joyously in the music of waterfall and rushing brook,

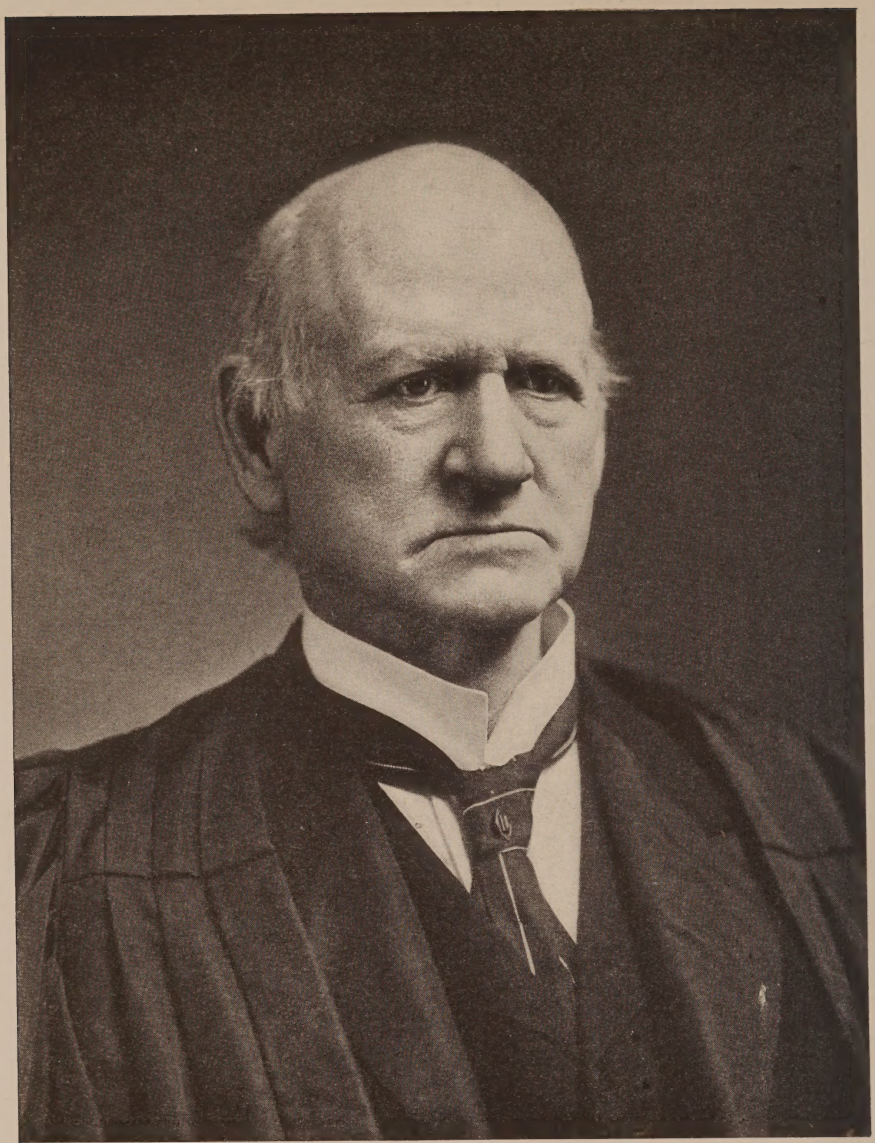
uttering warning notes in storm and tempest. From babyhood the Indian mother taught her child to listen to the Voice of the Great Mystery, to learn therefrom the lesson of silent reflection, of self-control in everything, and to pray at all times, especially when in doubt or trouble; prayers which were not spoken aloud, but which were felt in the heart and expressed outwardly by attitude alone.

How this dependence upon the Great Mystery became to the Indian a very real part of his entire life is explained by the author. It was present in childhood, in youth, in marriage, in the hunt, and in the occasional wars. The physical training of young braves, the care with which maidens were guarded, the systematic, enlightened, successful training which resulted in subordinating the body to the soul are told so directly, so simply, so thoroughly as to carry conviction to the reader.

It appears from this book that while the Indian accepted without question the reality of the Great Mystery, he had no accompanying theological beliefs, no Christianity as taught by the Churches, no Buddhism, no Mohammedanism or Confucianism. He was a child of Nature; and to him Nature and God were synonymous, identical.

None but an Indian could have written this book; and Dr. Eastman, besides being an Indian chief (*Ohiyesa,* is his real name, meaning "the winner"), possesses collegiate and university training of high order. It is a page of human history possessing telescopic power of revelation. Nothing like it has ever been written. In all probability no other man could have written it, and logically no other man in future could write it—for the Indian of Ohiyesa's childhood and youth has wholly vanished from the stage of human life, never to return.

In addition to its value to history in general, to ethnology in particular, *The Soul of An Indian* is written with poetic beauty far more true and sincere than if it resulted from studied effort. This little book, published by Houghton Mifflin Company, can claim a place among the few volumes which thoughtful men and women set apart from others to cherish and reread, from time to time, as a source of lasting inspiration.



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John M. Harlan

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# A TRIBUTE TO MR. JUSTICE HARLAN

BY EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE, THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Mr. Attorney-General, your words go home to our hearts and the resolutions of our brethren of the bar move us, since they show both the confidence which the bar reposed in and the affection they bore Mr. Justice Harlan, as well as the veneration they cherish for his memory. The depth with which these feelings are by us shared and the greatness of the sorrow which has come to us by the death of our brother cannot be appreciated without understanding how completely the discharge of judicial duty in a court of last resort necessitates an effort by all to efface every merely incidental mental and moral tendency to difference of opinion in order that by the perfect equipoise of mind with mind and the union of heart with heart, a composite, wise, and just judgment may result.

The disintegration by death of the union resulting from such ties of intimate and affectionate association brings with it not only bereavement, but a sense of despondency, because of the fleeting and perishable result of all human efforts which it apparently exemplifies. The contemplation, however, of the great life which we commemorate dispels

Note.—A eulogy pronounced in reply to resolutions passed by the members of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and presented by the Attorney-General on Monday, Jan. 29, 1911.

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the miasma of despondency and calls us to the onward and upward struggle for higher and holier things, since, when rightly measured, the lessons of that life point to the continuing and enduring result for good of duty conscientiously performed. Through the mists of parting and the shadows of death itself, clearing our vision by the light which that life affords, we are enabled to see how greatly the dedication of the life of our Brother Harlan to the service of his country, during nearly thirty-four years of judicial labor, serves to sustain and to make fruitful for the benefit of all his countrymen the power for good of that ideal and undying personality, the Supreme Court of the United States, the offspring of the devotion of our forefathers to human liberty and their genius in creating institutions for its perpetuation. So noble in conception and yet so simple in execution; so ordinary in its incidents and yet so majestic as the servant of the whole people; so weak and yet so strong, because founded upon the affection of all the people and depending for its existence upon their continued support.

It would not be appropriate on this occasion, nor is there presently time, Mr. Attorney-General, to afford the opportunity to add to the condensed statement which you have made of the career of Mr. Justice Harlan by giving an outline of his services in peace and in war. I shall, therefore, leaving the general subject to some more appropriate occasion, seek only now to depict in the briefest manner some of the most dominant of the moral and mental forces which characterized Mr. Justice Harlan's discharge of judicial duty, as seen from the angle of vision of those engaged with him in such duty, thus, perhaps, speaking from a point of observation which, if not stated now, might possibly pass out of view.

In the first place, there was ever manifested the supreme importance which he attached to the performance of his judicial work and the consequent dedication which followed of every mental and moral faculty of his being to the doing of that work. In the second place, there was likewise consequently manifested a purpose to do justice as it was given him to see it, a justice not resting upon mere metaphysical conceptions or distinctions of casuistry concerning the lines of separation between right and wrong, but a justice based upon what seemed to him to be a common sense of justice,

begetting an ever-present and vivid purpose to uphold the right and to frustrate the wrong and ever to see to it that the weak were not overmastered by the strong. In the third place—and this was the most prominent of all—he possessed a reverence for and an implicit faith in our constitutional institutions, a faith which knew no doubt and caused him to believe that the power of adaptability of those institutions was adequate to meet and provide for any possible condition, however complex or novel. And as these dominant qualities were potential in giving shape and form to his mental attributes, the latter in substance were but the reflex of the former. His methods of thought, in disregard of mere subtleties or refined distinctions, led him to the broadest lines of conviction, and as those lines were by him discerned, and differences between himself and others became impossible of reconciliation, the warfare of mind with mind was by him carried on, not with adroit fence or subtle play of reason, but with a directness and entire disregard of all narrower points of view. This was particularly observable with reference to his conclusions on questions concerning powers of government arising from constitutional limitations and the consideration of asserted violations of the rights of individuals protected by such limitations. Once his convictions were definitely formed, so complete was his faith, so ardent was his devotion, so unalterable was his purpose to maintain and perpetuate in each and every particular, as he understood it, the Government under the Constitution which he so much loved, that sometimes the very ardor and zeal with which, when he differed from others, the form in which the reason for his differences was expounded produced upon the merely superficial observer the impression that there was doubt on his part as to the power of the Constitution, if interpreted in conflict with the views which he held, to successfully continue to accomplish the great purpose which it was ordained to secure; but this was indeed a singularly mistaken view, since it engendered doubt and weakness merely because of the forms in which supreme and perfect faith had found their expression.

It being true, as I have said, that the lessons afforded by the life of the great American whose loss we commemorate and deplore afford a correction of despondency and constitute an incentive, calling upon all to dedicate their

lives to a higher and completer fulfilment of duty, why is it not also true that a right contemplation of that life and its results will serve in some measure to assuage the feeling of sorrow begotten by his death? It was given him to exceed the allotted span of mortal existence, and during his long and useful career to faithfully serve, in war and in peace, his country; to win the affection of all his countrymen; and to afford an elevating and noble example of duty well and faithfully performed. Ah! contemplating that life, its simplicity, its courage, its devotion to duty, its love of country, does not the faith come to us that in the transition from things finite to things infinite it has been given to him to hear the ineffable melody of those words of benediction, the hope of hearing which has led so many millions to consecrate their lives to the performance of duty and the service of God and their country—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE.

# IS THERE COMMON GROUND ON WHICH THOUGHTFUL MEN CAN MEET ON THE TRUST QUESTION?

BY PETER S. GROSSCUP

By "thoughtful men," I do not mean the few men who have utilized our corporation policy to amass unexampled fortunes or build up unexampled power; they would not voluntarily surrender anything that would limit their power. Nor do I mean the political leadership that looks only and always for what is *obviously* popular; that leadership can only be enlisted in a cause that has shown itself to be obviously popular. What I mean by "thoughtful men," are the men in what is called the "business" world who are unallied with the trusts, except as unwise attacks on the trusts spell danger to business generally; and the intelligent masses, outside the "business" world, who, without expectation of getting any political advantage personally out of attacks upon the trusts, yet oppose them.

These two classes together make up the jury that decides the issue, whenever a real issue in this country is once made up and presented. And by "common ground" I mean the ground that men come to occupy when, escaping mere self-interest on the one hand and mere self-ambition on the other, they get down to the concrete right and wrong of the thing involved; as, for instance, the ground taken by the Republican party in 1856 and 1860 on the slavery question, after a score of years had been spent in merely manœuvering for a sectional or party advantage. Can these men in the business world, unallied with the trusts except in a common fear, and these men among the masses, unallied with the trust question as a mere football in politics, be brought to a common ground with relation to the trusts? If they can, it will be within their power to settle the trust

question without any considerable peril to business; and to settle it so it will stay settled, by settling it right.

Just now our more active politicians are demanding that "big business be eliminated from politics"; and to that end a number of "means" are put prominently forward—the popular election of United States Senators, initiative and referendum, popular primaries, and the like. But will any of these, or all together, even if carried out, change big business from just what it is now, or where it is now, with its own peculiar access to politics, except perhaps that the field of operation would be changed and the procedure readjusted? The philosophy that underlies this demand is, that enterprise grown *big* is necessarily and innately the enemy of popular rights, against which every barrier known to political science must be raised—a philosophy that goes *directly* to its object, only in the old view of the Sherman Act, when that act was regarded as a means of putting big enterprise, not only out of politics, but out of business also. Is the philosophy sound? Pushed logically to its purpose, that philosophy means that this day of big *things* must be brought to an end also; for big things cannot be done except in big ways. Not so pushed to its logical end—left in the air as a mere nightmare—it means that big business, whatever may be the immediate effect of these movements, will soon again attain full influence in politics, and its full swing in the business world; for any policy, political or economic, which cannot be carried out without general injury, cannot be kept dangling in the air.

Let us see, then, if there is not common ground, *not based upon this unsound philosophy,* on which the disinterested citizenship of the country can agree. Here, as always in large questions, it is the few dominating facts that need to be considered. The other facts are merely subsidiary. Upon the first of these dominating facts I think we can agree: That the seat of our political unrest, and the source of our present political and economical uncertainty, is the presence among us of phenomena never seen until within the lifetime of the youngest of our voters—the industrial power of this country in the hands, apparently, of a few men, who have amassed out of it individual fortunes never before dreamed of. I speak now only of the phenomena; what is its place in the world of cause and effect (as a matter of fact it is both cause and effect) is another matter.

But even as phenomena it cannot be fully understood until the economic instrumentality and machinery through which "cause" is transformed into "effect" is more clearly understood. To bring out this economic instrumentality let me use a couple of similes.

Moisture is the water in the air that the atmosphere has gathered from the seas and "saved," so to speak, for the time being, from going into the earth or back into the seas. What the individual men and women of our ninety millions are able to lay aside yearly from their income, after a living has been derived, may be compared to this moisture stored away day after day from the earth; and what is done in the way of deposit and investment with these gathered savings of the people may be compared with the precipitation back to earth of this moisture, in the form of rain.

This gathering of the surplus financial resources is universal—as universal as the gathering moisture in the air; is taking place in the remote farms and villages as well as in the cities; among the people in the ordinary walks of life as well as among those whom we call successful. And the precipitation back to earth in the form of bank deposits and personal investments is equally universal, both as to place and as to people. Now some of this precipitation, like the rain, remains where it falls, absorbed in local investments or in the nurture of local enterprise. But a larger part, like the rain again, runs off in the form of bank deposits, first into the smaller rivulets of the local banks, then into the larger streams of the neighboring city banks, and then again into the rivers that empty into the country's great financial reservoirs. The accumulations in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and other financial centers, are chiefly what the rivers brought down from the creeks, what the creeks brought down from the rivulets, what the ten thousand rivulets gathered up from every countryside. These surplus savings of the country represent more than fourteen billions of dollars, or nearly one-seventh of the country's entire wealth, and would rebuild and equip the greatest portion of the country's railroad system, including terminals. All this is in a state of flux. "Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea" was the command given to Moses from which power over the waters issued. There are a few private offices, apparently, that hold the men who exclusively possess this

power over the financial waters that make up the country's financial resources.

Or, to change the simile. A great part of the country's business activity—that part that pretty accurately measures the difference between what we call prosperous times and hard times—may be represented as a huge motor-car driven by the pent-up energies that these enormous bank deposits, as an entirety, contain. Let the deposits be withheld from the business man or manufacturer, or the rate made so high that he cannot afford to borrow, the business man cuts down his stock and the manufacturer his output, and, with this, men are thrown out of employment or wages cut down. Let them be withheld from the railroad company, or the rate made so high that the railroad cannot afford to borrow, extensions are stopped, improvements are stopped, orders for new equipment are withdrawn, and with this, too, men are thrown out of employment or wages cut down. Let them be withheld from the broker, or the rate substantially increased, there are no resources with which to buy stocks, the pressure to sell increases and the whole speculative list goes down with a thud. But let these deposits be made easy to borrow, business and manufacture take on renewed activity, the railroads renew their projects, the speculative list goes up with a bound. This fourteen billions of wealth in flux is the gasoline that, fed freely or fed gingerly into the engine, increases or diminishes its power, running it up at times to the highest speed or lowering it to a complete standstill. And, under existing policies, it is these few men, to the exclusion of all others, who have their hands on the gasoline lever and their feet on the accelerator. Were the *individual* possessions of the richest men living to be destroyed, they would not be missed much beyond the day of their destruction. It is the savings of the people in the ordinary walks of life that the great so-called national "money power" utilizes. It is on this capital of the people, but under the power of this so-called "money power," that the great enterprises of to-day rest. This is the first dominating fact in the industrial problem.

*The second dominating fact,* just as much a proposition of *fact* as the first, and just as essential to a complete and intelligent comprehension of the trust problem, I think we can agree upon also—*viz.,* that like the world's great literature, paintings, marbles, hospitals, schools, libraries, and

benevolences of every kind, industrial enterprise of every kind, even when in the form of "concentration," has its origin in the *brains* of men—children of the *brain* put into material form and substance—every successful enterprise, whether it be a farm or a gigantic trust, the "thought" of some man or group of men "materialized." And because, in individual enterprise, the "thing" visible would not have been but for the "thought" invisible—the possession outside emerging from the brain inside—the possession outside morally and legally belongs to him whose brain gave it birth and subsequently nurtured it. On that rests the right of individual property. The possession is the man's because the thought was his. On that foundation, except with those who see no individual right even in "thought," the right of property is fundamental. Those who ignore this, dwelling wholly on the fact that in modern industry power has actually gone into the hands of the few, have only a half-view of what is involved in the trust problem. On the other hand, those who ignore the fact that in modern industry, power and the newly created property of the country have been going, with tremendous disproportion, into the hands of the few, dwelling wholly upon the part that "thought" plays in successful enterprises, have only a half-view also of what is involved in the problem. A whole view must include both of these facts. The "common ground" must include both of these essential factors in the problem.

But there is another factor in the problem about which there is still some dispute as to whether it is a fact or not; namely, the economic value *to the public* of concentration in industry, even to the partial displacement of competition, and, in consequence, the existence of a *motive* on the part of those who go into "concert" or "combination" not founded on mere purpose to destroy others. That there can be no motive for combination, other than such purpose, has been the accepted economic fact thus far; and, as such accepted economic fact, has been the basis of all the decisions and all the laws that hold that any combination in trade is unlawful, *merely because it is a combination.* But is that the real economic fact now? President Taft's view seems to be that if the rule of universal competition was good enough for the past it ought to be good enough for the present and future. But is that true?

Is not that essentially Toryism—a determined will *not* to move forward with the times—as Mr. Roosevelt comes very near calling it? *Can* we go back to the rule of universal competition? Not, certainly, in those activities that relate to public utilities. The necessity, not only of concentration, but of monopoly in this field is already accepted. Must we not accept it also to some extent in the industrial field? Can we take apart the Standard Oil enterprise, the United States Steel enterprise, a dozen other enterprises, and expect the separated parts to work as well as when working in close co-ordination; for competition is the absence of co-ordination? Here is the crux of the debate. Here is the point on which we need a disinterested but thorough economic education, such as we received on the currency question and the gold standard in 1896; for until the public mind advances on this question, as it did in 1896 on the currency question to the position to which economic *conditions* have already advanced, the political thought of the country will be in no *mental attitude* to comprehend the great problem that is calling for solution.

The primary motive in industry is, of course, to make more money and acquire more power. But this is accompanied, generally, by a desire to be within the law. Now suppose to a group of such men, contemplating concentration but desiring to be within the law, the law should say: The law recognizes what is now the economic fact, that through the greater efficiency produced by co-ordination profits may appear at prices to the public that, under conditions of competition, would mean losses; and what the law thus recognizes it will not prohibit, provided you confine yourselves to what thus comes to you through the superior economic efficiency of co-ordination—the normal productive advantage of concentration, as the Chief Justice in the Standard Oil case seemed to indicate, as distinguished from use of the mere *power* thus acquired to eliminate competition or artificially exploit the public; suppose the law should say this and then *enforce the provisos,* would not that bring the country politically to the position it has already reached economically? Indeed, is it not necessary that the law should say this, in order that we may fulfil the economic mission of the times, and keep up against the competition of the rest of the world, where the law already recognizes what has taken place in economic development?

Now, when we come to think about it, is it not right along this line, each side taking only his half-view of the problem —the one dropping out of consideration altogether the value of concentration as an economic fact, and the other dropping out of consideration the danger to the public of the power thus acquired—that the two sides separate from each other in their *moral view* of the trust problem? "Is not the right to create big enterprise *open alike to all?*" ask the men in the business world. And from that there seems to be no break in the logic to the next question: "Is not the *corporate machinery,* through which such enterprise alone can be created, open alike to all also?" "Why, then, should not that right, the right to the corporate machinery," they continue, "like natural individual right, be exempt from government interference, either by way of limitation or condition?" And the appeal would, I admit, be a convincing one if there were no difference between "natural" right in connection with enterprise incorporated, and "natural" right in connection with individual enterprise.

But there is a difference, a fundamental difference. I am now dealing with the view — the half-view — taken by the business world. Individual enterprise is the "man" in action, aided by government only in so far as government protects him, along with other men, against the unfair interference of other men. The trust, or corporation, is men "banded together" in action, not only protected by government against the unfair interference of others, but affirmatively authorized by government *to band together.* In individual enterprise it is the man who is the unit—the capacity of a single man to monopolize, the only danger of monopoly. In the trust or corporation the unit becomes unbounded—the trust is an industrial empire within the governmental empire. In individual enterprise the man sooner or later dies, and what he has accumulated is distributed; the limitation laid on entails from our earliest colonial days sees to it that no individual accumulations shall go on longer accumulating; on the other hand, the trust or corporation is perpetual—there is no limit to the ball it may roll up. Except in the case of a patent under our patent law, no single individual has ever been able to throw off competition; it is beyond a single individual's capacity to throw off competition—singly and alone he is too small a factor in the whole community; and patents are

limited in duration, and still more limited in the scope of things covered. But it is easily within the capacity of the trust and corporation, when given practically unrestricted freedom, to throw off competition—a capacity granted by the government, too, *in the power to incorporate,* just as distinctively as a patent is granted, but with this advantage over a patent, that it is without limit in duration, and without limit, too, in the scope of things covered. Between "man" as a unit, and "men banded together" under the authority of the government as a unit, in corporate entity, there is then a fundamental difference.

But those on the other side of the line—those who see nothing in the trust and corporation save the machinery through which exaction is exercised and unprecedented personal fortunes built up—are, I think, unduly under the influence of a shibboleth just as inapplicable to the trust problem as the one just discussed—the shibboleth that big enterprise, *always* and *necessarily,* is odious.

No one represents this type so well, perhaps, as Mr. Bryan. Is theft to be punished only when it is "unreasonable," he inquires (discussing the recent decisions of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and Tobacco cases), or assault and battery, or burglary, or murder? Between the offenses denounced in the Decalogue on the one hand, and big enterprise on the other—between the offenses that have been always and inherently wrong, and these phenomena arising naturally in the course of modern industry—Mr. Bryan sees no distinction. And this in the face of the fact that "monopoly," even, is not *necessarily* wrong—that our patent and copyright laws recognize it as something not only right, but advantageous to society; and in the face of the fact, also, that it is not "combination," standing alone, that the Sherman law makes a crime, but only "combinations in restraint of trade." If I lay my hand on my neighbor's cheek, it may be assault and battery and it may not, accordingly as it is calculated to hurt him physically and in feelings or is not calculated to so hurt. The laying of the hand on the cheek, considered alone, is not the offense—the hurt, or absence of hurt, to body or feelings determines its character as an offense. And so with "monopoly" and "combination" the test should be, not solely is the given enterprise a monopoly or a combination, but, being such, *does it hurt society?*

There are many monopolies that confessedly do not—the railroads, the telephone and telegraph service, and the electric-light service—these, properly conducted, are helpful—helpful from the fact of being monopolies. And many combinations are really helpful—helpful, too, from the fact that they are combinations. Suppose it should turn out, for illustration, that in the transformation from the hoof to the meat market—from the farmer's pasture to the consumer—the packers took, for their service, one-fourth of one cent per pound only, while under the old individual system of butchering, or under a system not "concentrated," the same service would have cost five cents per pound (or under the old system the service of the butcher cost five dollars a head while in the new only one dollar and a half a head was taken out ), would Mr. Bryan say that the concentrated system should, none the less, be dealt with as "criminal"? And suppose it should turn out, too, that in the absence of "concert" this low cost of manufacture could not be maintained, is our adherence to the old shibboleth, "Concert or combination is odious," so unbending that the farmer or consumer, one or the other or both, must maintain that shibboleth even at the price of paying three or four times more as the cost of manufacture of the meat sold and consumed? For the increased cost involved would fall on some one. "Oh," but Mr. Bryan says, "what becomes of the individual butcher?" What has become, I ask, of the old stage-driver whom the railroad displaced; or the old farm-hand who cradled the wheat, whom the harvester displaced; or the old artisan whom machinery has displaced? *All occupied at better wages and shorter hours under the new system,* is the answer. The question is: Is the change helpful to the *whole* public; for what helps the whole public will help, eventually, even those displaced in the readjustment made. I do not speak for the packers in this article. I do not say they can make the showing. The point I make is: Shall that which would not be hurtful but helpful be made, as a matter of law, "criminal," not because it is hurtful but because it is industry "in combination"—shall there be no distinction between the helpful and the hurtful, provided either is the product of concert or combination?

Now the first thing needed, it seems to me, to reach "common ground," is that both these half-views be laid aside.

The preconception, amounting almost to a moral axiom, that rules the mind of the business world, even that portion of it unallied with the trusts, is that restraint on what men may do, banded together in a corporate entity, is the same as restraint on *individual* freedom in industry, and therefore is against "natural right." This preconception eliminated, the business world, at least that portion unallied with the trusts, would be in a position to consider the trust problem from the broader view of what is *evil* in combination as well as what is good. The preconception that rules the minds of the men opposed to the trusts, amounting almost to a moral axiom, is that the mere "banding together," apart from whether the effect is helpful or hurtful, when it assumes large proportions, is something against "natural right." That preconception eliminated, men opposed to the trusts would be in a position to consider the trust problem from the broader view of what is *good* in combination as well as what is evil. The difference seems to be largely a difference of moral view; and the first step toward "common ground" is for each to perceive that *its own* preconception of what is "natural right," as well as that of the *other,* is incorrect—that to include, on the one hand, the government-given right to incorporate, among the *natural rights,* or to include, on the other hand, every form of business concentration as *violative* of natural right, is, in each case, to shut one's eyes to the real origin, the real significance, and the real mission of co-operative enterprise in the modern world.

But the whole question does, in the end, turn largely on "moral right." Our people, as a whole, are prosperous. Industry, as a whole, is, from a purely economic point of view, pretty soundly organized. The one trouble with our prosperity, as a whole, viewed from the standpoint of the business man, is that it is overhung with a thunder-cloud out of which may come, at any moment, the bolt that will destroy. Legitimate business does not know what its legitimate boundaries are. And the one trouble with our prosperity, as a whole, viewed from the standpoint of the masses, is that it is disproportionately distributed—that a certain class get out of it much more than their just proportion. Both of these views involve "moral right." For it is the moral right of the business man who wishes to be law-abiding, that he know *in advance* what the law is. An

ancient tyrant purposely wrote his laws on the public tablets so high up that no one could make out their meaning. That they were on the tablets fulfilled the letter of his obligation; that they could not be made out fulfilled his thirst for cruelty. History has execrated him. The business man has the moral right to legible laws. But the business man is not the only one entitled to a moral right in this matter. Every man among the masses has an equal moral right—the right that he, *individually,* shall not be dropped out of his country's prosperity. For while the people have no moral right to impose on the business world illegible laws, the business world has no moral right to a scheme of things under which is taken to itself all that is left, after the masses have obtained their bread and shelter. *It is not by bread alone that men live.*

Can organization in industry, including the right of "concert," and in some cases of "monopoly," be brought to a condition where what is within the "man" will be given room to be worked out by him, both for his own benefit and the benefit of mankind, without giving him a premium so exorbitant as to be unjust? That is the problem of the day. In every other field—the mechanical arts, agriculture, literature, the professions—men are given full room and freedom without this exorbitant premium. Industry, individually carried on, gives full room and freedom without this premium. Cannot enterprise incorporated—enterprise given the right of concert and combination—be so conditioned? This, I sincerely believe, is the real new constructive work given this generation to do.

In some respects this work given us to do is greater and more difficult than even the one the founders of our government were given to do. There, as here, the main purpose was "liberty"—individual men left as free as possible from interference, to do the best that was within them. But there, too, as here, was this basic fact: that in many aspects of society men acting individually cannot do the best that is within them—that in some aspects of society men must act in mass—that there are some ends that can be successfully attained only by welding the strength of each and all into the strength of one. With the founders of our government the problem was on the political side of society; and the thing they had to do was to devise those units of political power that, consistent with this liberty to the "man" to

go on doing the best that was within him, would *unite* the strength of men, just when and where strength united would best subserve these purposes. What the founders thus accomplished is the political constitution under which we live.

The thing we have to do is to devise units of industrial power that, consistent with liberty to the " man " to go on doing the best that is within him, will unite the strength of men, just when and where united strength in these new times is the instrumentality needed.

What form shall our work take? No one man can adequately design a work so comprehensive and intricate. But I can, I think, make some intelligent suggestion to the work.

First, then, is the question: How can liberty be secured to the " man," to do the best that is within him, where the man must work through the agency of some great industrial concentration, in many new fields now the only available big way to do the necessary big things; that is to say, *how is modern legitimate business to obtain the atmosphere of liberty?* The one restraint on that liberty now is the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the State Anti-Trust Acts. Within certain limits these acts are essential and should be maintained. But they need this cardinal amendment, it seems to me: that *prohibited* restraint of trade should be defined to be only those transactions that, keeping in mind the necessity for big things being done in a big way, bring about as *actual results*—not merely potentially, but in fact —hurt rather than help to the public.

The decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri in the International Harvester case illustrates what I mean. The court in that case flatly finds that the " combination " had not, considering the rise of prices generally, raised the price of their machines to the farmer; that the combination had not resulted in the sale of deteriorated machines; had not, in the important particular of current repairs, injured the situation of the farmer—rather had helped it; and in the absence of exercising its power wantonly, it could only keep out competitors by the superior efficiency of the combination as a going business concern. But none the less the decree went against the " combination," because through the combination thus effected the company had acquired *power*—potentiality as distinguished from actual outcome—to do one or all of these hurts.

This was an interpretation of the Missouri statute. It

accepted, without question, the old view, that because there was then no economic value to the public in industrial concentration, the sole motive of combination *must* be purpose to raise prices and exclude others—ignoring altogether the economic value *to the public* of concentration as the fact exists to-day. The Sherman Act ought not, and will not, I really believe, be so interpreted when the Supreme Court of the United States once has that question *squarely presented.* An agreement that fifty years ago could have had no motive other than self-aggrandizement, and, therefore, no foreseeable result other than something harmful to the public, may, under the conditions of to-day, be based on the best of economic motives, bringing results not harmful but helpful to the public; hence, *not* " restraint of trade " *now,* whatever it may have been *then.* Indeed, an analysis of the long line of cases on this subject will show, I believe, that in none of the *early* English and American cases was there the absence of this element of *actual hurt* to somebody—not the mere *power* to hurt, but the hurt itself, or the intent to so hurt—a suggestion powerfully reinforced by the fact that at one time the English Parliament did undertake to make unlawful the mere "engrossment " of trade, whether its actual result was hurtful or not; but after a short experience repealed the act. But lest the Supreme Court should not interpret the Sherman Act, as it now stands, in the light of this comparatively new economic fact, Congress should by amendment put it plainly into the act.

But how can this liberty to the man to do the best that is within him—liberty to legitimate business to have the atmosphere in which alone it can succeed—be secured, even though the Sherman Act is thus interpreted or amended? How can the Sherman Act thus interpreted and amended be made *workable,* so as not to continue to subject business to the uncertainties of the law, on the one hand, or give it license to exploit the public on the other?

A large part of the industry of the country is carried on by corporations or persons that are still in strict competition with one another, but who meet statedly or occasionally to confer respecting trade conditions, output, prices, and the like. This is " concert " or " conference " as distinguished from formal " combination "; but none the less subjects those who participate to the consequences of the Sherman Act, where the " concert " or " conference "

amount to " agreement," quite as effectually as if the participants were in formal combination. I would amend the Sherman Act to permit such concert or conference, provided it is wholly through associations nationally incorporated, and all that is agreed upon or done in such association is first submitted to the supervision and veto of the bureau, commission, or department of corporations. This would mean that prices *resulting from* concert would have to have the approval of the bureau or commission similarly as in Germany now. In that way these concerns would be informed *in advance* what in the way of concert would be permitted and what would not. And if they chose to proceed without obtaining such information in advance, or chose to go beyond the limits of the information obtained, there would be no longer any injustice, nor any uncertainty, in enforcing rigidly the penalties of the act.

In the case of corporations that have become so powerful in their field of industry that they dominate what prices shall be charged and what competition shall be permitted, I would either restrict them to such dividends as, all things considered, represent a fair return on the actual value of what they have put into their enterprise, or put their operations under the eye of the bureau, commission, or department, with power, subject to change as conditions changed, to fix the *maximum* of prices, in which case, to the extent that the conditions imposed by the bureau, commission, or department had been observed, the Sherman Act should not be applied. In other words, keep these smaller concerns that resort to " concert " of action, and these bigger formal combinations, if restriction on dividends is not the better method (and I greatly doubt if it is, at the present time, at least), within the boundaries of what is the inherent and normal *business advantage* of concentration, as distinguished from what concentration may do, both in the matter of prices and in the matter of eliminating competition, through the mere *wanton power* of size and dominancy; for here, again, there would be the just element of information *in advance*, beyond which they could not go unless they chose to take their chances under the Sherman Act.

Of course this bureau, commission, or department of government will be human. Providence has no greater kind of man to lend us; and if it had, we would not, perhaps, accept him. There is, indeed, no working machinery in this world,

social, political, or economic, that is purely automatic. In all, somewhere in the chain of forces at work, the human link will be found. But experience has shown that these public commissions the country over have, on the whole, proven just and practical. This is a fact the corporations themselves are just beginning to realize. No better testimony to this fact could be given than what was said by Mr. Cravath recently of the New York Public Service Commission. Besides, there is no alternative except the alternative of leaving it to the combinations themselves; and the combinations are human also. And then, as a directive and educational influence—an influence that in the long run would lay down the lines for the bureau, commission, or department, as the sailor's chart in the long run determines the course of the ship regardless of temporary departures out of the way—there would be the right of review by the courts, in the deliberate methods followed by the courts.

I have spoken of the unexampled individual fortunes that have been taken out of corporate concentration in industry, by a few men, within a period so quickly come and gone that to the most of us we cannot realize that it has come and gone at all. The tree from which these fortunes have been picked is that almost universal turn, within this period, of the inventive human mind to the powers laid away in nature for the uses of mankind; and the sinews that enabled these men, from among all other men, to pick these fortunes for themselves was their almost exclusive hold upon the workable capital of the country, utilized through their almost exclusive hold upon the corporate channels of industry.

More than all other causes combined this phenomenon is at the bottom of our social disturbance. It is the worm in the core of what would otherwise be a fairly sound apple. It cannot now, to the extent that it has been done, be undone. In a measure our past public neglect of the corporation as an essential instrument in industry has been the cause. But none the less it is a phase of these new times that was not, and is not, and cannot be right. And whatever of the past must remain, its recurrence must be provided against for the future; and, thus provided against, the whole phase would soon pass out of sight in the ever-changing conditions of wealth in industry.

I do not mean by this that the people of this country do not wish success to continue to be rewarded; nor do I mean

that our people believe that one talent should draw the same as ten; nor do they fail to perceive that with the *useful* rich man, it is through individual acquirement that he has enabled himself to become useful. What I mean is, that the day of power to so manipulate the " corporation " that, as a form of wielding capital, it may, in the hands of those who so choose, become a deceit and a snare, while still remaining the reservoir into which the bulk of the workable capital of the country pours, must come to an end.

But how begin this process? Lead off, my answer is, by the national incorporation of every enterprise the bulk of whose raw material is drawn from States other than the company's domicile and the bulk of whose finished product is sold in States other than the company's domicile, thereby bringing their business into interstate commerce. Then construct this national corporation on lines, respecting capitalization, the payment of dividends only when earned, simplicity in arrangement of securities, and the like, that as a " form of holding property " the corporation will have become a real trust, in the old sense of that word " trust," for the benefit and security of its stockholders.

Upon this feature of our new industrial constitution too much emphasis cannot be laid. In it resides the real seat of our future salvation. From the commission headed by President Hadley of Yale I had hoped much. Perhaps they went as far as their authority warranted. But the result is disappointing. In the anxiety of this commission not to give rise to any popular expectation that because the corporation is made by the State or nation a fit instrument to hold and wield capital it will be thereby guaranteed to be in every instance a successful industrial enterprise, they decline to take any effectual step to make it even a fit instrument. Their vision, to my mind, is confined too narrowly to the corporation and corporation securities as a mere tool or implement in the hands of industry as a whole. The corporation as a " form of holding property " ought to be much more than that—should be treated on much broader lines than that—nothing less than a real institution of government in the successful performance of whose mission lies much of the prospect of our people continuing to be for the future, man for man, a property-acquiring people. Every year the justice of the practice of dividing profits with those who help to make them is more and more recog-

nized and acted upon by business concerns. What the future corporate policy should look to is to see to it, that in addition to the growing investable capital of the country, these periodically divided profits find channels also through which, instead of being eaten up as they are divided, they will become the foundation of permanent individual stakes in the country's property—will give to those to whom the profits come not only the consciousness that they have helped create prosperity, but the enjoyment also, the encouragement, and the incentive to a contented citizenship that is contained in the consciousness of receiving and holding one's just share in the property created.

These, then, are the general lines on which to place, it seems to me, the industrial side of society—activity that is *helpful*, given liberty to do the best that is in it to do, whether the brain behind it works individually or is required by economic development to work through forms of concentration; *hurtful* activity restrained; the judge of what *is* hurtful and what helpful, so far as it is essential that judgment *in advance*, from day to day, be rendered, an agency of the people; the courts of the country left with power to render such judgment where business chooses to accept uncertainties and delays rather than have these judgments in advance; and, finally, but even of greater moment, the ever-growing corporate domain practically, as well as in theory, opened up to the people, to the extent that a vigilant government can make a domain safe by making the forms of holding property within it secure.

At long intervals, a case is tried in the court of public opinion, in which every one—business man, farmer, clerk, and workman—are parties in interest. This trust problem presents just such a case. Reduced to a simple issue it is this: Is there a place, politically and humanly, in this new age, for what the age industrially has developed, or is industry and the law of the land always to so go on that neither can move without injury to the other? Is it not time that the trial on its merits should open—that there should be a campaign of education on a higher plane than mere partisan advantage—conducted to prove the economic value *to the public* of co-operation in industry, *properly safeguarded*, as the campaign of 1896 proved the economic value *to the public* of the gold standard?

PETER S. GROSSCUP.

# MR. ALDRICH'S REPORT

BY ALBERT S. BOLLES

Any reader of Mr. Aldrich's report is fully justified in distrusting his disinterestedness because of the method of investigation adopted by the monetary commission under his leadership. In all previous investigations of a similar character the commission, or committee of inquiry, has invited assistance from every quarter. To any one who had a fact or idea, a suggestion or criticism to contribute to the common fund of desired information, investigators have lent a patient and courteous ear. But the monetary commission from the beginning to the present has never had a session to which the public have been invited for presenting their views. Its inquiries have been narrowly confined to bankers, as if they were the only persons worthy to appear and be heard. The great public, who have a much wider interest in the problems before the commission by reason of their number and the magnitude of their business, have been absolutely ignored. And even the few bankers who were summoned to meet the commission in hotel parlors and other quiet places, away from the open track of men, were bankers of known views; and thus at all times the commission, under the domination of its chairman, has been at work with a preconceived purpose, which is artfully concealed in the most elaborate and intricate system of money and banking ever wrought out and presented for the consideration of any people. We have conversed with many bankers who have carefully studied it, but while saying they thought it contained something that would be helpful to them also admitted their failure to master the "suggested plan."

Another unpleasant feature of the report is the great part openly played by its chairman. The matters that had chiefly interested him during his long career as legislator, and

his method of dealing with them, had furnished him with no adequate preparation either of mind or temper for his final task. Yet to all intents and purposes he has been the entire commission. In due time Mr. Aldrich's "Suggested Plan for Monetary Legislation" appeared, which, with a few modifications, has been accepted by the other members of the commission. Mr. Aldrich seems to be proud of his achievement; the other members seem to be content with the part they have played of appearing on the stage and disappearing therefrom at the nod of their chief. Probably the unusual compensation they have received, with comfortable and comforting travels abroad and at home in seeming search for ideas, has done not a little to reconcile them to their sphere of inglorious inactivity. Whatever the truth may be, the like is without a parallel in the long history of Congressional inquiries by commission.

What, then, were the great problems before the commission and how have they been solved? There was a banking problem and a currency problem. What was the banking problem and what has the commission done in the way of solving it?

As we all know, a portion of the national bank deposits is kept by law as a reserve. With some bankers this was one of the most objectionable features in the act when first considered in committee and afterward by the two houses of Congress; on the other hand, conservative bankers regarded this as one of the best features of the law. The adventurous bankers were opposed, declaring that they knew better than the Government how much reserve they ought to keep. They talked then as they talk to-day, and the same spring was at the source of their contention—profit. The battle long continued until a compromise was struck of permitting banks in the smaller and more numerous places to keep a part of their reserve with one or more banks in larger places. A large part of this legal reserve flows into the national banks in the central reserve cities—New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, the New York banks obtaining the much larger share.

Of course no bank keeps the reserves of other banks for a philanthropic purpose. It would not take their reserves if it could not use them and thereby earn a profit—a fact known by lenders when parting with them. There is only one way in which the receiver, so he reasons, can

prudently use them—lend them on call. By lending them in this manner, theoretically the lender keeps them within control and can obtain their immediate return. But, as we all know, whenever there is a general demand by owners for these reserves and calls are made by reserve-keepers for them, they cannot be had for the good reason that borrowers cannot borrow money from any other source to repay them. Reserve-keepers then have the alternative either to sell the collateral held as security, in which case the stock-market rapidly falls, resulting often in panic; or, to save their borrowers and perhaps themselves from loss, hold their collaterals and by cutting off discounts from the commercial class replenish their reservoir from the supply needed by commercial borrowers. With the supply thus obtained reserve-keepers are able to return the reserves demanded. Again and again has the commercial class been thus sacrificed to save the call-loan borrower. Every autumn almost the scare rises from the probable or actual demand of reserve-keepers. They tell us the money is needed to move crops and at once proceed to blame the currency system because there is not more money afloat which they can use. But why should the Government or the currency system be blamed for a difficulty entirely of bank creation? Banks know, or have every reason to believe, when they take these reserves and lend them, that they will be demanded; and that the condition of things which will lead one bank to demand its reserve is general and will lead every other bank to do the same thing. Banks know, for the experience has been repeated so often, that a general call or demand for balances is likely to occur next autumn and the autumn following and so on indefinitely. Knowing this, and bankers know nothing better, the commission's task was to find some way of keeping more of these reserves at home. This is what every one has said ever since he understood the consequences of sending them to New York. It requires no large measure of wisdom to perceive that if deposits are sent there from time to time and then a large portion is suddenly recalled trouble must inevitably follow. Therefore they must not be sent; or, if they are, must be withdrawn in a different manner.

How does the commission propose to check the flow of these reserves to the national banks in the central reserve cities? Mr. Aldrich has been most careful to do nothing

to lessen the flight of a single dollar. This evil, which is so apparent and has been admitted again and again by bankers and others on many occasions, Mr. Aldrich leaves untouched. And for the best reasons from one point of view. It would lessen the profits of those banks if any considerable portion of this reserve money were permanently withdrawn.

Mr. Aldrich, however, does present a partial solution—the creation of a vast central banking association of which all the national banks will be members. When they wish the return of their deposits at times and in quantities that will inconvenience the central reserve banks, instead of calling for them they are to turn over the paper they intended to discount to this central association. By this method they will relieve the central reserve banks from the embarrassment of returning deposits which they do not have and cannot easily obtain, while the banks that sent them will be relieved from embarrassment caused by their customers through the kindly action of the central association which will take care of them. In other words, it is proposed that the country banks shall join the other banks in creating a central association whereby the central reserve banks will be enabled to retain their grip more firmly on the reserves of the country banks. If this plan were adopted we do not believe that the country banks would long remain in ignorance of the losing game to themselves. They would soon discover that something had happened to them to diminish their profits. Had their deposits been returned, which they were free to use, they would have loaned them and obtained full interest; deprived of them, they would discover their loss in the way of profit, except the profit paid by the central bank—a much smaller sum than would have been otherwise obtained. The direct result of this plan, therefore, to the country members would be a distinct loss of profit; and there is no way of making the scheme work out differently unless the banks that retain the deposits are required to pay a higher rate of interest for withholding them.

Another consequence of this plan, if put in operation, has thus far passed unnoticed. At present one of the few effective checks to speculation is the high rate of interest demanded of speculators during periods of unusual demand by the country banks for their deposits. Many who do not understand the real reason for such action by the banks

regard their course as purely mercenary; in truth, it is intended as a check to speculation and serves a good purpose. But if the Aldrich plan were adopted, as the banks would have a firm grasp on their deposits, the annual check to speculation would be less restrained. The Aldrich plan may therefore be rightly regarded as a plan for stimulating speculation, as if the terrific evils springing from speculation, so familiar to all, did not exist or needed encouragement, like gambling or tippling, which the gambling or tippling house keeper believes should be encouraged. That this would be one of the results of a more permanent retention of the deposits in New York there is no room for questioning—a result quite sufficient to condemn the plan among that large class who believe speculation should, if possible, be checked, not stimulated.

Again, it is assumed that the central banking association can use its own credits in the way of issuing notes and accommodate its members by rediscounting their paper. Can its notes be always expanded to the desired extent? To issue these there must be a gold basis, and if the bank needs more gold for this purpose, can it always obtain it whenever desired? Doubtless it is practicable to base bank-note issues on credit to a limited extent, but a limit truly exists and is recognized by every note-issuing bank in the world. But Mr. Aldrich has too glibly assumed that his central association can command gold whenever needed. To get it the bank must borrow or buy it and he has not set forth the conditions under which either thing can be done at times when it may be most needed.

It is also assumed that with this huge capital there will always be a great fund for use, that the reservoir will always contain a vast supply for its members, for this is the very object of creating the fund. This is a fine assumption, but let us look a little further into the probable working of the institution. If the bank keeps a large fund on hand to meet emergencies, then its dividends will be small and its members will complain. If its funds are closely lent, then its note issues will be its chief resource and may be inadequate. Let us also remember that its members are the same banks that now send their reserves to New York, notwithstanding the illegitimate use made of them in order to swell dividends. Will they be less eager for dividends on their stock invested in the central institution? It cer-

tainly cannot closely lend its funds and keep them at the same time; this, as we have seen, is the manipulation which the national banks have been trying to perform, ever since their organization, with their legal reserves and with ill success. The thing cannot be done. The national banks have been trying to utilize every dollar in order to garner greater profits; the central institution must follow a similar course if it is to earn them. But if it is kept strong in order to meet emergencies its dividends will be small and disappointing. If this is to be its policy its members would be just as well off, nay better, if they sent less money to the banks in the central reserve cities and kept more at home. They would lose no more by this, probably less, than by investing in a central institution whose policy should be to keep large resources in order to be able to assist its members during unexpected emergencies.

Mr. Aldrich, therefore, keeps well away from the real difficulty. He would not, if he could, check to the slightest degree the flow of the bank reserves to the central reserve national banks.

Of course the banks dislike to keep any more of their resources inactive than the law or inability to use them requires. But is there no other practical solution of the problem than that proposed by Mr. Aldrich? If there were no other way then, it would be preferable to reduce the amount of legal reserve which a bank is required to keep. For, as we have seen, the reserve thus kept with another bank is not a true reserve; it is, in fact, not kept anywhere; and therefore, if the amount were reduced there would be no sacrifice of safety to the extent of the reduction by the change. But instead of reducing the amount relief can be obtained in another way. The Government might issue a currency bond or note, one say for one hundred dollars in amount bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, or one cent per day, and permit the banks to exchange their bonds for these interest-bearing notes. A bank should be required to pay something more than par for them—a price that would yield them about three per cent., or what the Government must and ought to pay on the money it borrows. In other words, the Government ought to pay the banks for the use of their money as much as it pays others. They are entitled to fair treatment; with this they should, and doubtless would, be satisfied. They would thus receive more income from their

reserves than they receive under the present plan or would receive under the Aldrich plan; their funds would be kept at home where they ought to be; and the banks would be free from the charge, now so often made against them, of aiding unlawful speculation. The notes could be used as currency, if desired, like the seven-thirty notes issued during the first year of the Civil War which served the double purpose of an investment and currency. As the interest could be easily calculated, one cent a day, it would not be difficult to circulate them, for the seven-thirties were passed from hand to hand in making payments. As the amounts proposed are large, one hundred dollars, their use doubtless would be confined to the more important transactions. If, on the other hand, it were desirable to issue them in smaller amounts, they could be returned to the Government and kept by it as security for notes of smaller denominations and bearing no interest.

If the amount of national obligations thus converted into interest-bearing notes were inadequate, the obligations of some of the great railroad corporations might be used, under proper restrictions, for the same purpose. These guaranteed by the Government would have equal currency with the Government issues, while a feasible way exists to protect the Government for thus using its credit.

The other feature of the Aldrich plan, the creation of a new kind of currency, based primarily on an exchange of credits and secured partly by a gold reserve, possesses more merit. There is nothing new about the plan except the machinery prepared for effecting that purpose. Mr. Aldrich prefers, however, to turn over the Government deposits to this institution and involve the national Government as a co-director of its fortunes. Already the national Government is overburdened with duties which are inadequately performed; to be a co-director in such an institution is a most delicate duty which it is poorly fitted to perform. From such an ill-assorted union of national and private interest there is no rational ground at the present time for anticipating good results. The strong tendency would be to sacrifice the national interest to that of members of the institution. The representatives of the Government, whatever might be their wish to serve and protect the public interest, would have neither the time nor the opportunity to acquaint themselves with its affairs nor to direct like the

other directors. They would be at a disadvantage from every point of view; and it is too much to assume that the other directors would not take advantage of their manifest superior position to obtain and maintain undue control. We have not space here to enlarge on the objections to such a union of public and private interest in a central banking institution. Every probability is against fair, disinterested play by the private directors in their game with the Government's representatives.

Another objection to the plan is the manifestly unfair division of profits accruing from the use of the Government deposits. The plan prohibits the payment of any interest on them to the Government; nothing, therefore, is to be received by it directly for their use. Nor is the Government to receive anything in any other way until the happening of several contingencies. The stockholders are to receive first a four-per-cent. cumulative dividend on their investment. Next a contingent fund of $2,000,000 is to be accumulated. The net earnings afterward accruing are to be used in three ways: one-half of them to create a surplus fund until it amounts to twenty per cent. of the association's capital, one-quarter is to go to the Government "as a franchise tax," and the other quarter to the stockholders.

If the bank keeps a large portion of its resources on hand in order to be able to respond effectively to the demands of members, its profits will be small and the Government is not likely to receive much, if anything, for the use of its money. On the other hand, if the bank seeks to be a profitable enterprise and profits are large in consequence of the full employment of its funds, the Government deposits will contribute largely to this result; nevertheless, the Government would receive by this plan only a meager sum compared with a just division of profits. Indeed, its compensation would be so grossly inadequate for the great service rendered that the institution would surely encounter the storm of public indignation as soon as the working of the plan was generally understood. If these deposits are not to be loaned by the association, nothing would be gained by removing them to it; if they are to be loaned, there is no peculiar reason why it should not make a fair division of the profit from loaning them with the owner, the Government. Assuming that the present system of keeping the Government deposits should be radically changed, and that

hereafter they should be so administered as to form a part of the general monetary circulation, there is no reason why the Government should not seek to obtain as much profit from their use by the proposed institution, if having custody of them, as an individual or corporation would seek to obtain from an unusually large and desirable deposit confided to a bank.

One other question it is worth the reader's while to consider. Why have we in this country so many more troubles about our money and banking than those who live in the more important countries of Europe? If their systems are better than ours, why cannot we adapt them to our needs? The true answer is, we are attempting a very different feat from them. We are trying to invent a system from which the last possible dollar of profit can be extracted and yet which will be safe. This is why we have so much difficulty. If we would be content with a little less profit there would be no serious difficulty in discovering a safe and simple system without the smallest need of adopting this amazingly complicated system bearing the name of Aldrich..

ALBERT S. BOLLES.

# "THE GREAT ILLUSION"

BY REAR-ADMIRAL A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N.

In the early months of the year 1911 appeared a book called *The Great Illusion*,* which attracted at the time much attention and approval which it probably still commands.

I have read the book twice attentively. Owing to the number of topics incidentally discussed, I have found difficulty in realizing to myself the precise thread of the argument. The author, however, in two instances at least, has defined the purpose of the work in words of his own; I say in words of his own, because he has chosen, not unwisely, to preface his conception of "the great illusion," which he thinks prevails widely, by numerous illustrative quotations from others, whom he constitutes his antagonists in idea. Based upon these citations, he then summarizes (p. 29) the illusion which he detects in them as being

"one of the universally accepted axioms of European politics—namely, that a nation's financial and industrial stability, its security in commercial activity—in short, its prosperity and well-being—depend upon its being able to defend itself against the aggression of other nations, who will, if they are able, be tempted to commit such aggression because in so doing they will increase *their* power, and consequently *their* prosperity and well-being, at the cost of the weaker and vanquished."†

Again (p. 336):

"At the root of the whole armament difficulty lies the theory that economic advantage goes with the exercise of military force; in other words, armaments exist as the logical outcome of that illusion with which this book deals."

I believe that the thesis thus defined is erroneous in at least two particulars. First, as a matter of fact, economic advantage frequently has accompanied the use of military force, and resulted from it. Two conspicuous instances of

* *The Great Illusion*, by Norman Angell. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1911.

† Italics here are the author's, not mine.

this afforded by history are: the supremacy of Great Britain as a financial and industrial community, due mainly to the predominance of her military sea-power during the eighteenth century to the fall of Napoleon in 1815, and the economical development of Germany following upon the war with France in 1870-71. Second, the purpose of armaments in the minds of those maintaining them is not primarily economical advantage, in the sense of depriving a neighboring state of its own, or fear of such consequence to itself through the deliberate aggression of a rival having that particular end in view. The object is the assertion of right in doubtful questions which are continually arising, largely from the progressive exploitation of unutilized regions of the world. In illustration, it is necessary only to cite, as very recent or still pending, the questions of Tripoli, Morocco, and China, with the Open Door. Between the states of European civilization these are not questions of legal right and wrong; because no law exists, no valid title. Titles are being made by international agreements, but the agreements themselves, in the process of development and at the moment of making, are conditioned by force. In connection with these, disputes are continually arising which more than once have led close to war. It is true that, should war come, the scene would be chiefly in Europe, and that provision against financial and economical dangers thence arising is one principal motive to armament; but it is not true that aggression upon the financial and economical system of another state is the motive for armament anywhere.

The particular point of view of the book, which has led both to the selection of the quotations from opponents (pp. 17-28), and also to the definitions of *The Great Illusion,* just cited in the author's words, is further illustrated by two passages. Thus (p. 77): "The real basis of social morality is self-interest": that is, as the proverb more tersely puts it, "Honesty is the best policy."

Again (p. 370):

> "Is not the root of the profound distrust of, and hostility to, the peace man, that his plea has been made rather on the basis of altruism than of interest, on morality rather than of policy? The man in the street is firmly convinced that he is being asked to surrender some solid interest in favor of morality—sentiment, as he would call it."

It may be said, then, that the main argument of the book proceeds on the basis that the solid bottom fact in inter-

national relations is regard to material self-interest, and that "the great illusion" is that material self-interest can be advanced by the use of force; either by fighting, or by the armaments which, by showing force at hand, prevent fighting yet compass desired ends.

These remarks and quotations can be taken to define the general topic of the book. Before proceeding to discuss it, and to comment upon certain particularities, or details of the argument, it may be best to state at once the very different point of view from which the present writer approaches the matter. I hold that the interest of the nation is indeed the business of the government, but that the danger of war proceeds mainly from the temper of the people, which, when roused, disregards self-interest. In every country the government, in that guardianship of the interests of the state which we call policy, pursues a certain line of conduct. This results in friction with the policy of another country. As discussion proceeds, each government, deeply conscious of the evils of war, endeavors to reach a solution of peace; but to the people the matter gradually assumes the aspect of a right and a wrong, and popular feeling, disregardful of that particular self-interest which peace represents, is wrought up to a pitch of supporting its asserted right by arms. The history of the past summer illustrates these positions. It has been apparent that the governments of France, Germany, and Great Britain have earnestly striven for peace, that their several stands were taken rather on the ground of national right than of immediate economic advantage, and that the moods of the several peoples answered more readily to the feeling of national honor at stake than to any supposed material self-interest.

In short, the inciting causes of war in our day are moral; a statement which includes of course immoral, as both adjectives, though opposite in meaning, as are "good" and "bad," belong to the same category of motives. The war of the United States against Spain is held by some Americans to have been unjust, and therefore immoral; by others, among whom myself, to have been illustriously moral; but by neither, I apprehend, can it be seriously maintained to have been inspired by self-interest. The American government tried earnestly to avoid it, believed that it could be avoided; deceived therein, I think, by failure to appreciate

Spanish diplomatic methods as illustrated by history. The people forced the issue. In my last article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, I have cited *seriatim* the principal wars of the last half-century as proceeding demonstrably from motives essentially moral. Even where self-interest is at the bottom of the trouble, as possibly in the present state of feeling between Germany and Great Britain, it is less the loss endured than the sense of injustice done, or apprehended, that keeps alive the flame.

I believe, therefore, that the fundamental proposition of the book is a mistake. Nations are under no illusion as to the unprofitableness of war in itself; but they recognize that different views of right and wrong in international transactions may provoke collision, against which the only safeguard is armament. Unarmed, or inadequately armed, the nation is exposed to the perils of commercial disintegration and consequent popular suffering, depicted in the quotations from the advocates of armament upon which the author bases his case. No one imagines that fire-insurance and the police are otherwise than unremunerative expenses, unless fire or breaches of the peace occur. The illustrations are time-worn, perhaps a little shop-worn; but they can never be outworn, because the nature of the provision made in police and insurance is exactly that of armament. The new French ministry, just constituted as I write, with the experience of the Morocco controversy fresh in mind, affirms its faith that a strong army and navy are the best guarantee of peace; yet we know that its predecessor labored for peace, and that war was averted by diplomatic action, in which armament assuredly counted. The War of Secession stands as a perpetual beacon against disarmament. Never were two antagonists less armed. A distinct preponderance of armament on one side or the other, or such a common readiness as would have indicated devastating hostilities, might have held the hands of both. Certainly, had the material superiority of the North been organized in armies and navies, there could have been no four years of war.

In this connection it may be interesting to recall the observation of the late Mr. Carl Schurz, that in his wide experience of political speaking he had always found "the people" responsive to moral appeals when plainly set forth; even when the result traversed what appeared to be

their self-interest. Mr. Schurz was a hater of war; but still, as he looked with emotion upon the heaped-up dead at Gettysburg, the War of Secession justified itself to his mind through the moral motive, the extinction of slavery. The two motives, moral and interested, will co-exist; but self-interest, even when recognized, does not possess the impelling power which is supplied by the sympathies, or by the sense of right and wrong. "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel *just*." Self-interest is also less easily perceived by the mass, because its connection with a dispute is often indirect. Bismarck *may* have engineered the wars of his day with a sole view to the material interests of Germany, but the force behind him was the passions and enthusiasm of the people.

The difference between Mr. Angell's conception and my own of the motives which move nations is illustrated by his comment upon a passage of mine quoted by him:

"That extension of national authority over alien communities which is the dominant note in the world politics of to-day dignifies and enlarges each state, and each citizen that enters its fold. . . . Sentiment, imagination, aspiration, the satisfaction of the rational and moral faculties in some object better than bread alone, all must find part in a worthy motive. *Great and beneficent achievement ministers to worthier contentment than the filling of the pocket.*"

Upon this Mr. Angell's comment is:

"Have we not come to realize that this is all moonshine, and very mischievous moonshine?"

I regret there is not space to quote in full the remarks which follow (p. 309), for they illustrate how completely the author's prepossession with material interest, as the great and almost sole cause of national action, dominates even his power to understand another's words. He likens the idea presented by me to the self-satisfaction of a man elated with his social position and wealth. The words which for present convenience I have italicized show clearly enough a wholly different ideal—that of the use of power for beneficent ends; a moral purpose, certainly. I personally am proud, as an American, of what America has accomplished in the late Spanish possessions and in the Panama Canal Zone; and if I were a Briton, I should feel a like pride in the benefits done to India and to Egypt. I will cite, in support of this simple idea of pride in country, words of the present Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who will not be

suspected of jingoism by any who know either himself or his writings. Speaking of the sanitation triumph at the Isthmus, he says, "Assuredly the world has seen nothing like it before; and, standing face to face with it, is not the American justified in a certain access of race pride?" This I conceive is precisely the gratification indicated in my words criticized by Mr. Angell—national *esprit de corps,* a moral force, the power of which is everywhere recognized.

Argument must proceed necessarily upon the recognition, illustrated by the instances cited, that with nations as with men absolute singleness of motive is rarely found. Mixed motive is the rule, not the exception. Mr. Angell is inclined somewhat to make merry with opponents of his thesis, because at one time they allege self-interest, at another moral motives, as the spring of impulse to war. The inconsistency of this is not in the argument, but in the complex material dealt with—human nature. Bronze is copper and bronze is tin. Nothing is gained, but much is lost, by ignoring duplexity of characteristic.

Nothing too will be gained, only time lost, by disputing the conclusion elaborated at great length by Mr. Angell, that in the close interrelations of modern states injury done to the commercial or financial stability of one reverberates throughout the entire community, returning in due force upon the victor. His theory concerning war, and its incident armament, is founded upon the conception that both are the outcome of supposed material self-interest. Upon this basic assumption he erects the superstructure of argument that, by recognition of the fact that self-interest does not gain by war, but loses, the motive to war and to armaments will be attenuated and ultimately will expire with the illusion which now fosters it. His premise is, I think, his own great illusion. To regard mankind, in individuals or in states, as so dominated by self-interest that the appeal of other motives—ambition, self-respect, resentment of injustice, sympathy with the oppressed, hatred of oppression—is by it overbalanced and inoperative, is not only to misread history but to ignore it. Almost every war of the past half-century contradicts the assertion. Nations will fight for such reasons more readily than for self-interest.

Even on the ground of self-interest only, the argument appears overstrained. That war between two great nations injures both, and that the injury is felt by the whole in-

ternational community, has become a commonplace of modern political thought; testified almost yearly by the anxiety of governments to localize disputes by confining them within a given area. This anxiety is probably the largest constituent factor in the Monroe Doctrine. But when the conclusion is pressed to the point of maintaining that a disproportion between the welfare of two states may not be produced by war, to the permanent advantage of one, so that it may even advance to a position of economic supremacy, the proposition appears contestable. I had occasion several years ago to look somewhat extensively into the economical and financial conditions of Great Britain toward the end of the Napoleonic wars. They were dismal; but it is true none the less that those of the Continent were so much worse that Great Britain owed the long start which she held and kept to this cause largely, of course not solely, for a single reason rarely accounts for all the phenomena of a social order.

Great Britain owed her superiority then to the armed control of the sea, which had sheltered her commercial and industrial fabric from molestation by the enemy; while by the same means she crushed the prosperity of France, disabling her from utilizing her rich resources in the processes of commercial exchange. The latest *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1910) says:

> "The commercial supremacy of England was due to a variety of causes, of which superior intelligence, in the ordinary business sense, was not the most important. Her insular position, continuity of political development, and freedom from domestic broils played an important part in bringing about a steady and continuous growth of industry and manufactures for several generations before the modern era. The great wars of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century gave England the control of the markets of the world. When peace was restored, England had something in the nature of a monopoly."

Progress of this kind, which may not reach supremacy but simply modify the relative conditions of the states concerned, may be brought about either directly or indirectly. As the result of the war between France and Germany in 1870, Germany acquired territory and a huge indemnity. These were direct results. She received also the final impulse to national unity, consummated in the formal institution of the German Empire. *The Great Illusion* considers the territory and the indemnity to have been necessarily

of doubtful benefit, but the argument is not convincing. The statement (p. 94) that prices go up as money becomes abundant is obvious, but it is difficult to understand why loans bearing interest may by good administration produce advantage to a nation—or a firm—whereas a sum bearing no interest must be a detriment. As a matter of fact, Germany was handicapped by lack of capital, due to her late entry into the industrial race and to the severe competition of neighboring rivals of longer industrial antecedents and consequent larger accumulations—of France, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium. A close and extensive student of German conditions writes of 1871, "Material enterprise of every kind was fertilized by the capital which now became loosened, and sought new and larger channels of employment."* The capital drawn from France could scarcely have come amiss to such conditions, though it is certain that sudden easy money caused wild speculation, with attendant disasters, as it always does.

On the other hand German national unity has assured, throughout the countries thus confederated into one empire, the development of an economical and industrial system which, among other effects, has resulted in reducing emigration from some 200,000, in 1879, to 25,000 yearly now; although, coincident with this diminution, the population is increasing by 800,000 annually. This is indirect result. Moreover, that 25,000 outgo does not denote a surplus of unemployed, as former conditions did. On the contrary, Germany receives at certain seasons of the year a large influx of labor from surrounding districts; so that the claim has been advanced that she is now an immigrant country, notwithstanding the annual natural increase of nearly a million—totaling fifty per cent. since 1870.

In connection with this result, from the political union of several communities previously separated, may be noted the confident assertion of *The Great Illusion* (p. 45) that enlargement of territory does not connote increase of financial prosperity. It is said, let Germany annex Holland, and not an individual German or Dutchman will be a penny the richer. There appears here the fallacy that the administration of a large capital cannot be made more productive proportionally than that of a smaller. Granting equal efficiency of administration, the proposition seems to contravene experi-

* W. H. Dawson. *The Evolution of Modern Germany*, p. 38.

ence. When the scale of increase is as small as in this instance, the population of the Netherlands being less than one-tenth that of Germany, effect, even ultimate effect, may possibly be slight. Nevertheless it would be there; while in the consolidation of the German states into the German Empire, or of the thirteen American States into the American Union, with its subsequent expansions, the consequences have been notorious. Both these political measures conduced to great economic advantage, and both were enlargements of territory. The same is true of the unification of Italy; a first period of great distress followed by sustained progress.

The degree to which such consolidations are beneficial depends upon whether they are natural—correspond to fundamental facts—or artificial. In the one case a nation is formed, in the other merely a political entity—like Turkey—not homogeneous. The effect, when real, is to extend the area of assured peace for the communities concerned, and also to strengthen them as competitors in the markets of the world. Concerning Alsace-Lorraine, a much smaller area than Holland, it has been noted that not only did the annexation add to the industrial power of the Empire by the manufacturing establishments there existing, but also that these, being brought within the industrial system of Germany, competing on equal terms, forced a higher standard upon German manufacturers as the only way to meet these new and better-equipped rivals in the home market.*

But it may be urged that these instances, England after the Napoleonic wars and Germany after and since the war with France, if conceded applicable at all, relate to conditions which have now passed away to return no more. Much of the argument of *The Great Illusion* turns upon the allegation that the past is in many respects so wholly past that arguments based upon its experiences are no longer valid. It happens, however, that we are now in the midst—perhaps, indeed, no further than at the entrance—of an era wherein is foreshadowed clearly a future class of great issues, which in some instances have already taken concrete form. Upon these I have touched frequently in previous articles of this series. In restating the facts, I am glad to avail myself of certain phrases and expressions used in a late number of

* Howard. *Recent Industrial Progress in Germany*, p. 29. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1907.

*The Spectator* (December 30, 1911) by a correspondent of the paper and criticized in the editorial columns: "The instability of the present mapping-out of the earth's surface"; "the resettlement to be accomplished"; "the capacity to govern well native populations," in whose hands vast territories now lie useless; "the capacity to bring into use material resources which lie undeveloped." "Are the British four and a half millions which alone now occupy Australia in effective occupation" of the vast continent? "Can we wonder if Germans ask themselves whether there would be fundamental iniquity if they took in hand the development of the Amazon Valley?"

The recent Morocco question was only a particular instance of this class of disputes. It must be remembered that it was not merely between France and Germany; that among its antecedents had been arrangements between France and Great Britain, and France and Spain. The process of readjustments is going on before our eyes with the rapidity of a kaleidoscope; Morocco, Tripoli, Bosnia, Albania, and Macedonia, with Turkey in general—where the recent attempt at better government appears to have broken down—Persia, China, the Open Door. Our Monroe Doctrine stands, succinctly, for our intention that the like readjustments shall not take place at the expense of America; and this position may possibly be resented as a contravention of international common law. Amid all this Germany stands observant and equipped, with administrative and industrial efficiency fully demonstrated, convinced that she has not yet received her fair share of the world's activities, yet unable to find a suitable entrance to play the part to which she is equal and, knowing herself to be, is determined to have. We know that this sentiment is prevalent. The Chancellor of the Empire very recently said:

> "For months past we have been living, and we are living now, in an atmosphere of passion such as we perhaps have never before experienced in Germany. At the root of this feeling is the determination of Germany to make its strength and capability prevail in the world." (*Fortnightly Review*, January, 1912, p. 147.)

In pursuit of the thesis that self-interest is the fundamental factor in international relations, and that no advantage to self-interest is obtainable by military force; or, as it is put, that "armaments exist [only] as the logical outcome of the illusion with which this book deals," *The*

*Great Illusion* is led to disparage size, military power, and the sentiment of nationality as elements of national well-being. Here, in passing, comment is necessary upon the remark that small, undefended states, such as Belgium and Switzerland, are equally prosperous, or more prosperous, than certain large ones. These states are not wholly undefended in themselves; but their security depends upon the maintenance of the Balance of Power, which the great armed states conceive essential to their own well-being. Under the ægis of this mutual jealousy, reinforced by a moral indisposition to conscious wrong-doing, such as the wanton annexation of a weak neighbor would be, the smaller states prosper in peace, and are spared the expense of armament in great part. Their fire insurance, or war risk, is paid by other states. *The Great Illusion's* explanation (p. 44) is quite otherwise. "On what does the evident security of the small state rest? On the simple fact that its conquest would assure to the conqueror *no profit.*"

The German Empire is the most conspicuous instance of the recent constitution of a great nation, territorially extensive, equipped with great military force. It is also seemingly the most aggressive of the large European states; because, being narrowly circumscribed by land and by sea, owing to its geographical position and past history, it has the poorest present opportunity for expansion. From its military characteristics it is chosen for frequent animadversion, being cited as an instance of non-achievement of national ends as compared with smaller communities. Thus it is stated (p. 38) that Norwegian three and a half per cents. stand at 102, the German three per cents. at 82; but as regards national well-being as an object of government, it is not mentioned that of the Norwegian two and a half million souls 20,000 emigrate annually, of Germany's sixty-five million only 25,000, though the population increases by 800,000 annually. Comparison is instituted also between the funds of "powerless" Belgium and "powerful" Germany, 96 to 82; but the modern prosperity of Belgium antedates by nearly two generations (1815-1870) the constitution of the German Empire, with which began the great industrial advance of Germany.

Again, it is urged (p. 100) that the standard of comfort among French people is higher than among Germans, despite the industrial and commercial development of the lat-

ter, which is styled a "sensational splash." To which nation, however, shall be attributed the greater virility—to the one which, far overweighted, has done so much in a generation and at the same time increased its numbers fifty per cent., or to the one which, repressing natural growth, has thereby augmented mere material well-being? Unless a corresponding physical degeneration can be shown among Germans, there can be but one reply.

The period of distress in Germany following 1871 is attributed (pp. 95-100) freely to the indemnity of a thousand million dollars taken from France, showing, as it is claimed, the unprofitableness of indemnities; but it is not mentioned that, apart from the period of speculation unhappily excited, Germany then was passing through the transition period from an agricultural and handicraft system to the modern industrial, the same process which had been attended in other countries—notably Great Britain—with equal if not greater agitation and suffering. It is said (p. 38, note) that in the small country Holland the wealth of the individual Dutchman averages sixteen thousand francs, while the German averages but nine thousand; but it is neglected to observe that Germany up to the middle of the last century has been an agricultural country—in 1871 three-fourths of the population was rural—capital scarce; whereas Holland, favorably situated for commerce and driven upon the outside world for employment, had long been a capitalistic country with big accumulations. A hundred years ago the Dutch did a large banking business, while the inland rural military monarchies depended upon British subsidies. It was the divisions of Germany which principally prevented her economic progress; state working against state. Consolidation into a great community gave internal peace and industrial development; but for the accumulations which constitute capital time is needed for nations as well as for an individual.

To evidence the prosperity of small countries, Norway's merchant shipping is cited as thrice that of Great Britain in proportion to population; but it is not noted that, in the same proportion, the total tonnage entered and cleared *with cargoes* in the United Kingdom is double that of Norway. That is, in proportion to population, there is double the commercial movement. So also Spain's management of the war of 1898 is compared (p. 222) with that of the

United States, in order to show the superiority, even in military management, of a commercial country over one essentially military. This is, perhaps, the most extreme disregard of notorious conditions. The inefficiency of Spain is notorious in civil as well as military matters. Does any one suppose that the United States would have had a like walk-over if opposed to the military state of Germany? The trouble with Spain was not that she was military, but that she as a nation was incapable and had been for over two hundred years.

Amid many suggestive remarks, Mr. Angell's treatment appears vitiated by failure to appreciate these and other qualifications which make against his thesis. Insistence upon details, however, rather obscures than elucidates, and the author's presentation of his case suffers from this, as also, especially in the latter part of the book, from unbecoming superciliousness of tone. The fundamental error, however, is the conception that nations maintain armaments with a view to aggression in behalf of self-interest, measured in speedy returns of dollars and cents; a view which dominates the entire book, despite a timely caution conveyed by a prominent international banker (p. 135, note):

> "Though the economics of your book are unchallengeable, it is futile, for the simple reason that it deals with material interests, and people to-day do not go to war about business or material interests. I do not know what they go to war about, but I am quite sure it is not about business."

In the past, when governments were little responsible to the people, wars were made irrespective of popular feeling from motives of advantage purely. To-day all recent history shows that governments are reluctant to go to war; but they recognize, and the people sustain them, that war may come, and that if it does it will expose the nation to vital injury to its "financial and industrial stability." This is quite different from the apprehension that the reason of an enemy for declaring war is to inflict such injury.

The causes of quarrel now are quite otherwise than the barefaced robbery which marked the career of absolute monarchs like Louis XIV., Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. The motives now are rarely simple, usually complex; but historically they have not been "to increase power and prosperity at the cost of the vanquished." Those who remember the War of Secession know how powerfully the

sentiments phrased by the words, "The Union" on one side, and "Independence" or "State Rights" on the other, outweighed any thought of interest. The German people rose as one man to support Bismarck, because the quarrel appealed mightily to the nascent sentiment of racial unity. Russia attacked Turkey in 1877 because of the wave of intense popular sympathy with peoples undergoing cruel oppression: a sympathy widely felt elsewhere, but in Russia only transmuted into act. The South African war illustrated what the author of *The Great Illusion* (*Spectator*, January 6) thinks impracticable for the most part; namely, the protection by force of the citizens of one state in the territory of another. The British Government scarcely expected to increase its prosperity or financial stability by aggression upon the Transvaal Republic. It stood to lose money, not to gain. The whole question turned upon the treatment of British subjects during the interval between immigration and naturalization; and the motive drew in not the British Islands only, but the English race in Canada and Australasia as well.

A mature consideration of the wars of the past sixty years, and of the occasions also in which war has seemed imminent but has been averted, will show that the motives to war have not often been "aggression for the sake of increasing power, and consequently prosperity and financial well-being." The impulses, however mistaken they are thought by some, or actually may have been, have risen above mere self-interest to feelings and convictions which the argument of *The Great Illusion* does not so much as touch. The entire conception of the work is itself an illusion based upon a profound misreading of human action. To regard the world as governed by self-interest only is to live in a non-existent world, an ideal world, a world possessed by an idea much less worthy than those which mankind, to do it bare justice, persistently entertains. Yet this is the aspect under which *The Great Illusion* avowedly regards the world that now is. It matters little what the arguments are by which such a theory is advocated, when the concrete facts of history are against it.

A. T. Mahan.

# POLITICAL PARTIES ON THE EVE OF HOME RULE

BY EDWARD PORRITT

THE most obvious and significant change in British politics between the first and the third bill for conceding home rule to Ireland—between the Parliamentary session of 1886 in which Gladstone introduced his first measure and the session of 1912 in which a third attempt is to be made to meet the demand of the Irish Nationalists—is the vastly altered position of the two great political parties. It is a change, sweeping in its character, which is at once apparent when the House of Commons of to-day, with its independent groups and with men of a new class in the lead, is compared with the House of Commons that rejected the home-rule bill of 1886 and thereby precipitated a realignment of parties that had been threatening since the second extension of the franchise in 1867.

From the reign of William III. to the downfall of Gladstone's third administration in 1886 there were only two political parties. Originally they were Whig and Tory; but from 1832 they had been known by their modern names of Liberal and Conservative. In these two centuries there were no organized groups independent of these parties except the group that came into existence in 1873 when Butt, Parnell's predecessor, organized the Irish Nationalists, who then as an assertion of their complete independence preempted the benches below the gangway on the opposition side of the House of Commons which they have since continuously occupied. During these two centuries when power was not in the possession of one of the two historic parties, it was, as a matter of course, in the hands of the other; and it is only since 1885 that governments have had to rely on political groups organized outside of both the Liberal and the Conservative parties.

Of the two parties that were thus alternately in control of the Government until 1886 the Liberal party was the more remarkable as regards the elements of which it was composed and also the range of social classes which it embraced. From the time it was known as the Liberal party it included (1) the Whigs, an exclusive cult into which only men of the territorial governing class and of a lineage dating back to the Revolution were admitted to full membership; (2) the Radicals, who began as unattached allies of the Whigs in the days of Pitt, when the cry of Whigs and Radicals was peace, retrenchment, and reform; (3) the Liberals—men who were more democratic in their political views and convictions than the Whigs, but not disposed to travel so quickly nor so far as the Radicals; and (4) in the last twelve years of the period the Liberal party included the Liberal Labor members, trade-union leaders of the school of Burt and Broadhurst, who in politics were the precursors of the present Independent Labor party in the House of Commons.

Whips summoning members of the House of Commons to a division are as old as the reign of Charles II. As a Parliamentary institution they are older than government by party and government by cabinet. Government whips have been issued from the Treasury since government by cabinet became well established, from what for a century or more was approximately known as the office of the patronage secretary. But never since whips were first issued from the Treasury did they go to men of a political party more composite in its constitution, more diverse in their political convictions and aims, or more widely separated in social rank than during the lifetime of the Liberal government that preceded the general election which made the first home-rule bill inevitable.

At one extreme, at the older end about which the Liberal party had been grouped since the days of Fox and Grey and the long agitation for the first reform bill, were the Whigs. In this House of Commons their foremost representative was the Marquis of Hartington, who later, as Duke of Devonshire, was the owner of vast estates in half a dozen English counties and in Ireland—a great seigneur, with six or seven territorial mansions, where he was often the host of royalty. At the other extreme—the newer end—were the Labor members, living on salaries of £250 to £300

paid them by their unions, not long from the mine or the work-bench, and voicing in the House of Commons the convictions and aspirations of organized industrial democracy that twenty years later was to assert itself much more widely and aggressively and to create a party of its own at Westminster and in the constituencies.

The remarkable composition of the Liberal party in the Parliament of 1880-1885, with one exception the last Parliament in which the Liberals were to be in power without the support of independent groups, did not go unnoticed by the opposition of the day. Stafford Northcote, afterward Earl of Iddesleigh, who was then of the House of Commons, commented upon it in his diary; and as early as April, 1880, before the second Gladstone administration was fully organized, he was hopeful that a Conservative cave might be formed among the Liberals, with Goschen as its center, and that the Conservatives might soon join hands with these bolters and ultimately bring some of them into a Conservative administration.

Salisbury, who was pre-eminently the most outspoken of Conservative leaders, gave public utterance to sentiments akin to those that Northcote confided to his diary. A few of the Whigs of the House of Lords did break away from Gladstone over his Irish land legislation of 1881—legislation which the Conservatives have since carried infinitely further than Gladstone's act of thirty years ago—with Argyll and Lansdowne, now leader of the Conservatives in the House of Lords, as the leaders of the recession. But there was in this Parliament—one of the most trying of Parliaments for the old Liberal party—no such bolt by Goschen and other Liberals as Northcote had forecast; and it was 1884 before Salisbury predicted in public the break-up of the Liberal party that was to come in 1886. Salisbury then pointed to the heterogeneous elements of which the party led by Gladstone was composed and declared that it was then held together rather by the dexterity of its leader than by harmony of opinion and aims.

The Whigs had long been impatient of the conditions within the Liberal party that Northcote and Salisbury described. The Radicals for at least twenty years had been equally impatient at the domination of the Liberal party by the Whigs, between whom and the Conservatives the Radicals refused to see any difference when questions af-

fecting the Established Church, the land system, the feudal and political privileges of the territorial aristocracy, and the extension of the Parliamentary franchise and of local self-government were at issue. But the Whigs were in possession. It was not possible between 1832 and 1886 for the Radicals to supplant them, for the moderate Liberals—financiers among whom Goschen was typical and lawyers like James and Selborne—who were not of the territorial governing class and not of the Whig cult leaned much more to the Whigs than to the Radicals, and would have tolerated no movement by the Radicals antagonistic to the Whigs. The Whigs had regulated the pace of the Liberal party since 1830, whether the Liberals were in or out of power; and when the Liberals were in power six-sevenths of the offices in the cabinet and ministry and much other less exalted patronage of the government went, as a matter of course, unchallenged, to the Whigs and their nominees.

The power of the Whigs over the Liberal party accrued to them from obvious reasons. The Whigs were first in the field. They were there before there was any Liberal party. They were the progressive and reforming party from 1793 to 1832. They carried the first reform act, when the Whig borough-owners showed some disinterestedness and self-denial; and there was, moreover, a persistent tradition that survived more than half-way through the nineteenth century that since the Revolution of 1688, and more particularly during the reactionary era of the French Revolution and the English wars with France, the Whigs had been the guardians of the rights of the common people.

In the first period of popular political agitation—in the troubled and dreary half-century that preceded the reform act—the Whigs had led in some of these popular movements, always with caution and circumspection and with due regard to the dignity of their order—a dignity that demanded that they should not come into too close touch with the Radicals and the Radical organizations. None the less the Whigs had led in these early Liberal movements; and by this lead between 1793 and 1832, and the prestige and traditions of rule that attached to them, the Whigs had secured the hold on the Liberal party that was easily theirs until the third extension of the franchise in 1884 and the immediate break-up of the Liberal party that followed.

With the exception of Lord John Russell, no Whig gave

a lead to popular liberal movements from 1832 to 1885. The mission of the Whigs during these years, when they had to rely on Radical and Liberal support in the House of Commons and the constituencies, was not to lead in any progressive movement. It was their function to hold the cabinet offices and to apply the brake when the Liberal party was in power and its supporters in the constituencies were looking to a Liberal government for legislation in accordance with Radical principles. Hartington, in reviewing in 1882 the mission of the Whigs since 1832, admitted to a Liberal and Radical audience of his Parliamentary constituents in the industrial division of Northeast Lancashire that since 1832 the Whigs had never been leaders in reform. "The part of the Whigs," and he claimed credit for it in his speech to the electors to whom he owed his seat in the House of Commons, "had been to accept reform in time, and then by their influence to moderate it and prevent it being too violent and too abrupt."

By 1882 this was also largely the mission of the Conservative party, for the Conservatives ten years earlier had abandoned the attitude of their more Tory days of unbending opposition to all reform. They were now actuated by the opportunism that marked their extension of the Parliamentary franchise in 1867 and disposed to act on the principle that Lord Derby enunciated in 1871 when the bill for the abolition of the purchase of commissions in the army—a reforming measure of a Liberal government—was before the House of Lords. The bill was rejected by the Lords, but Derby refused to have any part in its rejection because he held that no institution was tenable in England which could not be defended by arguments intelligible to the mass of the electors.

Since Gladstone's first administration — 1868-1874 — the territorial members of the Whig party, who included about all of the old Whig cult, had been linking themselves more closely with the territorial class of the Conservative party. Their interests were the same. They had the same political privileges to safeguard; and it was obvious in the Parliament of 1880-1885, the last in which Gladstone was maintained in power by Liberals alone, that there must soon be a merging of the two groups that were working to the same end in English politics.

The home-rule bill precipitated the movement of the

Whigs to the Conservatives. Hitherto only stragglers from the Whigs had gone over. The first home-rule bill afforded an opportunity for the Whigs as a battalion to join the Conservatives. They did not go alone. Moderate Liberals went with them and also a group of Radicals led by Chamberlain, who, curiously enough, in the previous ten years had disturbed and antagonized the Whigs even more than Bright had done; more than any Radical who had been of the Liberal party since it had been known by that name. With this movement of the Whigs to the Conservatives there was ended a connection between the Whigs and the Radicals that had never been harmonious, but which by force of circumstances had been continuous since the last decade of the eighteenth century, when Fox and Grey were leaders of the long and weary and often baffled movements for religious equality and Parliamentary reform.

As the Liberal party had one remarkable characteristic through its history up to this time—its inclusion of men of such divergent views as the Whigs and Radicals—so for nearly a century the Conservative party was marked by a peculiar but quite explicable characteristic. Its recent history and its earlier history alike suggest that it is able to thrive and hold its own in the House of Commons for only a limited period. Then comes the time when it suffers from a poverty of leaders, when it is uncertain of its ground, when it is convinced that the country is going to ruin and cannot be retrieved, and when the party is marked by stagnation. Such periods are sufficiently long to leave an indelible mark in political history. The first was after the death of Canning in 1827, when Wellington, a great soldier but an admittedly mediocre statesman, was the only available leader, and when even that part of the restricted electorate that had long been voting Tories into the House of Commons had become much less Tory than its Parliamentary leaders and weary of an undiscriminating point-blank refusal to all demands for reform.

Peel rescued the Conservative party from this first rout and demoralization. The next period of disruption and ineffectiveness came with the repeal of the corn laws and the clinging for six years by the Conservative party to the idea that the corn laws could be re-enacted. Disraeli, who, like Peel, was not of the governing class, this time put the party on its feet again; and from 1870 onward, as

Disraeli claimed in 1873, it was in a stronger and more satisfactory position than it had been since the days of Pitt—a claim that was shown to have good foundation in 1874 when the general election gave the Conservatives a lease of power that lasted until 1880.

The party weakened again when Disraeli, now Earl of Beaconsfield, was too old to lead; and now that the memoirs and political biographies have revealed the inside history of the party, it is clear that in 1883 and 1884 it was heading toward another period of ineffectiveness and was in sore need of another Peel or Disraeli to pull it together once more. What it lacked, why it was weak in Parliament and therefore weak in the constituencies, was pointed out by Borthwick of the *Morning Post* in a letter written in 1881.

At this time, as for twenty years previously, Borthwick was doing more effective work for the Conservative party than any other journalist of the second half of the nineteenth century, with the possible exception of Greenwood, who had founded the *Pall Mall Gazette,* and, after the change of proprietors and politics of this paper in 1880, had started the *St. James's Gazette* to offset it. "The cruel weakness," Borthwick wrote, in 1881, in describing conditions within the party, "is in the Lower House men. Votes exist; but brains, inception, and power are lacking and there is a curious patience and even indifference about political matters."

As this extension of the franchise drew near, Churchill and Gorst and a few other Conservatives who chafed at the conditions Borthwick described realized that it might be turned into an opportunity for the Conservative party. Hence the vigorous but short-lived movement for a Tory democracy. The principles behind this movement—the only aggressive movement ever undertaken inside the Conservative party until the agitation for a revival of protection in 1903—was that the great object of government was the welfare of the common people; that the Crown, the Lords and the Commons, and all the institutions of the country were only defensible in so far as they administered to the benefit of the people at large; that the object of reform and legislation should be to deliver the people from the all-powerful classes to whom they were then under subjection; and that the main object of all political measures was to make the lives and homes of the people as healthy and as happy as possible.

Tory democracy was a sectional movement that had no support from Salisbury, Northcote, Hicks-Beach, and the other Conservative leaders of that day. It brought no new strength to the party—certainly none in the place in which Borthwick insisted in 1881 that it was most needed—and had there been no great division in the Liberal party over home rule in 1886 and no movement of Whigs and moderate Liberals over the Conservatives on this or some other issue nothing could have saved the Conservative party from another period of ineffectiveness similar to that which followed the disruption of 1846.

Home rule saved the Conservative party at this juncture. It infused new life into it and soon gave it a longer term of power than any it had enjoyed since the last half of the reign of George III. There was no merging in 1886. The Conservatives already had their electoral organization; and the Liberal Unionists started organizations of their own with the idea that the two groups in the Unionist party were to remain apart, supporting each other in opposition to home rule and to the Liberals whether in or out of office so long as the Liberals were committed to home rule.

The Conservative administration of 1886-1892 drew only one member from the Liberal Unionists; but it might have been wrecked had not Goschen been available in December, 1886, when Churchill unexpectedly resigned as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. The Whigs and Liberal Unionists were not of Conservative administrations until 1895. Thenceforward until the division in the Conservative party over protection in 1903 there was within the party more Parliamentary and administrative ability and more men who could state the Unionist position on any measure from platforms in the constituencies than at any time in its history.

Hartington and Chamberlain between 1886 and 1900 repeated the successes of Peel and Disraeli in upbuilding the Conservative party. Chamberlain, like Peel in 1846, when he began his propaganda in 1903 for a return to protection, was the cause of a disruption. But until he brought this trouble on the party, and headed it once more into ineffectiveness and stagnation from which it shows as yet small signs of recovery, Chamberlain had a greater influence on the policies of the Conservatives than any other leader of the party. The county government act of 1888, a measure

as democratic as any that a Liberal government would have passed, and the workmen's compensation act of 1897, the most socialistic enactment on the statute-book until the Liberals passed the old-age pension act ten years later, are monuments to Chamberlain's influence with the Conservatives from 1886 to the outbreak of war with South Africa.

In the Parliament of 1900-1905 the Conservative majority in the House of Commons was larger than in any Parliament since 1832. Chamberlain had then either abandoned the last shred of his former liberalism or his influence was on the wane, for in this Parliament the Balfour government made church schools a charge on municipal as well as imperial taxes, gave a statutory title to the holders of liquor licenses, and was as heedless of public opinion as any Tory government of the reign of George III.

The merging of the Peelites—the free-trade Conservatives of 1846—into the Liberal party took thirteen years. The Liberal Unionists were three times as numerous as the Peelites. They were incomparably stronger in the constituencies and had organizations the like of which the Peelites never possessed. They also carried over with them so many of the Liberal newspapers as to leave the Liberal party that stood by Gladstone weaker in the press than at any time in its history. But less time was needed to absorb the Liberal-Unionists in the Conservative party than to merge the Peelites with the Whigs and Liberals. By 1896 the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were indistinguishable in principles, policies, and aims; and certainly in the reactionary Parliament of 1900-1905 all traces of the liberalism, moderate or otherwise, that had marked the Liberal-Unionists had completely disappeared. Absorption in the Conservative party was inevitable from the first. Those of the Liberal-Unionists who went over in the lead of Chamberlain may not have contemplated absorption; but the Whigs who followed Hartington only went where they had long been expected, where they were cordially welcomed, when they were merged into the Conservative party.

The changes in the Liberal party in the quarter of a century during which it has been committed to home rule and dependent for its majority in the House of Commons on outside groups are as marked in the personnel of Liberal administrations as in the legislation for which these administrations are responsible. With the Liberal party con-

stituted as it was from 1832 to 1886, there could have been no old-age pension act, no Lloyd-George budget of 1909, certainly no act like that of 1911 restricting the power of the House of Lords, and no national insurance act like that to which British industries are now adjusting themselves. Both the groups on which the Liberal government is to-day dependent had had their influence on this legislation. The Nationalists were as insistent on restricting the veto power of the Lords as the Labor group; but old-age pensions and the national insurance act grew out of a new political era brought about by the organization of the Labor party and its command of forty votes in the House of Commons.

A comparison of Liberal administrations since 1906 with administrations when the Whigs were in control shows how great has been the change in the personnel—in the class of men from which the members of recent administrations have been drawn. Only two men not of the governing class were of the Whig administration of 1830-1834; and up to 1867 not more than nine or ten outsiders had been of Liberal administrations. Macaulay, Baines, and Gladstone were the only men of middle-class origin who had attained cabinet rank in Liberal administrations until Bright entered the cabinet in 1868. A few more positions of this rank were accorded men of the middle class after 1868, but the Whigs easily predominated in Liberal administrations until 1886. How comparatively little is left to the landed class in Liberal administrations is shown by the fact that only two members of it to-day occupy seats on the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons, while of a cabinet of twenty members only five were of the territorial aristocracy.

As a result of the realignment of parties brought about by the first home-rule bill and of the more radical tendencies of the Liberal party since that time the land-owning class is to-day more exclusively of one political party than at any time since the Revolution of 1688. The territorial power of the Conservatives is enormously stronger than it was in 1885. Yet, notwithstanding this new strength, its leader to-day—Mr. Bonar Law—the man who must be Premier in the next Conservative administration—is a retired merchant, with no closer connection with the landed aristocracy than had Disraeli when he, like the new leader, undertook the task of retrieving the fortunes of the Conservative party.

EDWARD PORRITT.

# DEPOPULATION IN FRANCE

BY WALTER E. WEYL

In this year, 1912, less than eight hundred thousand living babies will be born to the forty millions of France.

This is the problem of French depopulation in a nutshell. It is the most significant fact in French life. In no other country in the world is the birth-rate so low. In no other country in the world has the birth-rate fallen so rapidly and so steadily.

Not everywhere in France has the birth-rate declined equally. In a few *départements* it has actually increased. There are more children per family in the maritime Alps, in the mining districts about Calais, or among the peasants of Brittany than there are in Normandy or on the banks of the Garonne. If, however, you take an average thousand of the French population, you will find an annual birth of only twenty babies.

How low this birth-rate is may be seen by comparing it with that of other countries. In fifty governments of European Russia the birth-rate exceeds forty-eight. In other words, there are more than forty-eight annual births per thousand of the population compared to the twenty of France. In Bulgaria there are over 41, in Roumania 40, in Servia 39, in Hungary 37, in Austria 35, in Germany 34, in Spain 34, in Chili 37, in Argentine 35. In Italy, Japan, Finland, Holland, Portugal, Uruguay, there are from 30 to 33 births per thousand of the population. Denmark's birth-rate is 29; Sweden's is 26. In England there are over 27 births per thousand; in Australia over 26; in New Zealand almost 27. Except for Ireland and for certain American States (Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan), no country nearly approaches the very low birth-rate of France.

From the birth-rate alone you cannot tell whether the population of a country is increasing or decreasing. The

numbers of the people depend also on the death-rate. In Russia, for example, thirty-one babies out of every hundred die within the year; in Norway only nine out of a hundred die annually. In France, as in other countries, the death-rate has decreased. But in France the birth-rate has decreased so much more rapidly than has the death-rate that the population to-day hardly increases and in certain years it has actually decreased. In the year 1900, and again in 1907, there were more deaths than births in France, and during the last five years (1906-1910) the average excess of births over deaths was less than 30,000.* France's *annual* gain through natural increase is comparable with the *fortnightly* gain of the United States through immigration.

While France with its forty millions is making a gain through natural increase of less than thirty thousands annually, the population of other countries is increasing by leaps and bounds. The natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) in thinly settled Sweden (1909) is well over 60,000 (64,849); in Belgium it is also over 60,000; in little Holland it is 90,000; in England and Wales it is almost 400,000; in Italy it is 377,000; in Austro-Hungary it is over 540,000; while in Germany it is 884,000. It takes France over thirty-two years to make up by natural increase as much as Germany makes up each year. The natural increase in France's population during the five years (1906-1910) is about equal to Germany's increase every two months. No wonder Moltke said, "Every year Germany wins a great victory over France."

The decline in the birth-rate means a relatively less importance for France in the settlement of the affairs of Europe. We do not often realize to how great an extent the former military power of France was due to her large numbers. During the thirty years after the peace of Westphalia (1648-1678), France contained 38 per cent. of the population of the great nations of the time (19,000,000 out of 50,000,000). Since then France while increasing her population has not kept pace with neighboring countries, so that to-day her population forms only about 10 per cent. of the population of Europe.

The low birth-rate in France is due to the fact, not that

* According to calculations based on the provisional figures of the report upon the Movement of the Population of France, *Journal Officiel*, May 25, 1911, this annual gain amounted to 27,441.

the people do not marry, but that they marry and have few children. During the first ten years of the nineteenth century there were four legitimate living children to each marriage in France; in the fourth decade there were only 3.4 such children; in the ninth decade only 3; while in 1910 there were only 2.4 legitimate living children per marriage. For every thousand married women in Holland it was recently found that 286 legitimate living children were born annually; in Prussia, Bavaria, Norway, Scotland, Saxony, Austria, Italy, Finland, Ireland, Servia, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, the number of such children born to each thousand married women within these ages ranged from 265 to 224; in France, during the same period, the number was only 150, and to-day it is still smaller. For all these countries except France, a child is born once in every three and one-half to four and one-half years of wedlock; in France, a child is born once in seven years.

Nor is the low birth-rate of France due to any physical sterility. A comparison was recently made of the numbers of entirely childless households in Paris, Berlin, and Rio Janeiro. Of all marriages which had lasted from fifteen to twenty years 11.3 per cent. had been unfruitful in the Brazilian city, 12.8 per cent. in the German city, and only 13.3 per cent. in the French city. Tuberculosis and alcoholism, which are prevalent in France, may lower the quality of children, but do not necessarily lessen their number. In Canada the French have proved that they are not incapable of bearing children. The reduced birth-rate of France is voluntary, not compulsory.

What is its cause? Why is it in France, rather than in neighboring countries, that the birth-rate decreases so rapidly?

The rough-and-ready foreign critic, who has absorbed his philosophy on the boulevards, proclaims that it is because the French are decadent, because they are wicked, light-hearted, and addicted to art and absinthe. Others ascribe the reduced birth-rate to the worldly-mindedness of fashionable women, who would rather fill their drawing-rooms than their nurseries. But surely this explanation fails to explain. All over the world the vast majority of babies are born in houses which have no drawing-rooms. If you could corral all the women of fashion, and legally compel each to bear

a dozen children, the increase would be almost imperceptible in the vast ocean of natality. The society woman is too scarce to count.

The woman in the case is not the reluctant mother of fashionable society, but a person of an entirely different caste. It is the peasant mother, the bent, self-driven woman, whom we see at work on every harvest-field, who in the final analysis determines the population of France. She is not a statistician nor a student of demography. Nevertheless, when she decides that a family of two children is the only right and proper family, or at least the largest family that *she* can afford, then all the Republic's statesmen and all the Republic's orators may legislate and declaim in vain. Population, though a public question, is settled at home.

The curious thing about the population question in France is that the very virtues which have so long been preached to the attentive masses have led to this lessening of the birth-rate which the preachers so deplore. The French have been exhorted to save, and accordingly have reduced expenses by reducing their families. They have been told to be self-respecting, ambitious, foresighted, and all these qualities have led to small families. They have been told to provide for their children, to keep them from work, to put them to school, and they have made provision for those who are born by not bearing over-many. Democracy has worked toward the same end. So has the growing alienation from the Church. So also the new pacific attitude of the masses, who rebel at the thought of breeding men to be slain. For many years the workman was warned that his fecundity was the cause of all his evils. To-day the same man is assured that his sterility is the cause of the decline, and will be the cause of the death and disappearance of France.

The sterile virtues of the French workmen and peasants, the ruthless foresight which determines the output of men as a trust determines the output of its product, are reinforced by laws which are in turn compelled by the democratic and egalitarian spirit of France. About a century ago the French abolished the law of primogeniture, and decreed that the estate of the father should be equally divided among his children. Now primogeniture is a great breeder. The inheriting son has the wherewithal to beget,

and the younger sons, adventurous because divorced from the family land, beget adventurously. It is otherwise when children share equally. If you have ten acres and your wife's *dot* is ten acres, then two children will inherit ten acres each or four children will inherit five acres each. Fecundity under such conditions becomes a problem in short division. A man of substance and responsibility, a wise man with a well-tilled farm, will not breed beyond his acres.

The economic conditions reinforce this tendency to limit the birth-rate. The population of France is not so dense as is that of Switzerland, Austria, Germany, or Italy, not half so dense as is that of England and Wales or Holland, not one-third so dense as is that of Belgium. But France maintains a far higher standard of living than does Italy or Austria, and it cannot depend to the extent that England, Germany, Belgium, and Holland do upon its commerce in manufactured articles. France is predominatingly rural. About five-ninths of its inhabitants live in communes of less than three thousand inhabitants. It contains (1906) only five cities with a population of two hundred thousand, as compared with twenty-three such cities in Germany. Its mining resources are not comparable with those of England or Germany, and its output of coal, iron, and steel is far below that of its neighbors. To a considerable extent, the French population is thrown back upon lesser manufactures and upon the care of its ninety million acres under crops, fallow, and grass. The subdivision of these acres into small and microscopic farms brings home to the peasants of France the intimate relation between large families and individual poverty.

It is these economic conditions which set limits to the French population. It is all very well to point to the prolific populations across the border, to urge France to aspire to the population of Germany. But France could not comfortably maintain such a population, any more than a rural county in Indiana can attain to the population of Chicago, or Norway can attain to the population of Belgium. With the rising standard of living in France, the population will probably not exceed the number who can lead a comfortable and civilized life upon French soil.

This limit to population, set by the rising standards of living pressing against the economic opportunities, is frequently ignored by the advocates of a high birth-rate. About

a decade ago, Émile Zola wrote a novel called *Fecundity,* in which he exhorted the French people to be fruitful and replenish the earth. He wrote as though France were the frontier of a new country, like Ohio in 1800, or Illinois in 1840. But France is no such country. There is no spare room. There are some twenty million little strips of land, but there is not an acre which is not claimed by some one, and there are few acres which are not used to their utmost capacity. "The law of diminishing returns" applies fatally in agriculture. Three men cannot live as comfortably upon a twenty-acre farm as can two. France is pre-empted—and used.

But, says Zola, emigrate, colonize. Found a new France in the beyond, in Africa. Let there be a hundred million non-European Frenchmen, speaking the language and maintaining the traditions of the old France. It is easily said. But the battle of Quebec lost America to France; and Algeria and Tunis, Morocco and the Congo offer no adequate alternative. The inhabitants of Algeria will always be Algerians, and of Tunis, Tunisians. To-day the French population in Algeria numbers about half a million, and that of Tunis (exclusive of the army of occupation) is less than forty thousand. Moreover, emigration is not the Frenchman's *métier.* The French have never swarmed over other lands as have the English and Germans, and as the Italians do to-day. Although the French are brave—foolishly, spectacularly brave—although their airmen storm the heavens as their soldiers storm battlements, they are not an adventurous people. They are not gamblers, pioneers, colonizers, enterprising business adventurers. They are home-bodies, loving the pleasant open-air life of their native land. They are too sociable to emigrate.

The people who are suggesting remedies for French depopulation should first make sure that the patient is really sick. Many of the great advances in civilization have at first been considered plagues, and only later was their beneficence discovered.

In the first place, the mischief (if indeed it be a mischief) is not quite so bad as the physicians describe it. There is no real depopulation, for the number of Frenchmen is growing—slowly indeed—but still growing. There are lachrymal writers who speak of France as though it were a deserted nursery, where the prattle and the boisterous noise

of children are never heard. Of course this is absurd. The French have some six million children in school. Yearly eight hundred thousand children are born to take the places of the eight hundred thousand Frenchmen who annually die. Everywhere in France you see children. The precipitous streets of Boulogne teem with tow-headed, red-cheeked, clog-shod children, more like Flemings than French. In Calais, in Havre, in Toulon, in Lyons, in Paris and Marseilles the children play on the streets and in the parks. In other places it is the same. The attitude of French parents toward procreation is temperance—not total abstinence.

The theory of the French toward children is "quality before quantity." There is, I believe, no country on earth where children are more tenderly cared for, more passionately yet wisely loved, than in France. Sometimes affection oversteps itself. In France, as in America, we have the spoiled, antiseptic darling, the over-nurtured *fils unique*. We have coddling. Yet when we think of the child-torture of so many dreary centuries, when we think of the neglect, repression, and cruelty toward so many generations of children, we can forgive a little softness.

The decreasing birth-rate is in reality a strike against evil conditions. France aspires to be comfortable and civilized. She has the choice of being populous or democratic, and she is choosing the latter.

She is finding her reward in better conditions generally. Despite easy current phrases about the decline of France, that nation advances rapidly in material prosperity. Her moral influence, also, though perhaps not what it once was, is still great. The standard of living is rising. Saving, which is a useful if not an amiable virtue, is becoming more and more wide-spread. Every year adds enormously to the wealth of France and to the diffusion of that wealth among ever-wider sections of the population. The wealth of France, unlike that of England, is not concentrated in a few hands. Alfred Neymarck in his report on French Savings to the American Monetary Commission says:

"There are in France ten million electors, almost all taxpayers. All or nearly all save their money with the intention of putting something by for their old age. There are savings in the special organizations called savings-institutions, in the mutual-benefit societies, in banks and securities, in lands, and in houses. . . . Such is the composition of the private

wealth of France, a wealth which is infinitely disseminated. It can be proved, in fact, that of these ten million electors nine million at least have a book at some savings-institution, a government *rente,* a railroad, or Crédit Foncier bond, or some other security, a strip of land, or a house, whether large or small."

The statistics showing the wide and increasing dispersion of French wealth are illuminating. On January 1, 1908, there were $950,000,000 in French savings-banks, representing 12,828,847 books or deposits, of which one-third were for four dollars or less. It is estimated that almost $3,000,000,000 of *rentes* are held by 1,500,000 investors. There are $1,200,000,000 in lottery bonds widely disseminated. There are $3,500,000,000 in railroad stocks and bonds held by over 700,000 families. Of twelve million households in France, nine millions own the houses they occupy. Of the total inheritances declared in 1907, only about one in ten thousand was over a million dollars, while over four-fifths of all were under two thousand dollars. France, growing wealthier daily and dispersing its wealth over larger and larger millions, represents a financial democracy. It is seeking to build upon its increasing material resources an improved civilization for a limited number of inhabitants.

This ideal of a higher civilization based upon more wealth more widely distributed and more wisely used is bitterly hated by many Frenchmen. They believe that it is prosaic, niggardly, materialistic, and in the end doomed to defeat itself. They bemoan the land where wealth accumulates and men decay. They declare that the true virtues are simplicity, faith, and martial quality. They fear that France will become a wealthy old nation, which will some day be knocked upon the head by a more vigorous and more necessitous nation. France, they declare, is laying up treasures for its future conquerors.

Everywhere the cry is heard. Societies are formed for the increase of the national population; ministerial edicts and instructions are issued; the newspapers are flooded with protests against the vice of sterility—and the birth-rate continues to decline. France, " which dominated Europe through its military power, its diplomacy, its industry, its commerce, its influence, its colonial expansion, contracts, so that one is compelled to foresee the day when it will be conquered and dismembered, or, at least, when it will fall into a decadence so profound and irremediable that it will

never count again among the growing nations.'"* The evil, we are assured, is worse than any which have left their mark upon the Gallic population. The invasions of the fourth century, famines, the Black Plague in the fourteenth century, the Hundred Years' War, the long years of religious discord, the Fronde, the wars of Louis XIV., and the famines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inflicted wounds which in the end were healed. But the present wound is self-inflicted, and therefore incurable. "France," says M. de Foville, "is attacked by a malady of which it will probably die."

All these plaints and predictions, all these social dissections and national lamentations may be translated into one word—Germany. The statesmen who wish to give monuments and medals and exemption from taxation to fathers of large families, the publicists who ask for discriminating taxes against celibates and fatherless husbands are impelled by an unnerving fear of the *Erbfeind*. They see a frontier of bayonets, and behind each bayonet a man-child, one of the million man-children born each year in Germany.

To those who think of national conflicts as forever inevitable and as decided always by the number of conscripts, the danger seems self-evident. Germany, which a half-century ago had a population equal to that of France, now has sixty-five millions against the thirty-nine millions of her neighbor. If the recent increase in Germany's population is maintained, she will grow to a hundred millions within forty years, during a period when France's population will remain stationary or decline. Fecundity, think the French pessimists, is the primal weapon, more efficacious than arrows, Dreadnoughts, or gatling-guns. How can the tremendous expansive force of a surplus population be opposed by the soft comfort of France? What can prevent the overwhelming of the forty millions by a hundred millions crowded into a neighboring equal territory? Or if there be no war, how can France prevent a peaceful conquest by Germany, an overwhelming through immigration, an infiltration of the denser millions through a porous frontier? However they view it, these men see nothing on the horizon but a Teutonization of France. *Finis Galliæ*.

There is often an unconscious wisdom in deep popular instincts, and it is not impossible that the French peasant

* Clément (Henry), *La Dépopulation en France*.

woman with her two children will be justified by the result rather than the prophet who studies statistical tables. France may find its safety in the policy in which it is seeking its comfort and its material advance.

It is true that in a certain sense the problem of the wisdom of France in lowering her birth-rate will be decided in Germany. Whether or not there will be a pressure against her borders, which will compel France ever to be on the defensive, is one of the determining factors in the situation.

The continuance of such a pressure, however, depends not merely upon population. The invading and emigrating impulse arises from hunger, not from mere numbers. Ireland invades England, not England Ireland. The New-Yorker does not move to Vermont, and in Germany it is the thinly populated east which invades the thickly populated west. Population moves not toward unsettled countries, but toward industrial opportunities. And the industrial opportunities of Germany during the last half-century, thanks to a better national organization, have increased enormously faster than the growth in population. Wages have risen, profits have increased, and emigration has fallen off. There was a far greater outward pressure in Germany during the decade beginning in 1848 than there is in the year 1912, although the population of the country during this period has about doubled.

Nor is it inevitable, or for that matter even likely, that the population of Germany will continue to increase as it has in the past. In Germany also the birth-rate is declining. The fact is disguised because, owing to a decline in the German death-rate and in emigration, the population is increasing both absolutely and relatively faster than before. In the decade ending in 1885, the German population increased by 4,100,000; in the following decade by 5,400,000; and in the decade ending in 1905 by almost 8,400,000. But since 1876 the birth-rate has declined, and since 1901 the falling off has proceeded at an accelerating rate.* The German death-rate is already at a point (17.1 per thousand in 1909) well below that of France, and while it may still fall to the lower levels of Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries, it is not to be anticipated that it will long

* In 1901 the German birth-rate (not including still-born) was 35.7 per thousand; in 1909 it was only 31 per thousand.

continue to diminish as rapidly as does the birth-rate. The decline in the birth-rate is becoming a universal, not a merely local, phenomenon. In almost all the countries for which we have adequate statistics the birth-rate declined from 1900 to 1909, continuing, and in general accentuating, a decline from 1880 to 1900.* It is probable, therefore, that in the coming decades the growth in the German population will be more moderate, especially as the standards of living continue to rise, and the growth of a democratic and non-militaristic spirit among the masses produces results similar to those which have made themselves manifest in France.

The growth of the German democracy, and the gradual coming into power of people who have a less immediate interest in foreign conquest than have the dominant classes of to-day, may well lessen the dread in which France stands of her populous neighbor. We are entering to-day upon a new world of democracy with the superstitious fears with which the sailors of Columbus entered upon the western ocean. We obstinately continue to see new international relationships in the guise of the old struggle for bread and spoils. It is possible that fifty years hence it will be as easy for Germany to conquer France as it would be to-day for France to overcome Spain, or for Spain to subdue Portugal. Yet, to-day, France does not conquer Spain; nor Spain, Portugal; nor Germany, Denmark; nor the United States, Canada. New elements enter into the balance of power, and new considerations limit a merely predatory policy. By 1950, it may be wiser to trade fairly than to fight. There may be a community of interest like that to-day between the great banks of rival nations. France and Germany may be allies—or, better still, friends. The memories of Sedan may become as vague as those of Waterloo and Blenheim.

All these considerations—the improving economic conditions in Germany, the decline in her birth-rate, the probable decline in her rate of growth, the rise of democracy and internationalism—may well give confidence to the French,

* The exceptions are Ireland, Chile, Roumania, and perhaps several American States (Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan), but in these latter it is probable that the increase in the birth-rate is only apparent, being due to a more complete registration of births in the later than in the earlier years.

who are tilling an ever richer field with an unincreasing number of workers. And yet the fear of invasion, of a pouring of a fertile alien race over the lands of France, as the northern barbarians poured over Rome, must ever remain a factor in the situation. France, longing for peace, must be prepared for war.

France is preparing. She is placing her trust not only in men but in money. France realizes that the wars of the future must be fought out by financiers as well as by tacticians and strategists, and she is not only building her treble line of Port Arthurs across the frontier, but is accumulating a mound of gold in the vaults of the Bank of France.

The French accumulation of the "munitions of war" goes on uninterruptedly. Already France has accumulated about five billions of dollars of property in foreign countries, much of it in negotiable securities which could be drawn upon in periods of stress. Every year France saves an additional sum of three or four or perhaps even five hundreds of millions of dollars. The Bank of France, the most stable bank in the world, keeps always a hoard of eight hundred million dollars of gold. Money directs diplomacy, buys allies, and pays soldiers. What France could do with its wealth in a great European conflict is faintly indicated by the rôle which British gold played in the wars of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The battle is not always to the populous nor to the land of large armies. The hundreds of millions which France has spent on fortifications, and the splendid *morale* and fighting quality of the French population, might well hold in check even the well-armed and well-drilled millions of German soldiers. A war between these nations, if it were not short, sharp, and decisive, might not impossibly be won by France through the financial exhaustion of its opponent. For Germany long to keep in the field an army capable of overcoming the millions of intrenched French soldiers might involve a cost which would disrupt all industrial relations, vastly increase the price of food, and reduce enormous sections of the population to a paralyzing distress. Germany, with its prosperity based so largely on manufactures and foreign commerce, is industrially more vulnerable than is France. The rumors of war over Morocco disturbed German credit and business to a far greater ex-

tent than they affected French credit and business, and it is quite possible that in a protracted war between these two nations—which most men in both nations would infinitely deplore—it would not be France which would first show signs of distress. Finally, a war between two great European powers is little likely to be localized, and in a general melée—if such a dread consummation is still possible—it would be the power of all the allies and not the power of one which would be the determining factor.

The fear of a German war is not a new thing in France, and if it has not quickened the birth-rate hitherto, it is not likely to do so now. Even though France *could* enter into a competitive struggle with Germany for large populations —which is exceedingly improbable—it is quite certain that *she will not do so.* The personal interest of the average citizen is in favor of a slower propagation and a more rapid advance in civilization. The international interest tends in the same direction. The national interest—still military, still competitive—looks distractedly at feeble frontiers and listens incredulously to tales of peace.

But the question is international, not national. It is not the decrease in the French birth-rate, but of the world's birth-rate that is at issue. Europe must decide whether it is to have half a billion of civilized people or two billions of helots when the twenty-first century dawns. All the nations are slowly moving toward a slackening of an excessive birth-rate, toward a determination of birth-rate not merely by biological instincts but by the hope of civilization and by the conquest of disease and death. At the head of these nations is France. Her birth-rate is already down. She will not raise it, but will wait for other nations to lower theirs. That way lies civilization.

WALTER E. WEYL.

# OUR "PRISONERS OF WAR"

BY O. K. DAVIS

"NEITHER slavery nor involuntary servitude, *except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted,* shall exist within the United States," declares the Federal Constitution. But the great charter of our liberties is silent on the subject of the treatment of prisoners of war.

In the summer of 1886 the United States made "prisoners of war" 506 Apache Indians—men, women, and children. In the quarter of a century since then the status of those Indians has not been changed. Their few survivors and their much more numerous descendants—their children and their children's children—are still "prisoners of war." There are among the band men and women of full age who were born into that condition and have grown to maturity without knowing any other lot.

It took only a telegram from President Cleveland to put these Indians and their forebears into this anomalous condition. But it will require an act of Congress to free them from it.

"All the hostiles should be very safely kept as prisoners of war until they can be tried for their crimes or otherwise disposed of."

That was the order of President Cleveland, telegraphed from his summer place in the Adirondacks to General Drum, the acting Secretary of War at Washington. Only a small part of those made prisoners of war were hostiles at the time, but the order was made to apply to them all. How literally it has been obeyed these twenty-five years! Not one of the 506 has been "tried for his crimes" in this quarter of a century, but nearly all of them have been "otherwise disposed of." Tuberculosis and different diseases, with the natural effect of old age, have attended to that.

Now only one or two of the old warlocks whose activities evoked that order remain.

Two or three times the War Department has suggested turning the prisoners of war over to the Interior Department for allotment of land and the establishment of the same status enjoyed by all the other Indian wards of the Government. For a long time the Interior Department successfully opposed receiving them. When, at length, it consented, a new obstacle was found in the inertia of Congress. For two years efforts have been made to secure the enactment of a law that would release these ancient prisoners. Once it actually passed the Senate, only to encounter the inert opposition of an uninterested committee chairman in the House and to die from inattention at the close of the session.

For more than a decade the steadily diminishing number of old men in the band have been appealing to Washington for permission to go to their old homes. At least, if they cannot do that, they ask for homes of their own where they are. They have held councils with different men high in the Government and have urged their cause with tearful eloquence. But to no avail.

"Give us homes of our own," they plead. "Make us free as other Indians are!"

But always the plea has met only unresponsive silence.

One reason alone has sufficed to keep these Indians in their present status. It is that they have prospered and done well under the active supervision to which they have been subjected for the last seventeen years. During that period they have been quartered at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. They live on small farms clustered near the army post, the buildings of each family constituting a "village" bearing the name of the head man of the family. An army officer has been constantly in charge of them. They have cultivated their farms and done all the work of their community under his direction and instruction. Most of their property is held in common. Sales of stock are managed by the army supervisor. They come and go about the reservation pretty much as they please, except that the men are daily detailed to their tasks by the supervising officer, and they may not leave the reservation without a pass from him.

It is not a painful captivity, and they know they are well off as they are. But in the hearts of most of them there

linger the recollections or the traditions of the old home, and they have never ceased to yearn for it. Ojo Caliente! A place far beyond their sky-line, visible only to the eyes of their imagination. They do not know that in the quarter of a century since they were taken thence Ojo Caliente has ceased to be and that its name has disappeared from the white man's maps.

Among the many thousands of Americans who were brought up to believe the old saying that there is " no good Indian but a dead one," the name Apache has long been regarded as descriptive of the very worst there could be even of Indians. And among all the Apaches the flint-hearted chief Geronimo was believed to be the worst. It was because Geronimo headed the band whose doings led to the great campaign of 1886 that this quarter-century-long captivity came about. Geronimo died some years ago, a " prisoner of war " at Fort Sill.

The official reports of General Nelson A. Miles during the hard campaign of '86 speak several times of the " chronic condition of warfare that for centuries had afflicted the territories now comprising Arizona and New Mexico." There is no doubt that from the white man's viewpoint the Apaches, especially Geronimo's band, were bad Indians. But not all the story is told when the white man's side of it is given. There is something to say, even for these Apaches, and as is so often the case when considering the white man's dealings with Indians, there is much of bad faith in it. It was a conspicuous exhibition of bad faith by the Government that caused the outbreak which led up to General Miles's campaign.

In the years immediately following the close of the Civil War a band of Chiracahua Apaches, under Chief Cochise, had their stronghold in the Dragoon Mountains, away down in the southeastern corner of Arizona. They made a great deal of trouble, swooping down on the whites from their inaccessible mountain haunts and doing much damage. In 1872 President Grant took General O. O. Howard from his work with the Freedmen's Bureau in Washington, and sent him on a roving commission to the Indians of the west and southwest, in the effort to bring about better relations generally and to see if something like a permanent peace could not be established.

General Howard managed, through the assistance of a

white man named Captain Jeffords, whom he met in Arizona, to penetrate into the Chiricahua stronghold and obtain a meeting with Cochise. They held a great powwow, which ended in the conclusion of a treaty under which the Government was to give the Dragoon Mountains to the Chiricahuas as a perpetual reservation, and the Indians were to maintain peace with the whites.

That treaty was duly approved in Washington and for three years it operated to give entire peace to that part of the country so far as Cochise and his band were concerned. But in 1875 that treaty was flagrantly broken by the Government. There had been no offense on the part of the Indians. They were living peacefully on their reservation, abiding by the treaty, when the Interior Department determined that all the Apaches of the different bands must be gathered together into one, and designated the San Carlos reservation, a couple of hundred miles north of the Dragoons, as the place for their future home. Cochise and his band had not been consulted about this. Nothing was said to them until the decision was made, and then they were simply notified that they must move.

The Chiricahuas flatly refused to go. They held by their rights under the Howard treaty. The Interior Department called upon the army to move them, and a regiment of cavalry was sent after Cochise and his men.

"They shall never take us to San Carlos," said Cochise, and they never did.

The soldiers got the old men and women who were too feeble either to run or to fight, and they got some of the children who were too small to keep up with their parents in the desperate chasing back and forth across the mountains that ensued. And for ten years Arizona and New Mexico knew what it was to feel the unremitting hatred of the enraged and outraged Apaches. Murder after murder was committed. Ranches were devastated and families destroyed. Stock was run off or killed and no man was safe without strong guard. There was no limit to the atrocities of the Indians.

With intermittent persistence the Government maintained its effort to get the Chiricahuas up to San Carlos. Cochise died and Natchez, his son, took up the contest as hereditary chief of the Chiricahuas. One of the ablest and fiercest of the followers of Natchez was Geronimo.

From time to time the troops managed to persuade or force some or all of these Indians to go to one or another of the reservations in Arizona. But the period of comparative peace was never of long duration. In the spring of 1885 most of the Chiricahuas were on the White Mountain reservation. About the middle of May, Geronimo, Natchez, and some other chiefs, with seventy-five or eighty of the band, broke away and went on the war-path again.

There followed a series of atrocities that exceeded anything the Indians had ever done. Troops under General George Crook, an Indian fighter of great experience, were at once sent after Geronimo and his band, and an arduous campaign was kept up for a full year. But General Crook was under orders to force an unconditional surrender, and that was more than he could do. Finally, in March, 1886, General Crook had a conferenec with the Indians at which they agreed to return to the reservation.

The troops and Indians started for Fort Bowie and marched side by side for two days. Then Geronimo, Natchez, and about twenty men, with fourteen women and some children, escaped from the surveillance of the soldiers and took to the hills again. It developed afterward that they had been frightened by stories some of the interpreters had told them of the punishment they would have to meet for their actions during the long hostilities. Geronimo, especially, had been warned that he was to be hanged, and he preferred to die fighting rather than on a scaffold.

Geronimo made the most desperate struggle for himself and his party during the ensuing summer that is recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. General Miles succeeded General Crook in command of the troops in that district. He put men in every valley and organized several flying columns that were ordered to pursue the Indians without cessation until they were captured or killed. Captain Henry W. Lawton—who, as Major-General Lawton, was killed in the Philippines twelve years ago—commanded the column that did most of this chasing of Geronimo. From May 5th until September 3d it was constantly on the march. Time and again the Indian camp was struck, but never was there a pitched fight. Geronimo trusted more to his ability to run than to resist. When struck the Indians would scatter like a covey of quail. The troops would take up the trail of a single Indian and follow it until the band reunited.

Several times most of the horses and equipment of the Indians were taken, but they always managed to replenish their outfit by raids on settlers. A few Indians were killed and some of the soldiers lost their lives, but in the main it was just a case of flight and pursuit.

President Cleveland had ordered that an absolutely unconditional surrender must be forced, and that was what Captain Lawton was working for.

"I hope nothing will be done with Geronimo," wrote the President, "which will prevent our treating him as a prisoner of war—if we cannot hang him, which I would much prefer."

Captain Lawton's report of the campaign shows that his men marched and scouted 3,061 miles in the three months they were after Geronimo, an average of about twenty-five miles a day, marvelous work over that mountain country.

But the work of the fleeing Indians was even more marvelous, for they had women and children with them. And when the band finally surrendered, one of the "prisoners of war" was a baby one month old. There were thirty-one men, women, and children in the band besides this baby.

The Apaches who had surrendered to General Crook in March and had not gone out again with Geronimo had been sent in April to Fort Marion at St. Augustine, Florida, for safekeeping and to get them clear away from the scene of their old activities. There were seventy-seven of them and they were the first of the "prisoners of war" of whom those now at Fort Sill are the survivors. During the campaign against Geronimo, General Miles came to the conclusion that it would be the best thing for both whites and Indians to remove all the remainder of the Chiricahua and Warm Springs—the latter from Ojo Caliente—Apaches from that part of the country. These Indians were then gathered at Fort Apache, Arizona, under the surveillance of regular troops. They were already prisoners of war, but they had not been disarmed and were not held in confinement or under strict guard.

President Cleveland and the War Department favored sending these Indians also to Fort Marion, but General Miles opposed it. Miles argued that as they were a mountain people, accustomed to high altitudes and dry air, sending them to the low land in Florida, with its humid climate, would be equivalent to sentencing them to death. He

wanted them sent to some place east of New Mexico, preferably in what is now the State of Oklahoma. He argued for it manfully, going so far that General Howard, his immediate superior, finally suggested that Miles was questioning the personal orders of the President. But Miles was overruled and orders were issued to send these Apaches to Florida.

Meantime General Miles had obtained permission to send Chatto and several other chiefs from Fort Apache to Washington for a powwow with the authorities there, in the hope that some agreement might be reached as to the place of their ultimate location which would be satisfactory to the Indians. The visit was made and was unsuccessful. Miles had promised specifically that if Chatto and his friends would go to Washington they should certainly be returned to their people at Fort Apache. But again there was bad faith on the part of the Government. On their way back to Arizona, Chatto's party was stopped at Fort Leavenworth and from there sent directly to Florida. There were sixteen men in this band. From Fort Apache 278 adults and 103 children were sent, making 397 in all, to join the seventy-seven sent from Fort Bowie in April. Thus there were 474 " prisoners of war " at Fort Marion when Geronimo surrendered to Lawton and Miles in Skeleton Cañon and none of them had been connected with the outbreak of that year. Geronimo's band were promptly sent on to join the others in Florida. They swelled the number of prisoners of war to 506.

Events at Fort Marion quickly proved that General Miles was right about the effect that climate would have upon these mountain people. They developed tuberculosis and other ailments and died very rapidly. In April, 1887, less than nine months after the great majority of them reached Fort Marion, they had been reduced in numbers to 354. Then they were transferred to Mount Vernon Barracks at Mobile, Alabama—69 men, 167 women, and 118 children. The change did not benefit them from any point of view. They were restless and discontented and suffered much from disease.

At length, in 1894, when the men among them had been nearly exterminated, they were removed to Fort Sill—placed at last in that part of the country where General Miles had desired at first to locate them. There were

only seventeen men left in the band, with 126 women and 117 children.

An era of prosperity opened for the prisoners of war at Fort Sill. Small parcels of land were allotted to them, and the Government helped in the erection of huts and the equipment of their little farms. They received 900 head of cattle to begin with, with some horses and mules and farm implements. The policy of the army officer in charge of them was to keep them occupied steadily. The men were detailed for work every day, some at one task and others at another. But they were not overworked and always had Saturday afternoon off as well as Sunday.

Under the supervision of the officer, they were all, in turn, instructed in farming. Some of them were taught blacksmithing and the wheelwright's trade. Others were instructed in carpentry and all the various kinds of work that are necessary in such communities. They learned how to erect all kinds of farm buildings and sheds and to put up good fences.

Each day one man was detailed for duty as orderly and several for what is known in the army as "police" duty, which is not at all that of a city policeman, but rather that of the city "white wings"—the street-sweeper and cleaner. The usual detail now is seven men to herd, five for stable police, one orderly, one blacksmith, one wheelwright, one or more to repair fences, and the rest to farm-work.

Arrangements were promptly made to give schooling to the children and these have been improved materially. Now the smaller children go to the Dutch Reformed Mission and the larger ones attend at a near-by Oklahoma town.

How well they have done is shown by the fact that now these Indians own about 10,000 head of fine cattle worth approximately $150,000. They enjoy the reputation of having the best cattle in Oklahoma. They raise good mules and fair horses. They have constructed fifty miles of fence and are well supplied with wagons and other farming implements. Besides their cattle, they have probably $25,000 worth of stock and other property.

Most of the cattle are held in common, but some of them are owned by different families. Those owned in common are branded "U. S." Those owned individually are branded "U. S.," with the Indian's number. Cattle are marketed only by the supervising officer. The proceeds are divided

and each Indian receives just what is due him and his family.

Three years after the prisoners of war were located at Fort Sill the Government made a trade with the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, who held lands adjacent to the post, by which the reservation was more than doubled. The Kiowas and Comanches gave up part of their land on the understanding that it was to form a permanent home for the Apaches, and the act of Congress appropriating the money to pay for it provided that it should be held "for exclusive use for military purposes and for the permanent location thereon of the Apache prisoners of war." Thus Congress apparently made these Apaches permanently prisoners of war and that is why it requires an act of Congress to release them.

In recent years the Apaches have been pleading earnestly for action. Some of them desire to remain at Fort Sill. Others are eager to return to their old Arizona home at Ojo Caliente, and still others, the great majority of them, want to go over to the Mescalero reservation in New Mexico and join the Apaches there to whom they are related. There have been great changes in Arizona since 1886, and the War Department maps to-day do not show the location of this Ojo Caliente to which these Apaches are so much attached.

Two years ago a general council of all the men among the prisoners of war was held at Fort Sill to secure a declaration on behalf of each man as to what he wanted to do. It was presided over by Lieutenant Purington, the army officer in charge of them, and George Wratton, the old interpreter who served General Miles in that capacity at the surrender of Geronimo, was there to help the Indians make known their desires.

Asa Daklugie spoke for those who wanted to go to Mescalero. He had visited that reservation earlier in the year and had talked over the proposition with the Mescaleros. At this council he gave a report of that visit. He said:

"When I gave them the words of these Apaches, they said we could come there and live inside the lines of their reservation, either with the Mescaleros or by ourselves. I was willing.

"There are mountains there, and all kinds of timber, that can be used to make lumber and build houses, or make fence-posts or railroad-ties. There is plenty of water all over, and streams and springs. Dig

a well three hundred feet, and get water that never fails. It is that way all over the reservation. There are valleys in the mountains and along the streams for farming, where a man can get a farm of ten, twenty, fifty, even a hundred acres. Those Indians said that whatever was planted would grow, whether vegetables or grain. I went down there to see what kind of a country it is, and whether we could make a living on it. The white man first goes and looks at a country, and if a certain spot, whether it be trees or rocks, suits him that is where he wants to go. We are the same way ourselves now. Of course it depends on the Lord whether a man can make a living on that ground or not. It might not rain, the same as it has not rained in this country, and then nothing would grow, no matter how rich the land.

"But we do not depend entirely on farming for a living. We have cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, chickens, from which to make a living. Lots of us know how to do all kinds of work now. You see us around here every day with our old hats on, doing work of all kinds. What we do not know we are shown and have explained to us. Some of us may not have learned yet, but we all have brains, and can and are willing to learn. We are all willing and able and anxious to work. Some of us are old and crippled and not able to work; we who are strong can take care of them. You white people, when a family is poor and unable to earn a living, others will give them something to feed them, also to build a house. We are that way now ourselves. The meanness that was in us is all out now, all gone; none have any more.

"A great many years ago the government commenced feeding us and clothing us. Do they want to keep it up until our children's children and their children's children are old men and women? No, we do not want it so! We think we have been given enough rations and clothing. We want to be free! When this paper goes to Washington we want its words to set us free! Those who want to stay here, let them stay! Those who want to go, send them!"

When those who wanted to go to Mescalero had concluded their appeal, Lieutenant Purington called on those who asked to be sent back to Ojo Caliente. With true Indian courtesy Tse-de-kizen, the oldest among them, was put forward first and then Toclanny spoke. He is one of the few survivors of the original prisoners, but not one of Geronimo's band. Now he is one of the Indian scouts at Fort Sill. He said:

"My people long ago had something that belonged to them. That is why I think and act good. Ojo Caliente! I was born close to there and raised there. That is a good country. There are mountains on this side and on that side and on the other side. In the middle there is a wide valley. There are springs in that valley, fine grass, and plenty of timber around. Dig a well and get water in forty feet! These people who want to go there will get old pretty soon. They want to be there and get settled so their children can grow up there.

"The soil is good there—you can raise anything. Even when I lived there and planted seeds by digging a hole in the ground with a stick,

the corn grew up very high, and pumpkins got very large. Horses and cattle will not freeze there. It is a healthy place for man and beast. Women nor children get sick there. Neither do animals. Do not send me any place but there! For years I have been on other people's ground, and trouble has always come of it. Somebody has always bothered me. That is why I want to go to our own country. That is why I have always been a friend to the white people. I thought that when the time came and I would ask something I would not be refused."

When Toclanny concluded Lieutenant Purington asked what he had meant by saying that for years he had been on other people's ground and trouble had always come of it. Toclanny replied that he had been on reservations belonging to other Indians and there had always been friction.

Through all the council ran that plea for something of their own. Freedom to these Apaches seems chiefly to mean possession of their own land.

Talbot Goody followed Toclanny. Goody was a boy when the Apaches were sent to Florida, but he remembered Ojo Caliente and longed to go back there. He began:

"Ojo Caliente has always been my home. All of my people, as far as I can remember, have lived there. It has been a great many years since I was taken away from there. Whatever officer comes to talk with the Apaches I have always spoken of that, my country. I talked to Secretary Taft when he was here [1906], held him by the wrists, and with the tears running from my eyes begged him to send me back to my own country. I still remember that talk. I told him all the other Indians had land of their own. They had agencies for them, somebody to look out for them. That is what I want you to do with us.

"It has been a great many years that the government has been our father. We are still looking up, and it doesn't matter where they put us, what they do with us; we still belong, in a sense, to the government. We are getting along all right here, but we pine for our old homes. Put us there!

"Do not put us on land belonging to other Indians, but on land that will be our own. The government goes according to law. If a man owns a piece of property or an allotment is given to him, it cannot be taken away from him. Even if he should kill somebody they cannot take away his land. The government has been good to us, but we want land like that, land that nobody can take away.

"We have been moved around for twenty-six or twenty-seven years; have been taught to do all kinds of work; have done as we have been told to do; and now we want to be sent back to our old homes and be given land that cannot be taken away. If the government will put us back at Ojo Caliente, we will stay there and be happy."

Goody closed the argument for Ojo Caliente. When he concluded Jason Betzinez spoke for those who desire to

remain at Fort Sill and receive allotments of land there. He said:

"We are poor, and want something for ourselves. That is why we want to stay here. I talked with President Taft, when he was Secretary of War, and asked to be left here. He made a note on paper of what I said, and may have it yet."

Then James Kawaykla took up the argument for those who want land at Fort Sill. He urged:

"The Indians assembled here have no home, no place they can call their own. To-day it appears as if it was right in front of us, waiting. I know this country around Fort Sill. I know the land because I have seen it. We have thought of this land here, and want it. We do not ask for something we have not seen, something that is over the hill and out of sight. We do not want that. What we ask for is land that we have seen and is right here in front of us. If a man lives he must have something to live on. If I am here I know I have something to live on, something that will take care of me. Make a strong plea for this land for us!"

One more brief talk closed the council. Lawrence Mithlo made that and spoke for Fort Sill. He said:

"We have worked very hard on this reservation. Why should we go away and leave it without making something from that labor? Please give it to us and make it so that it is ours, nobody else's. We think that you think it is time for us to be free. That is why we want this land upon which to make our living. The white people around the country here have farms, and they came here since we did. But already they have many things and we have nothing. The white man has his farm; has a home on it; a barn and chicken-house close by, and fields not far from the house. That is the way you want us to be!"

Such was the plea of the "prisoners of war" after twenty-three years in that status. To-day, after two years more, they are still "prisoners of war."

O. K. Davis.

# ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN THE GOVERNMENT

BY CHARLES B. BREWER

A RECENT writer, while deploring the inability to control Congressional extravagance, likened the President's Economy Commission to an attempt at " saving at the spigot " by " discharging some poor clerk here and there," while " up on the hill," as Congress is referred to in Washington, they were " wasting at the bung " with no veto plug apparent for stopping the bung.

Be that as it may, it is always necessary to start somewhere, and it is well, perhaps, to remember the old precept to care for the dimes and the dollars will care for themselves.

The Government is such a huge affair, a consumer of such enormous proportion, that large economy is often possible in details which in other quarters would appear parsimonious. Too much, however, should not be expected. The impression prevalent in many quarters as to the extent of possible economies in the executive departments has been " singularly exaggerated, and this misconception is harmful," to use the words of the Secretary of the Treasury. Laborious saving in the executive departments is discouraged by the public expecting any such saving as $300,000,000 a year, as has been broadly proclaimed possible, " for economy which is accomplished can only be produced by laborious, painstaking, and persistent methods and devotion," he continued.

Much has been accomplished. The question is a live one in all the departments. Many examples have been cited by other writers showing how pure scientific shop management practised on a small scale has met with most beneficial re-

sults in the navy-yards, and also how a large amount of work of a similar character has been done in naval vessels afloat, under scientific principles, though not there known under this name. The results of these efforts have been demonstrated in the wonderful work at target-practice, which has made our gunnery and fleet efficiency the foremost in the world. In a recent paper in the *United States Naval Institute,* Lieutenant-Commander Kalbfus states that attention was first seriously centered on *competitive* steaming on the voyage of the fleet around the world. The latter half of this cruise compared with the first part (around South America) resulted in the saving of some 2,400 tons of coal and over 8,000 gallons of lubricating oil, between San Francisco and Manila, and an additional saving in oil after leaving Manila of over 6,200 gallons. These economies, while considerable in themselves, are mainly important because of the information they furnished for future steamings.

Many economies under the various departments, though more recently started, have also borne fruit. Space prohibits the mention of many records of office economies now at hand, and reference will therefore be confined to those of a more or less physical character.

### THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

It is too often the case that when economy is sought the economist looks directly past the material end with its greater possibilities and sharpens his ax for the personnel. (And this is by no means peculiar to the Government). It is easy for this axman to store away the vacant desk and soon forget the incident unless by chance the discharged one stumbles into a charitable organization which maintains a press connection. There is, of course, some weeding out of useless positions that is often necessary. The Secretary of the Treasury has set a most commendable example of how the weeding-out process can be carried on humanely if a little trouble is taken. He has abolished in his department in Washington 542 useless statutory positions since March, 1909. But he arranged it so that those occupying the positions were placed in other positions made vacant by death and resignation. And *not one of the 542 were separated from the service.* In and out of Washington together this department has abolished some 1,800 statutory posi-

tions since March, 1909. The administration of the various offices is reported as more efficient than formerly.

The volume of work of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was greater in 1910 than in *any* previous year, and showed an increase of about 13 per cent. over 1909. By the introduction of new machinery and improved methods of executing the work, such as the elimination of tints from internal revenue stamps, reducing the size of those stamps, and so forth, a reduction in the cost of its work approximating $200,000 a year has been effected. The work for 1911 showed a further increase of four per cent. Yet a further saving of over $64,000 was effected by improved methods. The average number of sheets handled by each employee has grown from 58,956 in 1908 to 68,905 in 1911 and an economy of $1,500,000 effected.

An important economy has been the stopping of the double printing of Government notes, first in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving and again in the Treasury Building. In addition to other inconveniences, unnecessary countings of these notes has been cut out.

After many experiments, machines have been perfected and will soon be installed in a complete laundry for washing old paper money returned for redemption which formerly has been destroyed; investigation having developed the fact that at least thirty per cent. of these notes were not at all worn, but simply soiled. The estimated saving in such a simple detail as the printing of new notes to take the place of the old ones, as now practised, is two to three hundred thousand dollars yearly.

In plate-printing as used in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, where dampening the paper is required, it has been the custom from time immemorial to dampen the sheets by placing them between wet cloths. This crude and expensive method, which required the subsequent shifting of the paper and its removal from between the cloths, has been revolutionized by a machine which successfully and expeditiously dampens the sheets of paper with the required uniformity. These machines will affect an annual saving of approximately $42,000.

In the same Bureau in the process of plate-printing, millinet cloths are used for wiping the surplus ink from the engraved plates. Washing these cloths is expensive, and the work is so exceedingly dirty that there are large de-

posits of sludge and waste ink in the city sewers. A process has been patented by which the oil and pigment is recovered for sale and re-use. A private company which has contracted for this work is enabled to do it with an actual saving for the work itself, which is considerable, and at the same time there will be a lessening of stream pollution and an abolition of sewer obstruction which had been complained of by the city government.

Of the 97,521,708 sheets of United States postage stamps printed in this Bureau and delivered to the various postmasters of the country in 1911 (an increase of about nine per cent. over the previous year), there has been a large increased demand for stamps prepared in coils for stamp-vending and stamp-affixing machines. This has necessitated a change from the crude hand methods at first employed, with the result that newly devised machines have been perfected which do the work at a greatly reduced cost and in a most expeditious and satisfactory manner. An illustration of the absolute accuracy with which the work of this Bureau is performed was recently afforded when a count became necessary due to an investigation of alleged irregularities in the Post-office Department. The count of the Post-office inspectors, who were specially detailed for the purpose, showed 1,311,319,607 stamps in the vault. This coincided with the book balances of the Bureau to the last stamp.

By a recent decision the Secretary of the Treasury now has authority for printing silver certificates for the Philippines on power presses instead of on the antiquated hand presses now required by law for printing United States money. This decision does not extend to the money used in the United States. As the law now stands this latter must be printed by hand presses. There is a provision, however, in Section 85 of a bill to amend the laws relating to public printing, etc., introduced in the Senate by Senator Smoot, chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, and reported to the Senate by him as chairman of that committee on January 16, 1912, which requires that "Hereafter all bonds, notes, and checks shall be printed from intaglio plates on presses of such style and character as may be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury." The bill further provides that not more than twenty per cent. of the work shall be changed from hand presses to power presses in any one year. Power presses have been

used for several years for printing postage stamps and revenue stamps with satisfactory and economical results, and their use for printing United States money is strongly urged by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of Printing and Engraving. Considerable opposition has developed to the proposed measure among the labor unions, and petitions directed against it, mainly from labor organizations, have reached Congress. Director Ralph states that there are only about 20 inefficient among 900 printers. It is his desire that no efficient man shall be thrown out of employment by the use of power presses, and the reason for the twenty-per-cent. provision in the bill is that it will enable him to care for all those employees so displaced by assigning them to other work as may be necessary. Mr. Ralph is an ardent advocate of economy and efficiency, and has practised it with most beneficial results for many years, as is evidenced on every hand throughout the plant. He has, however, a great heart, and never loses sight of the welfare of his employees. In case the bill becomes a law there is some doubt until further experiments are carried out as to whether the faces of the notes as well as the backs will be printed on power presses. If the backs of the money only are printed on power presses and one-fifth of the work is done, there is an estimated economy of $70,000 a year. If both the backs and faces are so printed and one-fifth of the work done, the economy is estimated at $140,000. The same proportion applies to other years, and there would thus at the end of five years be an annual saving of either $350,000 or $700,000 by the use of power presses. It is noteworthy that the estimates for these large economies, possible because of a demand for a larger output, include an increase of from thirty to forty per cent. in the wages of the plate-printers.

The objection of the labor unions so far raised is the increased danger of counterfeiting power-press work. Samples with secret marks have been exhibited and no one so far, even the experts, have been able to distinguish them from other exhibits, and surprise has naturally been expressed that any one could profess greater solicitude for the safety of the currency than the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director. Much of the paper money in circulation is a disgrace. This bill provides a remedy, and accomplishes an economy at the same time and hurts no one.

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Many important physical improvements have been made recently in the postal organization and methods tending to economy and efficiency.

For the first time since 1883 the annual financial statement of the Post-office Department has shown a surplus instead of a deficit. At the beginning of the present administration in 1909 the postal service was in arrears to the extent of over $17,000,000, which was decidedly the largest deficit on record. In the brief space of two years this deficit has been changed into a surplus of over $200,000.

The wiping-out of the deficit has not been accompanied with a curtailment of postal facilities. Important extensions, on the contrary, have been made in every branch of the service. Since March, 1909, there have been established 3,744 new post-offices, delivery by carrier has been provided in 186 additional cities, and 2,516 new rural routes, aggregating 60,679 miles, have been authorized. The force of postal employees has been increased by more than 8,000, and the total amount expended last year for salaries was approximately $14,000,000 greater than two years ago. "Thus a marked extension of the postal service and higher compensation for its employees have gone hand in hand with a vanishing deficit," to use the words of the Postmaster-General.

Transportation of the mail by wagon and automobile in the cities has been placed on a *mileage basis,* thus regulating it in accordance with the *amount of service* performed and making possible important economies. Special envelopes formerly used for inclosing registered articles while in transit have been abolished. The cost of the envelopes is thus saved, and, more important, is the time saved in sealing, addressing, and removing them. Registered mail matter for distant States is now distributed in sacks and jackets under State labels and sorted by railway postal clerks. This simplifies the work of the Post-office and expedites despatch.

The manufacture of special registry transportation equipment has been discontinued. Much lighter and less expensive ordinary equipment for this class of mail is now used, and the cost of manufacturing is saved and the transportation cost reduced. A policy requiring the placing of suitable receptacles for mail at the entrances of residences and offices as one of the conditions for the extension of city-

delivery service by carrier saves the postman waits at doorways, which consumed a large portion of his time, and thus greatly expedites the delivery of mail.

A branch of the department's shop for repairing mail-bags has been established in Chicago, and a very large expense of shipping damaged bags across the country to the Washington repair shop avoided. Work-rooms of large post-offices in course of construction are now planned by a committee of postal experts. These experts also standardize the equipment, selecting the best types for general use.

In several large cities the principal post-office building is now located at the main railway station. More expeditious handling of both incoming and outgoing mail is thus secured.

An event of the year was the successful organization of the postal-savings system. Depositories were opened experimentally at a single post-office in each one of the forty-eight States and Territories. The system was rapidly extended and now comprises practically all of the 7,500 presidential post-offices. Preparations are being made to establish the system also in about 40,000 fourth-class offices that do a money-order business. The first month the total savings amounted to only $60,252. They increased in a half-year to $679,310, and now, after eleven months, have reached a total of $11,000,000.

Another measure adopted by the department during the year is shipping "monthly" and "semi-monthly" periodicals by fast freight. The plan will result in a large saving to the Government by utilizing a less expensive method of shipment, and will insure a quicker handling of first-class mail. It is estimated that the saving from the new plan when in full operation will amount to several million dollars a year.

By the consolidation of the rural delivery and star-route services mail delivery has been extended to many thousands of additional patrons with little increase of expenditure, and the whole rural mail service is being rapidly extended.

During the year the department completed the investigation begun early in the administration with the object of determining what it costs the railways to carry the mails. From the statistics obtained it appears that while many of the railways, and particularly the larger systems, made heavy profits from mail transportation, certain of the lines

were actually carrying the mails at a loss. As a result of the inquiry the department recommended a plan by which the compensation should be determined on the basis of the amount of *space* required in cars for the handling of the mails instead of the present *weight* basis. If Congress authorizes a readjustment of railway mail pay in the manner suggested, it is estimated that the resulting saving to the Government will amount annually to about $9,000,000.

### THE WAR DEPARTMENT

The various arsenals, at Watertown, Rock Island, Springfield, and Frankfort, report many reductions in the cost of manufacturing guns, ammunition, cartridges for small-arms, harness, saddlery, and so forth, too numerous to be detailed here.

A determined campaign conducted in recent years against desertion has resulted in reducing the number in 1911 to 2.28 per cent. of the whole number of enlisted men, which is lower than any rate during the last ninety years with the single exception of the year 1898, when the war with Spain caused a great influx of many thousands of new men.

The monument to the efficiency of United States army officers so rapidly nearing completion on the Isthmus requires no special mention, but those uninformed as to the rate of progress will note with pride that eighty-one per cent. of the excavation is now completed, and that this great task, which buried thousands of Frenchmen and finally had to be abandoned by them, is being carried on by the Americans in less than schedule time. Which means that, as announced by Colonel Goethals, in his address to Congress, and as repeated by the report of the Secretary of War, "unless unforeseen catastrophe occurs, it seems certain now that the canal will be fully ready for ocean traffic more than a year before the time set for its formal opening."

### THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

Reference has already been made to the efficiency of the fleet. The key-note of this work has been the placing of vessels on a *competitive* basis. Money prizes are given the men of the engineer's force and suitable trophies are carried by the vessel winning through superior speed and economy in coal and oil consumption, and so forth. Rules are laid out in a general order and their terms are strictly followed

by competing vessels. The Secretary of the Navy has been personally interested and has given the matter much special attention.

In docking vessels at navy-yards there has been a proportional saving of about $46,000, or a reduction of about twenty per cent. as compared with the work in 1910. Accurate cost analyses at a central office, placing the yards on a competitive basis and furnishing full information, are responsible for this and many other economies at the various navy-yards. The Secretary recognizes and makes special mention of the value of securing the cheerful cooperation of the workmen through proper recognition of their initiative and more efficient effort.

Though the steam turbine as now installed in high-speed vessels has greatly extended the range of speed at which these vessels may be safely and continuously driven, it is found that the reciprocating engine is about thirty per cent. more economical at cruising speed than the turbine and has about the same economy at high speeds. In view of this and yet in the face of almost universal adoption of the turbine for battle-ship propulsion by the nations of the world, the turbine has been abandoned in favor of the reciprocating engine in recent battle-ships beginning with the *New York* and *Texas*. The decision was arrived at after extensive investigation including comparative trials of the scout cruisers *Birmingham, Chester,* and *Salem,* and the battleships *Delaware* and *North Dakota,* where practical similarity in everything but means of propulsion placed at the disposal of this country more exact data on the subject than was available to any other government.

Investigation has advanced the efficiency of wireless telegraphy by numerous experiments. Interesting experiments are now being made to ascertain the value of kites as supports for aerials of ships for temporary long-distance communications. Special attention is being paid to a portable apparatus in anticipation of the time when all sea-going vessels, however small, will carry wireless apparatus.

One million pounds of powder was manufactured in 1911 at 33.6 cents per pound against eight hundred thousand pounds in 1909, which cost 43.2 cents per pound. This reduction in cost has been effected in spite of the increased cost of cotton, largely used in its manufacture, then prevalent. Yet the Chief of Ordnance states that navy smokeless

powder has reached such a degree of excellence that it is not possible to report any marked advance in quality during the past year.

### THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

Pages would be required to even touch on the improved methods of this progressive department in plant and animal life.

Of especial importance to America's "largest cash crop" is the preparation and distribution of nine official grades of white American cotton which have been officially adopted by nine cotton exchanges and made the basis of all purchases of the New England Cotton Buyers' Association and the Arkwright Club, and of all quotations by the Southern Cotton Buyers' Association. Fifty sets of these grades are being placed in vacuum storage for use as working duplicates in future years, in order that the exact standard originally adopted may be preserved indefinitely.

Another work of unusual interest to those interested in matters of economy is the making, during the year, a total of about three tons, of good quality book-paper from cornstalks, rice straw, hemp stalks, fish-pole bamboo, and so forth, and at the same time securing food-extract by-products for feeding cattle.

A line of investigation reported on by this department shows the variation in the cost per bushel of producing grain in the various States, which will be more than surprising to those who have not followed the subject of variation in costs along other lines. This cost per bushel, including rental charges, varies from 30 cents in Iowa to 72 cents in Maine for corn; from 44 cents in Montana to 96 cents in South Carolina for wheat; and from 23 cents in Montana to 56 cents in Connecticut for oats. Were it possible to enforce orders of a competent authority, it can readily be seen from these figures what a field would await the application of *competitive* methods similar to those applied to battle-ship steaming referred to elsewhere.

It will no doubt be discouraging to some who have followed the work of the Agricultural Department in promoting improved, inexpensive roadways to read that out of a total road mileage of the country (exclusive of Alaska and insular possessions) of some 2,200,000 miles, only 188,000, which means 8.49 per cent., are improved. Some

comfort, however, can be drawn from the fact that there has been a considerable increase since 1904, in which year there were only 153,000 miles, or 7.13 per cent., of improved roadways.

GENERAL

In February last Mr. Winthrop, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, prompted by a special circumstance, issued a circular inviting suggestions to promote efficiency and economy. Some of the suggestions which followed are examples of the broad field open to the President's Commission. Take the apparently insignificant question of wrapping-paper. On several occasions previous to the Secretary's circular it had been noticed that very heavy, stiff wrapping-paper was used. Soon after this the fact was also noted that the different departments of the Government used about 600,000 pounds of wrapping-paper annually. The matter seemed to merit consideration. An investigation showed that the thickness of paper used in the various departments varied from 45 pounds to 170 pounds per ream when reduced to a common square-yard basis. (There was no standard.) The mean weight of all the paper used was found to be 89 pounds per ream. From further investigation it was learned that about nine-tenths of the paper in commercial use in Washington was 45 pounds per square-yard ream. The difference between 89 pounds and 45 pounds would mean about $15,000 annually in Uncle Sam's wrapping-paper bill.

More important is the subject of writing-paper. Of about 480,000 pounds used annually, about one-fourth of it weighs 25 pounds per ream (sheets 16 inches by 21 inches), one-half 20 pounds, and the remainder 15 pounds and less. Now paper of 8 pounds per ream, if of good stock, while thin, can be used in a great many cases, and 12-pound paper should answer almost any purpose. This is more important than it looks on the surface, for while Government letters are sent under penalty stamp, first-class mail, according to the records of the Post-office Department, cost the Government 49.9 cents per pound to transport and deliver. While 8 or 12 pound paper, 100 per cent. rag, costs 20 cents per pound, and the paper ordinarily purchased costs only about 12 cents per pound, yet on account of the greater number of sheets per pound there would be a saving of about $10,000 annually on the purchase price of the paper, and about $100,-

000 annually on the mailing cost. A further advantage of thin paper is its great saving of much-needed file-room space.

When the above propositions were in preparation it was noticed, through the advertisements, that there was a marked preference of purchasers for India-paper editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Of some twelve thousand sets then ordered, 89 per cent. of the purchasers wanted the books printed on thin paper, even at somewhat greater cost. As the preference of readers seemed to be so well established, the question was examined with a view to applying to Government publications the same economies proposed for writing-paper. Exact information as to the weight of Government publications which passed through the mails was not obtainable, but there is a total weight annually, of frank and penalty mail, of about 49,000,000 pounds. The cost of mailing and distributing this class of mail is stated by the Post-office to be 12 cents per pound.

With the information at hand that only about a half-million pounds of letter-paper is purchased, and allowing for envelopes and miscellaneous packages, it is not unreasonable to assume that the printed publications amount to half the weight of franked and penalty mail, or about 25,000,000 pounds.

There are some fifty different weights of paper used by the Government Printing Office. The weight runs as high as 88 pounds per ream (sheets 24 in. x 38 in.). That most used weighs 48 pounds per ream, about the same as ordinarily used by many publishing houses. India paper weighs 18 pounds per ream. It was ascertained, however, that the experience of the University Press in printing the *Encyclopædia* on India paper proved very expensive and showed a large amount of waste, and also required special press attachments on account of the unglazed surface of the paper and consequent proneness of the sheets to stick together. This, together with the high cost of paper and the limited amount available, seemed to prohibit the use of thin paper. Upon further inquiry, however, an issue of some technical books printed on a domestic bible paper was found which satisfies all requirements and costs no more to print than the ordinary paper. This paper is not as thin as the India paper, but its weight is 29 pounds per ream as compared with 48 pounds ordinarily used.

On the above assumption, at 4 cents per pound the annual

cost of the requisite amount of 48-pound paper would be about $1,000,000, and the mailing cost about $3,000,000. The cost of the same quality of 29-pound paper would be about $900,000, and the mailing cost about $1,800,000. On this basis the possible annual saving to the Government would be $1,300,000, with the attendant advantages of ease in handling, saving in stowage space, and, most important, providing *permanent* records, for the thinner paper is made from rag instead of from wood-pulp and clay filler, which in a few years disintegrates. A cabinet officer called attention to this point a few years ago. Others have predicted that in seventy-five years we will have no public records.

In speaking of the results of his invitation for suggestions, Mr. Winthrop said his motive primarily had been to make each employee feel that he had a personal interest in the department and that the number of suggestions of value which had been received had much surpassed his expectations. The suggestions received were gracefully acknowledged by a special letter in each case from the Secretary. Many industrial firms have found this "suggestion box" idea, where the suggestions are properly threshed out and followed up and where care is taken to give credit where credit is due, to be of great value. Where they result in a profit to the company, they are paid for. This, while not always necessary, is as it should be. For though there are some employees that offer suggestions so freely that they are unfortunately often regarded as officious, there are others with good ideas who are either timid or indifferent, on whom it is necessary to use great persuasion to extract their ideas.

A law authorizing a governmental suggestion box providing for remuneration for profitable suggestions, but basing the amount on a small percentage of the net amount saved the first year or two, might prove a profitable form of persuasion.

In conclusion it may be said that the fact that, when dealing with such a subject as here presented, the treatment begins with the departments, and before it is realized it has, without wandering from the subject, reached the remote parts of the country, only emphasizes the great opportunities which are ever awaiting the studied effort to promote economy and efficiency.

CHARLES B. BREWER.

# CHARLES DICKENS

BY ARTHUR C. BENSON

An old friend of mine described to me the other day how, as a boy, he was taken by his father to hear Dickens read aloud. There was no particular expectation among the party that Dickens would prove to be a striking reader in any way; they went because they enjoyed his books and wished to see the writer. A well-built upright man, clean-shaven in those days, wearing his curly hair rather long, and giving the impression of being somewhat over-dressed and over-ornamented, walked to the desk with a book, and said by way of preface that he hoped his hearers would not try to restrain their feelings: "It does not interrupt a lecturer if people laugh and still less if they cry—it rather encourages him." It seemed, my friend said, rather "cheek" to talk like that, as no one expected to have any very pressing emotions to restrain.

Five minutes later the whole room was under the spell. Breathless attention, unashamed tears, shrill, irrepressible laughter from one end of the hall to the other! The hour passed like a few minutes. It was indeed true of Dickens, as he himself once said, that he was a teller of stories almost from babyhood, and an actor always.

I do not think that it is ever quite sufficiently emphasized how dramatic all his writing was. The one chosen recreation of Dickens's life was anything to do with acting—going to a theater, organizing private theatricals, taking a part. The same quality comes out in everything he ever wrote. His books, if one studies them carefully, are all dramas—dramas with long descriptive stage-directions, the scenes described instead of being painted. The scenes themselves are all dramatic, too, with their stage-pathos, melodrama, broad farce. The characters are all typical figures, qualities personified. They have no real existence off the stage;

they make their exits and entrances, they know what every one else in the scene is thinking about, they play into each other's hands, they soliloquize, not like human beings thinking, but like actors explaining what could not be otherwise understood.

The amazing thing is that Dickens should ever be supposed to be in any way a realist. The whole thing is, of course, intensely life-like, for he had a unique power of individualization, but it is not in the least like life. There is nothing whatever inconsequent or inconsistent or unexpected about any of his characters. It is impossible to conceive of Mr. Pecksniff doing anything disinterested or unselfish, to think of Mark Tapley saying anything mean or spiteful, of Mr. Pickwick being ever ill-natured or unkind. They are all perfectly defined stage-types. It is just the same with the still life in Dickens; everything is at the very top of its quality; no chops were ever so juicy, no beer ever foamed so finely, no blood ever soaked away in such gory pools, no river-edge was ever so deep in uncompromising mud as in his pages. The fact is that Dickens was from first to last a tremendous romancer, and that his romance all arranged itself for him upon dramatic lines. To say this is not in the least to vitiate the quality of his art; it is only to define it. Art is good art and great art exactly in proportion as it is finely conceived, vividly seen, movingly expressed. The conceptions of Dickens are always perfectly definite, his plots, if anything, almost too intricate and exact. Is there a man on earth who could without special preparation write out the plot of *Little Dorrit?* His power of visualization was simply stupendous. He knew exactly what he meant to describe, the effect he desired to produce, and he put his details, economically and surely, in the precise place and connection which he designed.

And then he was a supreme master of language; his vocabulary was enormous and wholly at his command. There never was such a craftsman. One may not always like his effects, but there is no sort of question that those were the effects he had planned; and those he produced. And then, too, he had the supreme quality of largeness. His immense canvases, all crowded with figures and all the figures absolutely distinct and unmistakable, show that. There is not a single dim or vague figure in Dickens; the dramatic

quality comes out in his knowing and never forgetting the appropriate gesture and attitude and facial expression. And as to the emotions he aroused, they were not the emotions of real life, but the emotions of art. You feel as you are told to feel and made to feel. In actual life, the commonest emotions, in the presence of the words and actions of real people, are bewilderment, surprise, disappointment. One can seldom depend upon people behaving as one expects them to behave; but in Dickens every one behaves exactly as they might be expected to behave, more eagerly and grimly and fantastically indeed than one could imagine their behaving, but still true to their labels. That is for most readers why Dickens is so infinitely satisfying; because the human power of idealization is so strong, and because it is so often disappointed in real life, that men and women fly to the shelter of books, where all is as it ought to be—faults punished, virtue rewarded, weakness triumphant, with a kind of splendid and delightful Calvinism.

Take a simple case—the brothers Cheeryble in *Nicholas Nickleby*. These successful and sagacious merchants are supposed to typify human kindness—the absolute indiscriminating kindness of the father in the parable of the Prodigal Son—the heart glows at their weltering generosities, the cataract of foaming charity, poured out by two guileless figures, who stick at no sort of liberal untruth or unmerited reward, if only they can galvanize the incapable and inefficient into feeling reliable and complacent—two men who under no human circumstances could ever have acquired for themselves the meanest competence. But the interest of the situation is not how the Cheerybles ever made the fortune which they so lusciously lavish, or how imminent their bankruptcy must be—that is only the sort of thing which men discuss with shrugs and smiles in a real smoking-room—but in the presentment of two perfectly innocent, generous, warm-hearted creatures, who would believe the best of every rogue in London, and obey every diffusive and distributive impulse known to man. That is the charm of Dickens, that in real life we are forced into caution and calculation; the good man cannot be as generous as he would wish, the villain does not dare to be as unscrupulous as he would like; but in Dickens every one acts on pure and simple impulse, as we should all enjoy doing; and, moreover, reward and punishment are always exactly proportioned to

desert; it is a world set right, in which the good are helped on their way by unseen angels, and the bad conducted into outer darkness by grinning and grimacing demons.

But we must keep in mind that the one quality upon which the entire work of Dickens depends, by which he made his way into people's minds and so into their hearts, is, after all, his humor, his loud, rich, prodigal humor, or, rather, his laughableness. It is not wit at all; that is a bright, polished, sparkling thing, which hurts as much as it pleases; it is not even really humor; that is a deeper, profounder, sadder thing based on imperfection; it is pure and simple laughableness. When one tries to define what Dickens's humor was, one is plunged into difficulties at once, because there are no interchangeable words for it. It is as indefinable as red or green. It is laughable as the parrot is laughable, as a very large hat on a small head, or a very small hat on a large head, is laughable. It is a sort of wilful, irresponsible extravagance, which just corresponds psychologically to laughter. There is a curious story told by Dickens himself in one of his letters, I think, of how he visited an institution in which imbecile children were tended, and saw there a little girl who was blind and deaf and dumb. They were trying to open some sort of communication with her, and to do so they put a marble and then another and another into her hand. She was pleased at this, and seemed aware that some kind of signals were being made to her; and as Dickens stood and watched her playing with the marbles he saw the child laugh. Good heavens, he thought to himself, the child is laughing! And at what?

That is the difficulty of defining the humor of Dickens. Why should that particular kind of extravagance rouse in the mind the delighted sense of incongruity and absurdity? It is like the difficulty of defining the emotions of poetry. One knows what poetry is and one knows, too, how it is possible to reduce the finest poetry in the world to lifeless dreariness, by substituting in a fine passage words of equivalent meaning for the actual words employed; it seems then like a chemical essence, which depends not only on the emotion in the writer's mind, but actually on the tangible sounds and syllables in which it takes shape. One can try the same process with Dickens's humor and one can reduce his humor, by substituting equivalent words, to something which is

both wild and dull and wholly unentertaining. I have constantly thought to myself in reading Dickens—how did he know, what instinct told him, that precisely that shade of extravagance was the right, the laughable shade? When David Copperfield, not knowing that Uriah Heep's father is dead, asks him what his father is, Uriah Heep replies, "He is a partaker of glory at present." If Dickens had written, "He is a sharer of celestial bliss," it would not have been in the least degree amusing; it would have seemed a revolting and exaggerated extravagance. Or take Mrs. Gamp on the quay:

"'And which of all them smoking monsters is the Ankworks boat, I wonder. Goodness me!' cried Mrs. Gamp.

"'What boat did you want?' asked Ruth.

"'The Ankworks package,' Mrs. Gamp replied. 'I will not deceive you, my sweet. Why should I?'

"'That is the Antwerp packet in the middle,' said Ruth.

"'And I wish it was in Jonadge's belly, I do,' cried Mrs. Gamp, appearing to confound the prophet with the whale in his miraculous aspiration."

Or the Bayham Badger dinner party in *Bleak House*, a scene which I think for absolutely irresponsible humor Dickens never equalled:

"Mr. Bayham Badger himself was a pink, fresh-faced, crisp-looking gentleman, with a weak voice, white teeth, light hair, and surprised eyes; some years younger, I should say, than Mrs. Bayham Badger. He admired her exceedingly, but principally and to begin with on the curious ground (as it seemed to us) of her having had three husbands. We had barely taken our seats when he said to Mr. Jarndyce, quite triumphantly:

"'You would hardly suppose that I am Mrs. Bayham Badger's third!'

"'Indeed?' said Mr. Jarndyce.

"'Her third!' said Mr. Badger. 'Mrs. Bayham Badger has not the appearance, Miss Summerson, of a lady who has had two former husbands.'

"I said, 'Not at all!'

"'And most remarkable men!' said Mr. Badger, in a tone of confidence. 'Captain Swosser of the Royal Navy, who was Mrs. Bayham Badger's first husband, was a very distinguished officer indeed. The name of Professor Dingo, my immediate predecessor, is one of European reputation.'

"Mrs. Badger overheard him and smiled. . . . 'Perhaps you may be interested, Mr. Jarndyce,' continued Mr. Bayham Badger, leading the way into the next drawing-room, 'in this portrait of Captain Swosser. It was taken on his return from the African station, where he had suffered from the fever of the country. Mrs. Badger considers it too yellow. But it's a very fine head. A very fine head!'

"We all echoed, 'A very fine head!'

"'I feel when I look at it,' said Mr. Bayham Badger, 'that's a man I should like to have seen. It strikingly bespeaks the first-class man that Captain Swosser pre-eminently was. . . .'

"'People objected to Professor Dingo when we were staying in the north of Devon after our marriage,' said Mrs. Badger, 'that he disfigured some of the houses and other buildings by chipping off fragments of those edifices with his little geological hammer. But the professor replied that he knew of no building save the Temple of Science.'

"'Finely expressed!' said Mr. Badger. 'The professor made the same remark, Miss Summerson, in his last illness, when (his mind wandering) he insisted on keeping his little hammer under his pillow and chipping at the countenances of the attendants. The ruling passion!'"

The result of this passage upon the mind, the exquisite solemnity and absurdity of Mrs. Bayham Badger's attitude, is such that I can never realize without a shock of surprise the fact that Mr. Bayham Badger is supposed to be a distinguished and successful surgeon, or read with any sense of congruity the passage where he talks kindly and wisely about the medical prospects of Richard Carstone. That is what I mean by saying it is all a dramatic affair. Mr. Bayham Badger's *raison d'être* is to be an incomparable zany, to divide his time between rapturous adoration of Mrs. Badger's charms and ecstatic broodings over the glories of his predecessors. It is useless to think of him as leading a serious, energetic, anxious professional life. He comes on the stage to play the fool, and the more of it there is the better.

But we must realize, as I have said, that all Dickens's other qualities as a writer, even his incomparable observation, come riding in the chariot of his humor. Without it he would have been, I believe, an almost commonplace author, with a taste for melodrama and luscious pathos, and a not altogether sure instinct for style. We tolerate the rest of his writings, we even try to admire them, because he is such a master of humorous effect. But the ingenuity of his plots could not have saved his books from being something very conventional indeed, if it had not been for this one supreme quality. There is not the slightest interplay of character, there is not a touch of that mysterious effect which human beings exert over each other; there is not the least development about his characters except the romantic substitution, under the influence of misfortune, of one set of qualities for another—a thing which never

takes place in real life. The essence of realism is the inflexibility of human temperament; but in Dickens the effect of trouble or sorrow, as in the case of Mercy Pecksniff, is simply to replace an arch giggler by a lachrymose young widow.

But one gives little heed to all this, so long as we are certain, as we are, that we shall be delighted at every turn by an almost infinite variety of the most mirthful and vigorous absurdities. And this is the more marked if we read Dickens's letters, which are interesting and lively enough, the work of a vivid and observant mind, but with little that is amusing about them. It seems that he needed a scenic background of imagination for his mind to work freely, and that here as elsewhere he was a dramatist; and it is important that in dealing with his work we should not be misled into an uncritical misapprehension of his force; his pathos is terribly cheap and unreal, his tragedy is lurid melodrama; but as the creator of irresponsible, grotesque, rollicking absurdity, he is simply a magician, and perhaps the greatest master of laughter that ever lived.

Dickens's own life was, of course, a sort of fairy tale; his experiences are not wide, and he had done with experience very early in his career. He was brought up in a sloppy, well-meaning household, which was generally in difficulties; and perhaps the strongest part of his books is when he deals with similar situations, and depicts the patient, helpless good-humor of people who drift from one financial crisis to another, and get an immense amount of fun by the way. The only really harsh experience of his life was the time when he worked as a boy in a blacking warehouse. That did, it seems, rather eat into his soul, the stupid, cruel degradation that it meant to a sensitive boy. In later life he could not bear to pass the place where he had agonized. But no doubt the episode provided him with a fine romantic background against which his later fame and wealth outlined itself. And it taught him, too, how much refinement and consideration can exist among very rough and simple people, virtues which, strange to say, are not the monopoly of the well-born and the well-dressed. But it was that, no doubt, which gave him his taste for contracting unequal alliances in his books. He had emerged from mean and disheartening squalor to find himself the

equal of the most important people in the land; but here his imagination played him false, because he never understood the possible simplicity of important people. He never really believed that unaffected kindness and sincere humility could be found above the middle class. All Dickens's magnates and aristocrats are either effete or pompous. He knew that very humble people could be refined, but he never knew that great people could be simple.

When he once got his foot upon the ladder, his ascent was rapid and sure. He did not, like some great writers, have to struggle against sordid and dreary conditions into middle life. The world opened, glittering and interesting and exciting, before him. He had the command of wealth and he used it with confidence and delight.

But I believe that he always, after his first success with *Pickwick,* thought of himself as philanthropist and reformer rather than as romancer. It is very remarkable that just at the full height of the success of *Pickwick,* when he might have settled down for life as a farcical and sentimental humorist, he wrote *Oliver Twist*—a combination of frantic melodrama and frenzied philanthropy. His purpose in *Oliver Twist,* as he himself confessed, was to improve the working of the Poor Law, to get, if he could, a touch of humanity into rigid and mechanical institutions, and further to prove that the very scurf and scum of human life, the criminal classes, had aspiration, unselfishness, brotherly kindness in plenty if only they had a fair chance to develop them. He kept this aim in view in most of his subsequent books—prisons, schools, government offices, the administration of law—he made a generous and high-hearted tilt at their abuses and vested interests. It is very strange that his last unfinished book should be conceived on such different lines. There is very little that is characteristic of Dickens in *Edwin Drood.* The humor is not so irresponsible or so spontaneous, and the interest lies in a plot so intricate, so marvelously held up, that it is impossible to conjecture with any certainty what the working out of it was to be. But he was a prematurely old man when he wrote it, broken in health, saddened by life, worn out with money-making and public appearances; and it is the work of a mind whose old effusive spring is weakened, and finds relief rather than expression in the spinning of an ingenious and high-flown enigma.

The curious thing about Dickens is that for all his powers, his genuine goodness, his kindliness, his bonhomie, there is something vaguely unsatisfactory about him — at least that is always my impression in reading his life. There is a touch of pretentiousness, of theatricality, about him, in the first place, but that one could regard as a sort of redundant exuberance, if one felt sure of his real simplicity and disinterestedness. I believe that the secret was this: that he kept, as many artistic people do, the childlike qualities all through his life. He had all the zest, the delight, the interest in details, the passionate impulsiveness of the child; but he had, too, the curious hardness of the child, the intense dislike of being thwarted or interfered with, the blank indifference, almost cruelty, which suddenly surprises one in a child, but which one forgives because of its lack of experience. Dickens was a good comrade, a loyal friend, a tender father, but he treated his wife with real unkindness; he found that somehow or other he could not live easily and comfortably with her, and instead of accepting it as a situation which must be manfully and tenderly dealt with, he insisted on a separation. His sentiment was in fact a superficial thing, or, rather, it did not extend to the depths of his nature; he was easily and generously moved by anything pathetic and picturesque, but it all had to have an artistic quality; and at the bottom of all was the hard, wilful, perverse solitariness of the artist who has to pay a price for his gifts. His sympathy was artistic; it was not vital. One whose eye and brain were so intensely alive, forever taking in and registering impressions, missed that deeper and wiser sympathy, which sees that life is below performance, and self-forgetfulness deepest of all. Dickens did not ever give *himself* away. He gave away his gifts, but it was all in the direction of self-effectuation rather than self-sacrifice. To say this is not in any way to blame him; it is a mere question of analysis. That kind of ultimate egotism is not so much the price of artistry; it is probably the absolute condition of artistry. The eye which restlessly and instinctively, day by day, from morning to night, perceives the quality of things, the brain and hand that give them shape, must lose in grasp what they gain in comparison. We must content ourselves with knowing that it was just in virtue of that unconscious egotism that Dickens did his work; and that though an artist must be sensi-

tive and easily moved superficially, he must only feel the quality of things as they appear and not as they are; if he loses himself in the actual tragedy and misery, the authentic joy and passion of life, he will be unable to deal with it critically and expressively; he will find it all too deep for tears, and far too deep for any light and luxurious expression. Poets and sentimentalists are not the people who feel most deeply; they could not sing or write if they were. They must never be submerged, swept away, overwhelmed by life; they must watch it sympathetically and tremulously, but they must be above it all in an isolation which is the first and last element of their descriptive power.

I think it fair to say that there is not a touch of true poetry in Dickens. There is a vein of pathos, and one need not be ashamed of having been forced to shed tears over some of his pathetic passages, especially when one is young and inexperienced; but as one grows older, one drifts farther and farther away from that possibility, and is more and more disgusted at the affected guilelessness, the deliberate ingenuousness of his suffering children and his broken-down old men. One feels more and more that they are forced upon the stage, made to repeat a part, obliged to say not what they naturally feel, but what the onlookers think it would be touching that they should say and feel.

Dickens did, I think, come near to a sort of poetry in his rendering of great, misty, confused effects of nature, the horror of darkness and broken light, of the rolling eddies of the river and its vast and weltering mud-flats. All the sense of mystery in his nature centered on the Thames in London, its turbid lapse, the grim misshapen houses piled on the brink that look out from their blank windows on the moving flood. But the essence of poetry is the discerning of something beautiful and stable and peaceful through life and beyond it—something shy and delicate and remote and glorious, such as one feels in Shelley. But Dickens is concerned, and rightly concerned, with life. He thrusts you back into life, he captivates you with it, he rolls you in it. It is like splashing and revelling in a bath, with the pleasant recoil of the cool element against the hot-blooded frame. It is not like watching the waterfall drip from the crag, or gazing on the breakers of a wind-lashed sea. For Dickens there is nothing before or after life, no sense of

unrevealed mysteries or far-off fulfilment. Life was for him much too entrancing and uproarious and jolly for all that; and it is foolish, even pedantic, to demand from a writer something which perhaps he never intended to give, though I think that Dickens did, perhaps, intend to give it and could not.

One reads Dickens to enjoy and not to ponder, to forget and not to remember. One surrenders oneself gladly to his child-like optimism, one revels in the sharp savor, the keen appetite, the prodigal vitality of the human scene. One thanks God, like Mr. Bennett, that things do sometimes turn out fully as absurd as one had hoped. One does not want his characters to repent and develop and grow wise, any more than one wants the clown and the pantaloon to betake themselves to prayer and fasting. We have taken our seat, the curtain rises, and we can enjoy without any sense of irreparable disaster the misfortunes of solemn people, the failure of human justice, the ineffectual policeman flying from the red-hot poker, the splendid successes of mischief and cowardice and irresponsibility. It is the business of the comedian to amuse us, and we are there to be amused. No harm is done, and the actors are paid for their fooling. And here lies the contentment of Dickens, in the security of imagination. If imagination puts things wrong, it can also set things right; if the ultimate happiness of all concerned is assured, then we may rejoice in a world where the mess is swept up and every one gets exactly what he expects and deserves.

And so it is not only a relief, it is a solid and justifiable piece of happiness to put ourselves beneath the spell, to surrender ourselves to spasms of inevitable laughter, just as it is good for us at times to do unreasonable things, to eat and drink too much, to play games, to live, in fact,—as long as we remember that it is a part of life, but that life itself is not like that. For all this depends upon the singular fact that we cannot do more than one thing at a time under our finite conditions; and thus we owe a deep debt to all whom it is given to increase the gaiety of nations; and if a man can do that, and also, as Dickens did, leave in our hearts a sense of the worth and lovableness of humanity as well, then we are his debtors indeed.

Arthur C. Benson.

# SHAKESPEARE AS AN ACTOR*

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS

It is one of the most curious coincidences of literary history that the two greatest dramatists of modern times, Shakespeare and Molière, should have begun their connection with the theater by going on the stage as actors, without having at first (so far as we can guess) any intention of becoming playwrights. After having acquired practical experience as performers both of them ventured modestly into dramatic authorship, starting in the most unpretending fashion by adapting the popular pieces of older contemporaries, and then essaying themselves in imitation of the more successful playwrights of the time. At first it was only tentatively that they developed their own individuality and revealed their own originality after continual practice had given them a more assured skill. But to the very end of their careers in the theater they continued to act; Shakespeare ceased to appear on the stage only when he left London and retired to Stratford to live the life of a country gentleman, and Molière was stricken fatally while taking part in the fourth performance of his last play.

Molière certainly, and quite possibly Shakespeare also, was better known to the playgoers of his own day as an actor than as an author. Molière was the foremost comedian of his day, and there is no dispute about his supremacy as an impersonator of humorous characters. Indeed, his enemies were wont to praise his acting and to disparage his writing. They affected to dismiss his plays as poor things in themselves, owing the most of their undeniable success to the brilliancy of the author's own performance of the chief parts. As actor, as author, and as manager Molière was the center of his company. Can as much be said

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of Shakespeare? Great as Molière is as a dramatist, we cannot but feel that Shakespeare is still greater. When we note that Molière was pre-eminent among the players of his age in France we naturally wonder whether Shakespeare was also foremost among the performers of his time in England. Molière is the master of modern comedy, and it was by the impersonation of his own comic characters that he won his widest popularity with the playgoers of Paris. Shakespeare is the mightiest of tragic authors. Was he also the chief of the tragedians who held spellbound the gallants and the groundlings thronging to the London theaters in the spacious days of Elizabeth?

That the leader of English playwrights was also the leader of English actors is what we would like to believe in our natural desire to give to him that hath. This desire has led Mr. Sydney Lee to remark that when the company of the Globe accepted the royal summons to appear before the Queen at Christmas, 1594, Shakespeare was then "supported by actors of the highest eminence in their generation." And yet Mr. Lee is frank in expressing his own opinion that the great dramatist "was never to win the laurels of a great actor." He honestly admits that Shakespeare's "histrionic fame had not progressed at the same rate as his literary repute"; and he informs us that when the officials of the court invited the company to perform before Elizabeth, "directions were given that the greatest of the tragic actors of the day, Richard Burbage, and the greatest of the comic actors, William Kemp, were to bear the young actor company." And he adds that "with neither of these was Shakespeare's histrionic position then, or at any time, comparable," since "for years they were leaders of the acting profession."

This forces us to the conclusion that in his pardonable longing to glorify Shakespeare, Mr. Lee has been led into giving us a wrong impression. The Queen did not summon Shakespeare to appear before her; she summoned her whole company, to which Shakespeare belonged; and almost certainly it was Burbage and Kemp whom she wanted to see on the stage rather than Shakespeare. Burbage and Kemp were the chief ornaments of the company, and although Shakespeare was also a member, his position in the ranks of the company does not afford any warrant for the assumption that Elizabeth gave any special thought to him as

an actor. What she was desirous of witnessing was a series of performances by a famous company of which Burbage and Kemp were the most famous members. And in this series of performances at Court it was Shakespeare who supported Burbage and Kemp. It must be noted also that we do not know the programme of those performances at Court in the last week of 1594, and we are left in doubt whether Shakespeare was the author of any one of the plays then presented. Perhaps it is as well to point out further that he had up to that time produced no one of the major masterpieces on which his fame as a dramatist now rests securely.

While Molière composed the chief character in almost every one of his plays for his own acting, Shakespeare wrote the chief serious parts in his pieces for Burbage and the chief comic parts for Kemp (until that highly dowered comedian left the stage). For himself he modestly reserved characters of less prominence; in fact, in many of his plays, perhaps even in a majority of them, it is difficult to discover any part which seems to be specially adjusted to his own capacity as an actor. It is well known that Burbage appeared as Hamlet while Shakespeare humbly contented himself with the subordinate part of the Ghost. Who the original Orlando may have been has not yet been ascertained, but tradition tells us that the author of "As You Like It" impersonated Adam, the faithful old servitor of the hero. And in Ben Jonson's comedy of "Every Man in his Humor," which is believed to have been accepted for performance by the company owing to Shakespeare's influence, the part of the elder Knowell is said to have been taken by Shakespeare himself; and this seems quite probable, since it was a character which might very well be assumed by the performer of Adam and of the Ghost. These are the only three parts which tradition, not always trustworthy, has ascribed to Shakespeare as an actor. They belong, all three of them, to the line of business which is technically known as "old men." And this is the solid support of Mr. Lee's assertion that Shakespeare "ordinarily confined his efforts to old men of secondary rank."

Shakespeare, so Mr. Lee believes, was twenty-two when he left his wife and his three children at Stratford and trudged up to London to seek his fortune; and he was probably about twenty-five before his first piece was per-

formed. We have no information as to the means whereby he supported himself when he first arrived in the capital. He may have held horses at the door of the theater, as one tradition has it. Or he may have been able to attach himself at once to one of the half-dozen companies of actors in London, since he might have won friends among their members when one or another of them had appeared at Stratford in the summers immediately preceding his departure from his birthplace. Malone recorded a tradition " that his first office in the theater was that of prompter's attendant "—that is to say, call-boy, as the function is now styled. This may be a fact, of course, but it seems a little unlikely, since a man of twenty-two would be rather mature for such work, easily within the capacity of a lad of fourteen.

If Shakespeare left Stratford in 1586 he had already established himself in London as an actor six years later when he was twenty-eight. It was in 1592 that Chettle, the publisher, apologizing for having issued Greene's posthumous attack on Shakespeare, declared that he was " excellent in the quality he professes "—that is to say, excellent as an actor. This is high praise for so young a performer; but Chettle's testimony does not carry as much weight as it might, since he is here seeking by frank flattery to make amends for the attack he had previously published. Yet this praise may be taken as evidence that Shakespeare by that time had succeeded in achieving a recognized position on the stage as an actor. A tradition, first recorded in 1699, declared that he was " better poet than player."

Whether or not he began his career in the theater as a call-boy, he seems very early to have made choice of the " line of business " which he wished to play. He may have chosen it because he believed himself to be best fitted for parts of that kind; or he may have drifted into the performance of " old men " because there happened at that moment to be a vacancy in the company for a competent performer of these elderly characters. Although the impersonator of these parts is said to play " old men," the characters he is to assume are not all of them stricken in years, even if they are grave and sedate, lacking in the exuberant vivacity of youth. The Ghost, for example, and Adam also, are technically " old men." So are many of the dukes and other chiefs of state, personages of noble bearing and of emphatic dignity. That Shakespeare ap-

peared in characters of this type in more than one of his own plays is more than probable. In fact, one John Davies, of Hereford, recorded that Shakespeare "played some kingly parts in sport." Just what the words "in sport" may mean must be left to the imagination.

That these austere and lofty characters are known in the theater to-day as "old men" does not imply that the actor who has chosen this line of business is himself elderly. On the contrary, young actors have often deliberately decided to devote themselves to the performance of "old men." The late John Gilbert, for example, long connected with Wallack's Theater in New York and celebrated for his unrivaled rendering of Sir Peter Teazle and Sir Anthony Absolute, began to impersonate elderly characters before he was twenty. If Shakespeare played the Ghost and Adam, and if Gilbert also undertook these characters (as he did), then it is possible that certain of the other Shakespearian parts assumed by the American actor as the "old man" of his company may have been originally written by Shakespeare for his own acting. And this leads us to the plausible supposition that Shakespeare may have been the original performer of Ægeon in the "Comedy of Errors," of Leonato in "Much Ado About Nothing," Baptista in the "Taming of the Shrew," Friar Lawrence in "Romeo and Juliet," the King of France in "All's Well that Ends Well," the Duke in "Othello," the Duke in the "Merchant of Venice," and possibly also the Duke in "Measure for Measure" (although in this last somber comedy it may be that the part which Shakespeare performed was one or the other of the two Friars).

The ascription of these characters to Shakespeare as an actor may be only a hazardous guess, but it is a guess in accordance with the customs of the theatrical profession, which are as the laws of the Medes and Persians. It is a guess which is supported by all the known facts. A minute investigation of all his plays, by an expert in theatrical history and in histrionic tradition, would greatly increase the number of the parts which we have fair warrant for assuming to have been written by Shakespeare with an eye to his own acting.

The parts that have been here listed tentatively (and those that may be added to the catalogue) will be found to have certain general characteristics. They are all of them im-

portant and they are none of them prominent. The demands they severally made upon the actor who undertook them are not a few and not insignificant. For their proper representation most of them required a dignified presence, a courtly bearing, an air of authority, and a large measure of elocutionary skill. But the qualities these parts did not necessitate are equally significant. They called primarily for intelligence and only secondarily, if at all, for any large exhibition of emotion. Now, it is by the power of expressing passion at the great crises of existence and by the faculty of transmitting his feeling to his audience that the born actor is revealed. If he has not this native gift of communicable emotion, he can never be intrusted with the moving characters of a play. And apparently this native gift was denied to Shakespeare—who had so many others. An actor could acquit himself admirably in the Ghost and in Adam and in all the other " old men " which may have been performed by Shakespeare, he could have performed them to the entire satisfaction of the most critical spectators, without revealing the possession of the vital spark which illuminates the creative work of the truly great actor. In other words, these parts do not demand that the performer of them shall possess more than a moderate share of that mimetic faculty, that fullness of feeling, that amplitude of passion, which is the essential qualification for histrionic excellence.

To say this is not to suggest that Shakespeare had not a keen understanding of the fundamental principles of the art of acting. Such an understanding was his beyond all question, since that is a matter of the intelligence, of intellectual appreciation. To be assured of this we have only to recall the rehearsal of Bottom and his fellows, and to read again Hamlet's pregnant advice to the Players. This understanding of the art of acting a playwright must always have or he will fail to get the utmost out of his actors. It is a condition precedent to his success as a writer of stage-plays; and it is possessed by every successful dramatist, by Racine and by Sheridan, by Sardou and by Bronson Howard, by Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones. The playwrights must know what can be done with every part in every play of theirs; and they can then help the performers to attain this. They know what can be done—but it does not follow that they can do it themselves. Their grasp of the princi-

ples of the art does not imply that they themselves could act any one of their best parts as they would wish to have this acted. They may be the most skilful of trainers, and yet lack the histrionic gift themselves.

And not merely dramatists, but stage-managers—" producers," as they are now styled—may have this faculty of directing and guiding and inspiring performers to achieve their utmost, without themselves being capable of doing as actors what they feel ought to be done. Any one at all familiar with stage history can cite men who have not been eminent as actors and yet who were able to suggest to others how to get the best out of themselves. It was little Bowes who taught the Fotheringay the effects which so impressed the youthful Pendennis. It was Samson, a withered comedian of limited range, but of keen artistic intelligence, who suggested to Rachel many of her broadest and boldest strokes in tragedy.

When we set Hamlet's speech to the Players over against the remarks which Molière made in his own person in the " Impromptu of Versailles," we cannot help seeing that these great dramatists were alike in abhorring artificialty in acting, in abominating violence, in detesting rant, and in relishing simplicity and apparent naturalness. Both of them inculcated the necessity of truth in the portrayal of character and of passion. Molière attained also to the highest levels of the histrionic art; Shakespeare did not, probably because he was lacking in some one of the several physical qualifications which the actor of dominating parts must have. Apparently he was a well-proportioned man, even if not positively good-looking. But his body may have been rebellious to his will, with the result that his gestures, however well intentioned, would be ineffective and even awkward. It may be that it was his voice which was at fault; and a noble organ of speech is almost indispensable to a great actor. In one of his papers on " Actors and the Art of Acting " (always full of insight into the principles of that little-understood art), George Henry Lewes considered this possibility:

"I dare say he declaimed finely, as far as rhythmic cadence and a nice accentuation went. But his non-success implies that his voice was intractable or limited in its range. Without a sympathetic voice, no declamation can be effective. The tones which stir us need not be musical, need not be pleasant, even, but they must have a penetrating, vibrating

quality. Had Shakespeare possessed such a voice he would have been famous as an actor. Without it all his other gifts were as nothing on the stage. Had he seen Garrick, Kemble, or Kean performing in plays not his own he might doubtless have perceived a thousand deficiencies in their conception, and defects in their execution; but had he appeared on the same stage with them, even in plays of his own, the audiences would have seen the wide gulf between conception and presentation. One lurid look, one pathetic intonation, would have more power in swaying the emotions of the audience than all the subtle and profound passion which agitated the soul of the poet but did not manifestly express itself: the look and the tone may come from a man so drunk as to be scarcely able to stand; but the public sees only the look, hears only the tone, and is irresistibly moved by these intelligible symbols."

A little earlier in this same suggestive discussion of "Shakespeare as an Actor and Critic," Lewes asserted that

"Shakespeare doubtless knew—none knew so well—how Hamlet, Othello, Richard, and Falstaff should be personated; but had he been called upon to personate them he would have found himself wanting in voice, face, and temperament. The delicate sensitiveness of his organization, which is implied in the exquisiteness and flexibility of his genius, would absolutely have unfitted him for the presentation of characters demanding a robust vigor and a weighty animalism. It is a vain attempt to paint frescos with a camel's-hair brush. The broad and massive effects necessary to scenic presentation could never have been produced by such a temperament as his."

Probably it was because Shakespeare had the delicate sensitiveness with which Lewes credited him that he had also a distaste for acting—if we may interpret any of the lines of his sonnets as lyric revelations of his own sentiment. The intrigue which we think we can disentangle by a minute analysis of these poems may be feigned and unreal, a mere compliance with a literary fashion of the moment; but there is a sincerer note of personal feeling in the sonnets in which Shakespeare seems to be expressing his dislike for the calling by which he made his living. In the hundred-and-tenth sonnet he confessed:

"Alas, 'tis true I have gone here and there
And made myself a motley to the view."

And in the hundred-and-eleventh, which links itself logically with its predecessor, he appealed for a more tolerant consideration of his character contaminated by the stage:

"O, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not for my life provide
Than public means what public manners breeds.
Thence comes it that my nature receives a brand;
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand:
Pity me then and wish I were renew'd."

If Shakespeare is here speaking of himself as an actor, if this lyric is really wrung from the bottom of his heart, then we have an ample explanation for his failure to attain to the higher summits of the histrionic art. He did not like his profession; he did not enjoy acting; and we may take it as certain that no man ever won to the front in a calling which he did not love, just as no man ever despised the art in which he excelled. Shakespeare's dislike of acting may have been the cause of his lack of mastery or it may have been the consequence of this. Of course, it is dimly possible that we are reading into these sonnets more than Shakespeare meant to put into them, and that the quoted lines do not represent his own feelings. And even if they do, they may voice what was only a fleeting disgust for that personal exhibition which is the inseparable condition of acting and from which the practitioners of all the other arts (except oratory) are exempt—a personal exhibition doubly disagreeable to a poet of Shakespeare's "delicate sensitiveness."

Perhaps it is not fanciful to find in "As You Like It" itself evidence in behalf of the contention that Shakespeare was not greatly interested in himself as an actor. Adam, who is a character of some importance in the first half of the comedy, most unexpectedly disappears out of it in the second half. Now, if the author had been anxious for ampler histrionic opportunity, it would not have been difficult for him to bring on Adam again toward the end of the play, that he might impress himself more securely on the memory of the audience.

It was probably in 1598 that Shakespeare first appeared as Adam and as the elder Knowell, and it was probably in 1602 that he first personated the Ghost, being then thirty-eight years old. He was to remain on the stage ten or twelve years longer; but there is no reason to suppose that the parts he played in later life were any more important.

We do not know what characters he undertook in the plays which he wrote after "Hamlet"; nor do we know what parts he assumed in the many pieces by other authors which made up the repertory of the company. That he continued to act we need not doubt; for instance, he was one of the performers in Ben Jonson's "Sejanus," probably produced in 1602 or 1603. But the absence of specific information on this point is evidence that he did not impress himself upon his contemporaries as an actor of power. As Lewes declared, "the mere fact that we hear nothing of his qualities as an actor implies that there was nothing above the line, nothing memorable to be spoken of." The parts which we believe him to have played did not "demand or admit various excellencies." Shakespeare may have had lofty histrionic ambitions, but probably he was not allowed to gratify his longings, and certainly we have no tradition or hint that he ever failed in what he attempted in the theater. Perhaps we are justified in believing that he had gone on the stage merely as the easiest means of immediately earning his living, that he did not greatly care for acting, and that he was satisfied to assume the responsible but subordinate parts for which he was best fitted.

This view of his capacity as an actor is sustained by another consideration. Whatever Shakespeare's position as a performer may have been, his later popularity as a playwright is beyond dispute; indeed, his appeal to the playgoing public was so potent that it tempted more than one unscrupulous publisher to put Shakespeare's name to plays which were not his. And his position as a member of the company was equally solidly established. All his plays (with one possible and unimportant exception) had been written for this company, to which he had been early admitted and of which he soon became one of the managers who had the responsibilities and who shared the profits of the enterprise. He ranked high in the company, and when King James took it under his direct patronage shortly after his accession in 1603, Shakespeare's name is the second on the list of actors as it appears on the royal warrant, and Burbage's is third. There is ample evidence that he was held in high esteem by his comrades of the theater. That he had a warm regard for them is shown by the fact that in his will he left money to Burbage, Condell, and Heming for the purchase of memorial rings. That they cherished

his memory is proved by the publication (seven years after his death) of the folio edition of his complete plays, due to the pious care of Condell and Heming. Shakespeare had the gift of friendship and he bound his fellows to him with hooks of steel. Outside of the theater also he was widely liked; and the personal references to him which have been gleaned from contemporary writers, however inadequate they may seem to us nowadays in appreciation of his genius, are abundant in expressions of regard for the man for his gentleness and his courtesy.

Now if Shakespeare was popular with his fellow-actors, with the playgoing public, with those he met outside the theater, there is no other possible explanation of the fact that he did not take the chief parts in at least a few of his own plays except that he was either incapable of so doing or not desirous of attempting it. We have only to consider the history of the theater to discover that every actor-playwright, from Molière to Boucicault and Gillette, who had both ambition and ability, composed the central characters of his own plays for his own acting. This is what has happened always in the past, and it is what must happen whenever a gifted actor takes to writing or whenever a gifted writer takes to acting. If, therefore, Shakespeare did not himself undertake Richard III. or Hamlet or Lear or any other of those overwhelming parts, but devised them rather for the acting of Burbage, we are forced to the conclusion that he knew himself incapable of them and that his comrades in the theater, his fellow-managers, knew this also. In other words, Shakespeare appeared as Adam and as the Ghost and he confined his acting to "old men," because these parts were well within his physical limitations. This conclusion, that the greatest of dramatists was not also great as an actor, may be unwelcome, but there is no escape from it.

For Shakespeare himself, however, if not for his modern admirers, there was one obvious compensation. He may not have been fond of the art; he may even have disliked the practice of his profession, and he may not have revealed himself as a performer of more than respectable ability, but he owed to acting the solid foundation of his fortune. He went to London in his youth with no visible means of support, although already burdened with a wife and three children; and he went back to Stratford not only well-to-do

but probably better off than any other resident of the little town. Even if Shakespeare was not a great actor, it was not as an actor that he gained entrance into the theater, that he acquired that intimate familiarity with stage technique which is evident in his masterpieces, and that he was able to get his successive plays swiftly produced by the very actors for whose performance he had specially devised them. It is because he was an actor that he was able speedily to make his way as a playwright; and it was because he was valuable to the company as actor and playwright that he was admitted partner in the undertaking. If he had not become an actor, he might or he might not have written "Hamlet" and "Julius Cæsar" and "As You Like It," but he probably would never have been able to buy New Place, to get a grant of arms for his father, and to spend the final years of his life in easy leisure. And we may rest assured that Shakespeare himself recognized all the advantage it was to him to be an actor, even if he did affect in one or another of his sonnets to rail against the disadvantages. Great poet as he was, he was also a good man of business with a keen eye to the main chance.

Shakespeare had three sources of income—as an actor, as an author, and as one of the managers. Mr. Lee has calculated that in the earlier years of Shakespeare's connection with the theater he received at least a hundred pounds a year as a performer and at least twenty pounds more as a playwright, with possibly some slight additional income from the sale of his poems (which were repeatedly reprinted). Allowing for the greater purchasing power of money in those days, we may assume that this gave Shakespeare an annual income about equivalent to five thousand dollars to-day. Later the price paid for plays rose, and by that time Shakespeare had become one of the partners in the theater. There is a likelihood that Shakespeare took upon himself a portion of the labor of stage-management and of producing new plays; and although the customs of the Elizabethan theater made this task less burdensome than it is to-day, still it was worthy of some remuneration. That Shakespeare in his youth had gone on the stage as an actor proved to be as profitable to his pocket as it was helpful to his mastery of stagecraft.

Brander Matthews.

# REPUTATION AND POPULARITY

BY BRIAN HOOKER

THE reading public of to-day is a unique and somewhat disquieting experiment. We have willed that everybody shall read; and for the first time in history everybody does read after a fashion. We are very busy putting books into people's hands, in the general faith that something profitable will reach their heads. Journalism and popular fiction are everywhere spreading and satisfying their own demand; free education, of the best that we can hastily purvey, is sown broadcast alike upon every soil; and there are lectures, libraries, and literary organizations miscellaneous without number. Certainly, if there be anything ominous in the trend of our experiment, it is not for want of direction. English is driving Greek and Latin from our schools, and the tasks are set in our own classics; to the growth of the humanities are applied those arts of commercial promotion and publicity in which we naturally excel; nor is our native self-consciousness anywhere more acute than in the ceaseless talk and writing about books. In so far as may be, we suffer no man's reading to go unguided. Yet, with all this, we can pretend no great complacency over the present result. Our readers batten upon continual masses of cheap print, the like of which for bulk and tawdriness was never seen; philistinism is epidemic, and with it that deadlier kindred disease of discussing books unread and feigning unfelt appreciation; and over all the terms and shows of culture hangs an aroma of disregard, the connotation of the lifted nostril. When little boys cock up their noses over Scott and little girls are superior to Dickens, when scholars are afraid to be academic and critics are afraid to be literary, when a classic means a book to be avoided, and our best writers disclaim their art after the manner of Mark Antony, making a boast of crudeness,

something must be rather curiously wrong. Though these be straws, yet they mark the blowing of an ill wind. For it is sound history to remember that all great ages, however illiterate, have held letters in honor: and that the note of reaction against culture has never been anything other than a symptom of decay. Shakespeare's clowns quoted Latin to the comprehension of the groundlings; for a gentleman to do so now must smell of priggishness; and whoso trusts in the modern training in English to fill the room of the dead languages may observe how far the present university graduate falls below his fathers and his British brethren in the mastery of his native tongue. In our new republic of letters, the aristocrats must suffer exile or repudiate their obligation of nobility: and the enforced familiarity with books breeds among the multitude less comprehension than contempt. We are tending, as it seems, toward an equality of cultivation as well from above as from below. Demos, having seduced Athena, thinks the less of her.

Now in this condition it explains nothing to talk easily of commercialism and a material age. Something may indeed be set down to that futile hurry which leaves us neither the repose for thought nor the nervous equilibrium for emotion; but our theater, which (under pretense of being unliterary) is the strongest branch of present literature, has gone far to abolish the superstition of the tired business man. For the rest, the Augustan age was material, the Elizabethan commercial; and it was always characteristic of periods ideally fitted for literature to protest loudly their unfitness, as any one may remind himself by reading a little criticism. Neither can the blame be laid upon the infectious ubiquity of bad writing. That is at worst as much an effect as a cause: we need not be drunkards because there is a saloon around the corner, least of all upon the worst we can buy there. Moreover, there was always, in proportion, plenty of bad writing, especially where good writing best flourished: fertility grows most weeds. One forgets what masses of rubbish were produced by the Elizabethans, or, nearer home, in the flower of the Victorian period. Yet it is worth observing that the trash of the mid-century was in spirit an attempt at literature, whereas our own is in spirit a protest against literature. It is the difference between Lydia Sigourney and Ella Wheeler Wilcox, between G. P. R. James and George Barr McCutcheon: the

old stuff was pompous, maudlin, sentimental; the new swaggers familiarly with a rough-diamond air, ashamed of refinement. Surely there is a symptom here. None the less, it would be false diagnosis merely to scorn the profane vulgar, charging the new majority of raw readers with the decline of the general average. It is true that half-education makes noisy critics of the type least qualified to criticize: that the peasant has better, because more natural, taste than the bourgeois. But then you must be content to begin spoon-making by spoiling horns. Our trouble is that we are spoiling spoons: not that cultivation is now, as always, in the minority, but that the minority is melting away into the general mass. The gulf between the illiterate and the connoisseur is too wide to be bridged in a generation: in so much there is nothing to alarm; and the washed sow may run back to wallow, lamented only by such makers of silk purses as are bereft of their raw material thereby. But the Prodigal's is another story, since he was bred to desire better than husks. It is not that we read rubbish, but that we turn to it away from better reading: distaste for literature, not appetite for journalism: and in especial the spread of this distaste among the very class which has been for all time the inheritor and curator of the classics. These at least might be trustworthy to hold by the best, as they have traditionally done; and for their descent to the popular level there can be but one explanation. Our propaganda of reading must be so mismanaged as to make the worse appear the better.

What is there in the name of classic to conjure up a spirit of aversion? Or, more precisely, how does the fame of a book affect his appreciation who comes to it for the first time? Among the more docile minded its first service is as a substitute for personal opinion, submerging individual judgment. You must pronounce upon the unheralded for yourself; but criticism of the classics comes to you ready made under seal of authority. Here (by the way) is the first reason why our sense of new books is stronger and livelier, more interesting to ourselves: because it is our own. Now this reading by precedent is at best no other than a natural instance of the law of suggestion: you observe in a book, quite honestly, what you expect to observe, and question no further. So for you Shakespeare is infallible; Browning an abstruse and obscure philosopher, careless

of form; Ibsen a corrosive antiseptic; Dickens a comic caricaturist; Shaw and Chesterton a pair of coruscating mountebanks who deem the world well lost for a paradox; Tennyson, Swinburne, and Stevenson unsubstantial stylists; and so following. Reading thus by rote attains much comfortable cultivation. Only it is scarce within human virtue so to do without taking the one step more into deceit; and then you are past praying for. Shakespeare's jests (let us say) appear to you a little vapid, *Evangeline* touches you too sharply for patronizing, you find more dullness than elegance in Addison; but then . . . why burden yourself with heresy? The multitude are probably right, and in any case it is more agreeable to agree. And before you know it you are fairly in the welter of those who appreciate from the teeth outward, whose verdicts bear no relation to their sense. It is all so fatally easy, even to the last contemptible stage of joining in the critical chorus without ever having read the book. What is the use? I have never (as it happens) read anything of Zola; but I know exactly what to say about him. It is in the air, I could not avoid it if I would; I might undertake to talk for an evening with his admirers, and none should unmask me without the rudeness of direct examination. To this disease they are congenitally subject who care to be considered well read: Philistines are immune; but any teacher can tell how it rages among the schools and vitiates all hope of teaching. You cannot educate an echo; and the deepest heresy is that which ultimately conforms. Conventional errors, moreover, increase snowball-like by rolling; for every faint or feigned acquiescence augments the momentum of authority. The original splash of scandal widens around *Madame Bovary* until for every reader it has many judges; but every month launches without a ripple some book more actually shocking. *Gulliver* and *The Arabian Nights* are reputed in terms of juvenile selection. *The Vicar of Wakefield* has of course precisely the same rights of immortality as *Janice Meredith;* but the name of Goldsmith and the approval of Scott have carried it so far unquestioned that no one utters the blasphemy of a challenge.

Truly, it is bad enough to be hypnotized by sound reputation: and worse when, as in these cases, the reputation is at fault. Nor do we realize how common such cases are. The most familiar names fluctuate like the most active securities:

in Goldsmith's time Shakespeare was nobody in particular; and Scott and Dickens, the idols of the last century, are discredited in our own. Fashions in literature change no less than fashions in attire. One must look deeplier than the trappings of the hour for the eternal humanity within. Yet we all treat our momentary habit as part of human nature; and to its own seeming every age is a millennium. Any ass may lord it in the lion's skin so long as furs remain in fashion; let the fashion change, and the king of beasts himself shall appear a travesty. It requires a strenuous effort of the imagination to realize that a Galahad upon Broadway might satirize no less justly than a Yankee in the court of Arthur. So before we bury any moribund classics, let us reflect upon their uncanny habit of resurrection, and acknowledge that incredible to-morrow when we shall be ourselves with yesterday's seven thousand years. *Post hoc, ergo melior hoc,* is the everlasting fallacy. Besides, one may always doubt if the book be even presently dead. Reputation at any given time may mean less to the sense of readers than the whim of the critics who have momentarily the louder lungs. I have just said that we despise Victorian romance, and so we do, officially; yet it goes on quietly outselling our best sellers, while the slings and arrows of outrageous realism fly harmless. The Bible, on the other hand, retains supreme repute; though indeed it was never in Christendom so unappreciated as here and now. Fame like wine grows stronger and sounder through age, and one should not hastily accept upon equal valuation the verdict of the ages upon "Antigone" and the verdict of the hour upon "The Playboy of the Western World." Critical commonplaces, moreover, are as likely as other commonplaces to embody only half the truth. Thus Browning and Whitman, instead of being careless of their form, were fiercely careful to make it what it is; thus the great stylists, from Shakespeare to Stevenson, are in truth no emptier of substance than their inferiors in art; thus Chesterton and Shaw are both utterly sincere, and, except for the mannerism of paradox, utterly opposed. Such literary proverbs are as untrustworthy as that bullies are always cowards, or that faint heart never won fair lady. Nor are the judges more infallible than the code. It is the besetting folly of connoisseurs to esteem themselves the people with whom wisdom shall perish: they announce the mode

with the air of discovering a law of nature; as a fashion-page may declare, "Women are to have hips this year." They float triumphantly with the tide, prophesying deluge; then the tide turns. "Paradise Lost" came along with the Restoration; and just after Macaulay had explained why there could be no more epics, Robert Browning wrote "The Ring and the Book." So at the present time one must allow for a premium upon all realism, and a discount upon all romance; and at all times for the confident narrowness of the specialist who knows men through contemporary books. You hear of Dickens as a sentimentalist without structure, of Ibsen as flawless in technique, the great unmasker of his age. Now Dickens did construct badly in some cases, perfectly in others: *Our Mutual Friend* is perhaps the best-constructed English novel. Ibsen is a technical expert; but the tragedy in "Ghosts" totters upon a crazy trestle of coincidence; and like most professional unmaskers, Ibsen wasted much genius in washing obvious enamel from the countenance of semi-occasional vice. Hedda Gabler is a horrible accident, like hydrophobia. But the vogue is all for the problem play and against the romantic novel; and most critics move in that thin stratum of society where alone such mad dogs as Hedda do now and then occur, and where alone the arabesque personalities of Mantalini and Micawber are made impossible by convention. Let this not be understood as decrying criticism. The critics are the judges, learned in common law, wise codifiers of tradition. We were never more in need of them; but since the most judicial vision has its blind spot, it is unsafe to follow blindly. We must look also for ourselves.

Thus far of reading by rule; but upon more assertive natures the reputation of a book has just the opposite effect: the effect of a challenge. What is this book which I must admire whether I will or no? I do not think much of it. A classic? Then I do not think much of classics. Impatient intelligence like this, immature whether in training or in years, extends far beyond the undergraduate period: it is equally the mind of that whole vast body of the newly lettered, who have advanced so far beyond their fathers as to be quite certain that no possible horizon can transcend their own; the mind also of the specialist in other matters than books, who carries into that province wherein he is still a child the confidence matured within his own. This

type of mind for extent and independence is best worth educating; and it is precisely the type which our education wastes upon silly revolt. Here is to be sought the root of that distaste for literature which is our peculiar trouble. And its seed is first sown in the schools. A certain resistance is inseparable from the mere fact of required reading: the boy who would devour *Ivanhoe* for fun, who would desire it the more if it were forbidden, will shirk preparing six chapters of it for to-morrow's recitation. School-books are for work, others for play; and we have relegated the best of our literature to the former category. Whereas English is unlike other subjects of primary study in this, that the others do not demand to be pursued for pleasure after school is done. You may graduate none the worse for a hatred of geography or mathematics, for you have absorbed perforce as much of them as you are likely to require, and so an end; but your reading can barely have begun in the class-room. In the evasion of this difficulty lay the cleverness of the old Greek and Latin schooling: it taught literature, while it left English literature untainted with drudgery; besides teaching language, which our present method simply fails to do. Moreover, the requirement of English cannot avoid shifting the emphasis from reading to having read. To have gone through a certain set of books is to be prepared for the examination; and there is the beginning of that Philistine attitude which measures culture by the mile-stones instead of by the pleasures of the way. I do not mean to argue against the teaching of English in the schools: only to point out the inherence in it of certain drawbacks whose operation is everywhere obvious. Something must be allowed at best for original human perversity; and under actual conditions these necessary evils are intensified. Bad teaching runs to seed over the glossary and the notes, withering appreciation into analysis, and setting up the College Entrance Board in the seats of the Muses. Bad selection requires books whose merits are invisible to the student. Indeed, our whole presentation of reading to the new public centers upon these two errors: the error of making the classic a task and the error of making it a means to an unworthy end—the text-book and the examination. And the mischief once started finds no lack of food. Illiteracy, exercised by the pedants, returns presently to the swept and garnished mind, with seven others

worse than himself capering at his heels: journalism fresh every hour, predigested to stay down where the queasy brain rejects all else; popular fiction, most thrill with mildest thought; translations, compendiums, and five-foot bookshelves, modern devices to make you well read without the labor of reading, palms without dust; philistinism chanting its declaration of independence; and, last and vilest, the critical pander to all these, the inverted hypocrite who assumes vulgarity, the mercenary judge who is devil's advocate as well. Let literature appear ever so little boresome, and these rush to protest the superiority of rubbish; let reading take the least color of a means to an end, and they offer eagerly a host of nostrums all warranted indistinguishable from the genuine and painless to apply. So we have the unhappy classic beset on opposite sides by clever enemies and tactless friends. Reading is at once honored in the breach and discredited in the observance; and the Attic emigrants are received with open arms in Bœotia. Those traditional rivals Highbrow and Lowbrow are secretly playing into each other's hands. For all their parade of enmity, they are not really competitors in the least: they are a conspiracy in restraint of culture.

Reputation then becomes in these two ways a detriment to popularity: if the reader be more complaisant than critical, it leads him to appreciate blindly or to pretend appreciation; if he be more confident than conservative, it arouses prejudice, and leads him to despise all classics together for the sake of the few which he has failed to enjoy. In both cases the radical error is the apotheosis of reputation. You accept a man upon his merits, but a god must be either worshiped or blasphemed. So if the great writers are truly to be valued above the lesser, they must take on flesh and blood, walking the streets among mediocrities that their greater stature may be seen. It sounds paradoxical to say that here and now we are attending far too much to the mere fame of books; yet that is precisely why we do not better appreciate the most famous of them. For the average mind is not obtuse: that is a conceit of the unobservant; but the average mind is extremely lazy, readier to echo a catchword or to loll upon a prejudice than to form a personal decision. So people will pass a critical counterfeit rather than exert themselves to convict the utterer; so they will discard an entire class of books rather than trouble

to analyze their dislike of a single specimen. And the remedy is to set reputation upon its proper footing. A great book means merely a book which very many have enjoyed: it is in no special category; there is no arbitrary alternative to think thus and so of it, or to leave it and its like alone. Its fame is a majority report, nothing more. You must look for yourself how far you agree with the majority; but you need not be afraid of it. If you materially disagree, you must examine for yourself your grounds of disagreement; but you need not conclude that majorities are always wrong. This, which is the natural attitude toward the ordinary reading of the day, is the only rational attitude toward any reading whatsoever. From the most ephemeral skit to the most inspired masterpiece, every book must be judged personally without fear or favor if it is to be judged upon its merit; for its merit is, in the final analysis, merely the extent of that appeal. If we are to gain anything by making everybody read, everybody must read honestly.

And to achieve this better than by the slow attrition of unregulated chance will demand a fundamental change in our presentation of literature to the unlettered. We are at present teaching reputation without teaching criticism; but we must begin by teaching criticism, and let reputation take care of itself. We say in effect: "Here is a classic which you are to admire: as for the stuff you have been reading, that is bad in such and such respects." To which the reader naturally replies: "For the classic I can take your word; but I prefer, so please you, the stuff I have been reading." No one will admire to order; at most some will profess admiration. Nobody can be won away from inferiority by fault-finding; at most, some will imagine that they admire faults. And that imagination is pre-eminently mischievous and absurd. It is as natural for a man to enjoy cheap writing as for a child to enjoy cheap candy: not that clay and anilines are enjoyable, but that sugar is confused with them. And the only way to educate either taste toward the preference of something better is to distinguish the actual ground of present enjoyment. To examine faults at the outset is sheer waste of time; one must first observe those virtues whose absence constitutes the fault; and to this a sincere admiration of some sort is prerequisite. There is no lack of such where everybody has

already read more or less; for the quality of the material matters little. Wherever there is admiration, something is admirable. Popular fiction has at worst an obvious motive, a rapid action, a sharp cleavage of character; journalism is always lucid and emphatic; the most vulgar verse has rhythmic vigor and pungency of phrase. From these even culture may learn something; but even illiteracy can learn nothing from classics read with prejudice because upon compulsion. Explanation of the merits of the *Nick Carter Weekly* and the editorials of Mr. Brisbane may be made the first step toward appreciating the kindred merits of Meredith and Emerson; whereas praising Meredith and Emerson to minds insensible of their excellence leads nowhere. All sound culture must begin with pleasure and proceed through understanding.

All this is not to play Cassandra for a trifle, peevishly prophesying a journey to the dogs. We shall not be damned for a lapse of taste. Greater troubles we have sustained, and may be now sustaining; nor is the analysis of any failing easily made clear without some color of exaggeration. Yet it is not wholly a little matter bounded by narrow confines of merely artistic advancement. I have spoken of literature and the classics; but reading, in the wider general sense, proceeds along the same paths, judged by the same laws, and appreciated by like appetites. He who is impatient of honest fiction will be impatient of honest thought; the man who prefers cheap drama prefers cheap morality; to be content with tawdry music is to be content with crude emotion. And as reading was never so universal as to-day, so there never was a time when the content of the general mind was derived so largely from print. What we are depends closelier than ever before upon what we read; for we have made all the people readers and all governors.

Brian Hooker.

# THE FUTURE OF EXPLORATION

BY SIR ERNEST SHACKLETON

THERE seems to be a wide-spread idea that the work of exploration is virtually finished; that if Captain Scott succeeds, as we all hope he will succeed, in beating the *Nimrod* record and covering the hundred miles which we had to leave between us and the South Pole, the last silent sanctuary of the earth will have been captured and nothing will remain to be done but the humdrum of survey and mapping.

In these days of express holidays from Paris to Pekin and from Capetown to Cairo, it is, perhaps, a comprehensible error. To the favorites of fortune who find themselves suddenly able to indulge in long and comfortable journeys through newly-opened lands, the struggles of the first pioneers will seem a small thing. The Bartholomews and Johnstons and Stanfords have unwittingly favored the impression by so well filling our maps that the blank spaces seem few and unimportant. And it must be admitted that the friendly rivalry of explorers has, unfortunately, contributed to the difficulties of their successors. They are not to blame; the pure spirit of adventure after knowledge burns as brightly in the minds of Scott and Charcot, Amundsen and Filchner, Hedin and Mawson, as it did in those of Franklin and Ross, Speke and Livingstone. The difference is in the audience, not the actors. A public for whom the new maps are a very indifferent substitute for the old globes pictures an ice-bound area larger than Europe as a variant of Epsom Downs, and three or four scattered groups of hungry, weary men merely as competitors for the Great Polar Stakes. Its interest is exhausted when the farthest point is recorded and a few outstanding adventures are retailed. The " race " is over: *ergo* the work of exploration is done. No more foolish mistake could be made, and none more disastrous in its consequences.

A very sad illustration of this was recently given by Sir Fridtjof Nansen when he published Captain Amundsen's explanation of the sudden and unexpected diversion of his latest expedition from the North to the South Polar regions. Amundsen has done admirable work in the Arctic; and he had planned a further voyage across the Polar Basin for the purpose of a serious and prolonged scientific survey. But Norway, though one of the most prosperous and progressive of lands, is not rich; and, with so sober a programme, Amundsen found that the necessary money did not come in. By way of whipping up the old enthusiasm, therefore, he resolved first to make a dash for the South Pole; and, lest this should displease some of his supporters, he kept his decision secret till the *Fram* was well on the sixteen-thousand-mile journey to the southern ice. When his confession appeared the famous old ship was already in winter-quarters at Bay of Whales in the Ross Sea; and there it was found at the beginning of February last by Captain Scott, who had left his winter-quarters at Cape Evans and, with the *Terra Nova,* was engaged in surveying the Great Ice Barrier, preparatory to his own attack upon the fastnesses of the polar tableland.

Lieutenant Filchner's expedition has been prepared with all the quiet thoroughness that characterizes German enterprise. Neither in that nor in Charcot's case has there been any report of financial difficulty. In England we depend for all great efforts more upon voluntary support; and it is we, though most challenged by the honor of history and by material interest to the perils of discovery, who soonest feel any failure of private generosity. Scott is in the field to vindicate the claims of the Union Jack; and I need say no more of him than that his subscription-list still lacks a sum of £10,000, and that we owe such a man as much as any commander who returns scathless from distant battle-fields of empire. Let me speak of two others who ask only to be enabled to risk their lives in adding to the British share in Antarctic knowledge and interests—Dr. Douglas Mawson, leader of the proposed Australian expedition, and Dr. W. S. Bruce, of the *Scotia,* director of the Scottish Oceanographical Laboratory.

Mawson, who had been lecturer in mineralogy and petrology at Adelaide University, was physicist to the *Nimrod* expedition of 1907--09; and I then had, of course, abundant

opportunities of judging his capacities. He with Professors David and Murray formed the northern party which, after a hard and perilous journey, reached the South Magnetic Pole. Although now only thirty-one years old, Mawson is exceptionally able and experienced both as scientist and explorer—a combination happily not so rare as it used to be. His plans have been warmly indorsed not only by the scientists of Australia, but by our own Geographical Society. He looks with a natural ambition to that side of the Antarctic continent which faces his adopted land, and where he has already taken up Nature's stern challenge. He had hoped to go out with Captain Scott and to be landed with a party at Cape Adare, there to attack the problems and the mysteries of the coast-line from South Victoria Land right round to Gaussberg in Wilhelm Land, a distance of over two thousand miles. This, however, proved impracticable. There was then a question of my organizing an expedition for this purpose, but it was impossible for me to do so, and Mawson took up the work hoping to be in a position to sail south from Australia with a complement of fifty men at the close of the past year.

In addition to his own attempt upon the Pole and the extreme south, Scott last year landed a party at Cape Adare, the object of which was to explore the north coast of Victoria Land west of Cape North and to decide whether there is continuous land or a chain of islands as far as Adelie Land. Mawson's expedition would take up the running with a more thorough investigation of what he likes to call the Australian Quadrant. It is at present almost wholly unknown, for on this immense stretch of coast a landing has only once been made, and then as long ago as 1840. Mawson would land three shore parties at intervals, each with necessities for wintering, and, having taken possession for the Empire, would proceed by sledging parties to make a complete geographical and magnetic survey. One party would, if possible, strike across country to the Magnetic Pole, reaching it from the opposite side to that which he approached from the *Nimrod*.

It cannot be too emphatically said that the interior behind the eight thousand miles of Antarctic coast-line, with an area considerably larger than that of Europe, is practically *terra incognita*, a few spots only having been touched by the four expeditions which have so far wintered on the frozen

continent. Even its general structure is a matter of speculation. According to one theory there is a mountain chain right across the Polar area from Graham Land, the point nearest to South America, to Mount Erebus, and South Victoria Land—the Antarctic Andes, as they have been speculatively named, on the supposition that they continue the great South-American range. Another view which the German expedition in particular will investigate suggests the existence of a vast ice-clad canal extending from the Weddell Sea to the Ross Sea, dividing the continent into eastern and western masses; while, again, the coast opposite South Africa—Enderby Land—has been thought to be a third continental fragment. Finally, there is the more probable belief that the continent is a unit, mostly a very high plateau sloping from mountain heights of 15,000 feet, gradually on the Atlantic, and more precipitously on the Pacific side. There are hardly less interesting problems of the past to solve. Dr. Mawson, for instance, regards as almost conclusive the evidence that, in a geologically recent past, there existed a habitable Antarctic continent stretching out to what are now South America, New Zealand, and South Africa; that volcanic activity brought about a separation; and that an ice age of fearful severity afterwards extinguished the life of the present Polar area.

Here are challenges worthy of the best explorer. But Mawson combines with the passion of discovery a keen utilitarian spirit. He points out the value of weather and magnetic charts to navigation, expects that the establishment of convenient harbors must lead to the development of valuable whale and seal fisheries, and hopes much from the mineral wealth hidden in the Antarctic. He had discussed the possibility of erecting a wireless telegraphic station in the Antarctic for the supply of weather reports to Australia. If, as is thought possible, a "southerly buster" could be thus anticipated, the costs would certainly be infinitesimal as compared with the benefits.

Dr. Bruce—who has made nine Polar voyages, two of them to the Antarctic, in 1892--1893 and 1902--1909—has a very different programme. He is himself a walking cyclopedia of the departments of science called into play in Polar exploration, which include astronomy, meteorology, and the investigation of the higher atmosphere by means of balloons and kites, magnetism, the physics of the ocean, in

particular the study of currents and temperatures at various depths, the study of the shape and geology of the ocean bed, and the biology of the sea and ice. There are immense fields open for research of this kind—in the Arctic, for instance, all along the coast and channels of northern Canada and the coast of Siberia, and in the Antarctic almost throughout the vast area within the Polar circle. In a little book he has recently written, Dr. Bruce points out and deplores a curious illogicality of the general mind on this subject:

"The pride and glory of our past is largely due to the intrepidity and alertness of our seamen. Yet, with all this, not only the public generally, but even many scientific people, think much more of an accidental discovery of land than of any amount of hard, plodding work carried on at sea. So much so that, if an expedition investigates 150 miles of unknown land, it is said to have made 'important geographical discoveries,' whereas if it investigate, with equal if not greater detail, 150 miles of unknown sea, it will be said that the expedition made 'no geographical discoveries.' The reason is that, especially in Britain, few people really appreciate a map, so notoriously bad is the teaching of geography, and so little is it encouraged. The ordinary atlas simply prints a blue color over the surface of the sea. . . . Scarcely any attempt whatever is made to show whether these stretches of sea are deep or shallow, clear or muddy, brown or blue, rough or smooth; there are few indications of currents, tidal or otherwise."

Perhaps the enthusiastic oceanographer stresses the point a little too strongly; for, while man lives on the land and not in the sea, he will be more interested in painting the one red than the other blue. But it is a good point; and Dr. Bruce is justified in saying that in some ways, in this day of mammoth liners and regular routes, we actually know and care less about the sea than of old, so that "the stories of great sea-monsters might not be so fabulous as supposed, though those in small craft and without scientific training might possibly get a somewhat exaggerated idea of their size and shape."

The projected Scottish National Antarctic Expedition, then, would make a great point of marine exploration, especially in the far south Atlantic; but it has also its own particular design on the great ice plateau. This is perhaps the boldest of any yet mooted—nothing less ambitious than a journey right across the continent, from the base in Coats Land, over the Polar area, to the Ross Sea on the side of either King Edward Land or Victoria Land, Scott's

and my own starting-point. The advantage of an attack from the Atlantic side is unmistakable. It is possible, as Bruce thinks, that the greatest mass of Antarctica lies here; and every step into the interior from the coast of Coats Land will be a step into absolutely unknown territory. It will test the problem of the mountain ranges named above and the character of the ice-fields of which Bruce believes that that on the Atlantic side has a gentler slope than that up which we struggled from McMurdo Sound. Even if only partly successful, it would supplement in a very valuable way the surveys on which at this moment Scott is engaged. At the worst, it may clear up the question whether Coats Land is joined to Graham Land and Enderby Land; and it may do something to justify Bruce's prediction that observations, past and future, carried on in Coats Land, along with those in South America and South Africa, will presently make possible the forecasting of the conditions of the monsoons in India, and so help to alleviate suffering among the millions of our great dependency.

At the same time, while I am loath to utter a single discouraging word, the difficulties of this plan are so great that, were it not for Bruce's known ability, pluck, and coolness, it would hardly deserve serious consideration. In the first place, the base chosen is some three hundred miles further from the Pole than Scott's and my own. When it is recalled that, under fairly good conditions, the *Nimrod* party could not manage the last hundred miles (counting 200 " on a division," as they would say at Westminster), the chances of doing an extra 300 miles, even on a slighter slope, are seen to be problematical. Also, it is rather remarkable that, in the 150 miles of the coast of Coats Land discovered and mapped by the *Scotia* in 1904, although the interior did not look alarming from shipboard, not a single suitable landing-place was found. This coast, in fact, like that which Charcot has lately explored (in spite of a torn keel), is very much more difficult and dangerous than the Ross Sea.

I may be asked of what material use are these costly expeditions; since so multifarious are the requirements in the modern explorer, so high is the standard set, his equipment is admittedly more expensive than of old, a well-found Polar expedition now costing, on an average, about £50,000. A reply in business terms to this question would, however,

necessarily omit the most important considerations, just because the objective is an incalculable quantity. Nobody knows, or can even guess, at the value of the secrets the ice-world has yet to yield to science. Dr. Mawson thinks he may find unsuspected mineral wealth in Antarctica. I hardly share his hopes; but he is right to wish to put them to the test. If a narrow utilitarianism had ruled over adventurous youth, what a poor thing human history would be, what riches would be lacking in our life to-day. Nor do I believe that the larger-minded of business men to whom explorers have to appeal will ever take such a short-sighted view. Most of them must realize how large a part the unknown and unexpected have played in their own careers and fortunes. They know that the routine temper that scorns the speculative and the undiscovered is forever shut out from the most magnificent possibilities of constructive business. If every laboratory in industrial England were to be tried by its immediate cash return, we might begin to fear for the future of our land. Here is the point at which faith and science join hands. "Nature abhors a vacuum," and no less does the human mind, if it be worthy of its kingdom, abhor the idea of leaving any part of the earth uncharted and untamed.

I will allude to only one of these possibilities, one that, if it cannot excite individual cupidity, should appeal to the imagination of good citizens who may, if they will, move governments to the adequate endowment of research. Meteorology is hardly a half-century old as a science; and so many factors in weather prediction are still unknown that the man in the street chiefly sees this subject as a matter of jokes. At sea and in the country-side, it is otherwise. A storm may mean death to the sailor; a blizzard means ruin to the farmer. In either case, and it is to be multiplied by millions, to be forewarned would be to be forearmed. Toward this forewarning, the Poles have certainly a great contribution to make. Imagine an India relieved of the dread of famine! Of all the great men of the future, the now despised Clerk of the Weather will assuredly be one of the most honored and powerful.

Enough has been said to show that, particularly in the Antarctic, the British pioneers named deserve the most generous support, public and private, and, indeed, that our national honor is engaged in their cause. It is evident, too,

that there is work enough for all the hands so far turned to the extreme south, and that there need be no jealousy, but only the most friendly rivalry, among Englishmen, Scots, Australians, Germans, and Norwegians.

But it is not, by any means, only in the Polar regions that tasks await the explorer worthy of his best nerve and skill. Without attempting anything like a full list, some of these may be referred to for the benefit of any who think that the book of geographical adventure is closed. In northern Canada there is still much new ground to break, with rich prizes for the hunter and miner; central Labrador is practically untrodden, and though Greenland has been crossed the interior is little known. The long northern coast-line of Russia and its frozen hinterland are unvisited except by the nomad natives, though the commercial advantage of sea communications with the great rivers running northward through Siberia has long been recognized. A quarter of a century has passed since Captain Wiggins navigated the *Phœnix* across the Kara Sea and up the Yenisei to the city of Yeniseisk; but the promise of opening out a regular Arctic route for the conveyance of Siberian butter and other produce to the London market has hardly been fulfilled. This is rather a question of navigation than of exploration proper; but throughout the north and east of the Tsar's Asiatic dominions there is still much occupation for the explorer as well as for the pioneer of trade. This is no less true of Russian Central Asia, where many historical and archæological problems also remain to be investigated. The opening-up of Thibet and the borderlands of India and China will yet be a long and slow process; and the mapping of northern China is far from complete. A British expedition is, I believe, at this moment engaged upon most interesting researches in western Mongolia, a region as to which English readers have so far practically no information. Starting from the Upper Yenisei, whose curious inhabitants have not been seriously studied, it was to cross southward into what was the cradle of the ancient Tartar Empire, virgin soil (or sand) to the scientific investigator, then to penetrate through 800 unsurveyed miles of the Gobi desert, and so to reach Pekin.

New Guinea, an island as large as Great Britain whose wild mountains and forests are still mostly closed to their nominal Dutch, British, and German owners, has been the

objective of several expeditions during the last few years. The results of the British party's exploration of the snow range of the western or Dutch end of the island are most important. This party contended with great difficulties with certain natives of the interior. These, it appears, carry on warfare with their coast neighbors chiefly for the purpose of capturing women, who are scarce. Scattered groups of pygmies—the men only averaging 4 feet 6 inches in height—were also found. Mr. Goodfellow was the first leader of the expedition, but was invalided home. Captain Rawlings took his place and the brunt of the work fell on him, Mr. Wollaston, and my old comrade, Dr. Eric Marshall. The splendid collections brought home—ethnological, ornithological, and so forth, with copious notes—and the accurate maps produced make them deserving of wide-spread recognition for what they have accomplished in the face of enormous difficulties.

The "partition of Africa" leaves nothing quite unexplored of what, until the other day, we used to call "the Dark Continent," except a few desert and mountain fastnesses. Sir Harry Johnston says:

> "In all probability no human tribe, no new mammal, bird, reptile, or fresh-water fish of importance or striking novelty will be discovered in further investigations. But we may expect many startling revelations in the ancient history of African men and beasts by the digging up of fossil or archæological remains. In fact, the scientific study of Africa, past and present, is only just commencing."

Native customs and organization present one vast field of study; another lies in the alarming spread of sleeping sickness and other deadly diseases in the wake of the European interloper. In cutting the Panama Canal, the Americans have shown that a stronghold of fever, by a few years' efforts, may be cleaned out and made quite a healthy region. Too often the explorer has brought death instead of life in his train.

Almost every kind of geographical research is urgently called for from one end to the other of South America. Though larger than Europe, this continent has only about a tenth of its population, and extensive tracts have hardly even been traversed. Costa Rica has unexploited gold-fields and other mineral wealth guarded by dense forests and precipitous mountains. The three giant rivers—the Amazon, Orinoco, and La Plata—drain millions of miles of riotously

rich land, much of which is familiar only to obscure native tribes. The vagueness of frontiers, for instance, between Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru has recently led to mischievous quarreling; but, if this could be measured in monetary cost, it would be a small matter as compared with the waste of economic opportunity. The scarcity of rubber has here given a notable stimulus to the work of discovery; but there are chances enough left for a generation of adventurers, provided they are " salted " to equatorial conditions, with no doubt about the reward, scientific or commercial. Sir Clements Markham has lately pointed out that " there is a vast tract in Colombia and Venezuela, bounded on the west by the slopes of the Cordilleras, on the east by the Orinoco and Rio Negro, on the north by the river Meta, and on the south by the Vaupes and Japura, which is practically unknown." Of the southern frontier of Colombia and much of the upper Amazon, the same thing may be said. A commission has been engaged for some time mapping parts of the interior of Peru. The exploits of Whymper and Conway have by no means laid bare all the mysteries of the Andes; and, though southern Chile has discovered the immense possibilities of sheep-farming, King Frost still defends many of the secrets of wild Patagonia. It is calculated that no less than six hundred millions of British money are invested in South America, where population is constantly flowing in from the Old World and Governments are slowly taking on a more stable character. It has not been, and cannot be, calculated by how many thousands of millions the human race will be enriched when the energies and skill of modern engineers, agriculturists, and traders are seriously bent to the exploitation of these too-long neglected estates.

Finally, the exploration of the submarine world is only just begun. Worse still, it may, I fear, be safely said that all the work of our modern oceanographers—of Sir John Murray of *Challenger* fame, Dr. Hjort of the *Michael Sars,* Prince Albert of Monaco, and of the various marine biological stations—has won less of public attention and interest than did a single one of Jules Verne's heroes, Captain Nemo of the *Nautilus.* Thus does a good tale overshadow the romance of real life, with all its potency of solid advantage, for it is one of the cheapest of fallacies that men are always governed by self-interest. But interest does tell in

the long run; and some day a statesman will arise who has eyes to perceive that, if we would only take pains to farm the sea with a hundredth part of the energy we give to farming the land, there is food enough going a-begging there to nourish a nation.

Exploration, then, will not be played out in our time. Its methods and objectives change. It becomes more scientific and a little less adventurous, more intensive and less extensive. It goes back over old tracks. Men thought that the main facts of the ancient Mediterranean civilizations were known; but when the international war-ships took possession of Crete, Dr. Arthur Evans was enabled to commence diggings which resulted in the unveiling of the totally lost marvels of the Minoan age, the precursor of classic Greece. All over the world great tasks of discovery await accomplishment, some sensational, some merely useful, some chiefly challenging the scientist, some the financier and trader. The opening up of new lands in America and Africa and new markets in Asia is probably the largest of all the factors in the rapid increase of wealth and comfort during the last half century. That great chapter in human history is yet far from being closed; it has much that is strange to reveal, and much of benefit and beauty.

ERNEST SHACKLETON.

# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE LIFE OF JOHN RUSKIN. By E. T. COOK. 2 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

IF one is looking for a personal biography in this life, he may well feel disappointment. Ruskin, though the son, as he himself says, "of an entirely honest merchant," was by nature and by nurture an aristocrat of the aristocrats. He was independent and careless of public opinion, and many of the most intimate affairs of his life remain as shrouded in mystery when one has closed these two large volumes as before opening them. No light whatsoever is thrown upon his unhappy marriage. Beyond the date of the marriage and one or two perfunctory references to it in private letters, the biography hardly touches the subject. The final crisis is treated as casually as any familiar daily incident might be treated. "In the same month" (as the publication of Ruskin's lectures on *Architecture and Painting,* April, 1854) "his wife left him. She returned to her parents and immediately instituted a suit. Ruskin declined to put in any answer, and went abroad. The marriage was annulled on July 15th, and a year later, on July 3, 1855, Euphemia Chalmers Gray was married at Bowerswell to Millais." If the biographer had been noting that on such and such a date his subject invested in new boots or took a day's jaunt to Margate for his health, the matter could not have been treated with more nonchalance. The desire to know why a great man's wife leaves him is not all vulgar curiosity. It is a part of the general make-up of a character and a talent, and is vital to adequate understanding.

Ruskin, however, was not only a genius, and a petted and spoiled one, but to the end of his days he lacked the quality which "lives and lets live." He wanted to keep every one's house, tidy up the whole universe, and straighten out the morals of all his friends and acquaintances into the bargain. He was never happier than when little girls or young ladies or workingmen's clubs wrote him for advice, and he could dilate at length upon all the rules and routine of existence. He was an inspired prophet and an eloquent "scold." In one of his letters to C. E. Norton he complains of his inability to draw the clouds because the Creator *will* fan them His own way. He often seemed like a worried housekeeper. But with all this, we draw from the volume the picture of the great, troubled giant wrestling with his thoughts, striving ever after greater and greater nobility of work and life, and never wholly free from the full sense of its terror, mystery, turmoil, responsibility.

There are delightful pictures given of Ruskin's wholly noble and generous relations with Rossetti, and no more instructive picture could one come at of the intrinsic differences of the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon

characteristics. Ruskin began with the most gentle and considerate attempts to relieve Rossetti's financial difficulties by suggesting that he buy within a certain range of prices, and we may add a very generous range, whatever Rossetti painted or drew for which there were no other immediate purchasers. This benefit was followed by one to Miss Siddall, Rossetti's fiancée, in the form of funds for a winter abroad, having first sent her, at his expense, to his own physician and settled upon her an income of £150 a year, as payment for sketches which she was from time to time to deliver to him. Despite unremitting service, the friendship with Rossetti dwindled after his wife's death. "He was really," writes Ruskin of Rossetti, "not an Englishman, but a great Italian tormented in the Inferno of England, doing the best he could; but the could shortened by the strength of his animal passions without any trained control or guiding faith."

Rossetti was, indeed, a Latin, straining at the leash of personal liberty; eager above all for freedom; Ruskin was an Anglo-Saxon breaking heart and health in his effort to reduce the world to a precise and neat orderliness.

An amusing picture is given by Meredith of the house in Cheyne Row which Rossetti inhabited. Meredith having irresponsibly agreed to occupy an apartment there, called one morning just after noon to inspect his apartments. "Rossetti had not yet risen, though it was an exquisite day. On the breakfast table on a huge dish rested five thick slabs of bacon, upon which five rigid eggs had slowly bled to death. Presently Rossetti appeared in his dressing-gown with slippers down at the heel, and devoured the repast like an ogre." One can easily fancy the discomfort of Meredith, superciliously dainty, and Ruskin, accustomed to the precision of a well-ordered English house with footmen, valets, butlers, and old-time retainers, at any such slipshod mode of life. Moreover, Ruskin, though fond of animals in his own way—of cats because they were domestic, of dogs because they were obedient, of sheep because they were gentle—would hardly have taken kindly to the riotous companionship of the menagerie kept in Rossetti's small city garden, a menagerie which included owls, rabbits, dormice, hedgehogs, a woodchuck, a marmot, a kangaroo, wallabies, a deer, armadilloes, a raccoon, a raven, a parrot, chameleons, lizards, salamanders, a laughing jackass, a zebra, wombats, and at one time a bull!

Much of Ruskin's casual and familiar criticism of the writers and painters of the day comes out in the letters quoted in these volumes, and, in the main, one marvels at the way Ruskin forecast or pointed out the taste of the future. One curious error, however, was his criticism of Christina Rossetti's manuscript poems, submitted by her brother. There can hardly be to-day two opinions as to who was the most perfect artist in words of all that great generation of writers. Even Tennyson, perhaps because the bulk of his work is so much greater, can hardly compete with Christina Rossetti for flawless artistry. Yet upon a first reading of her poems Ruskin writes to Gabriel: "They are full of beauty and power. But no publisher—I am grieved to know this—would take them, so full are they of quaintness and *offences. (sic!)* Irregular measure (introduced, to my great regret, in its chief wilfulness, by Coleridge), is the calamity of modern poetry! Your sister should exercise herself in the severest

commonplace of meter until she can write as the public likes. Then if she puts in her observation and passion all will become precious. But she must have the Form first."

If ever a compendious Enchiridion of Victorian Criticism were published this would be as quaint a bit of misunderstanding as one could well come at. Ruskin's criticisms were unparalleled in their freedom from personal bias. In the years immediately following Millais's marriage with Ruskin's quondam wife, the critic continued to heap highest praise upon his rival's pictures. On one occasion when Ruskin felt called upon to abuse and demolish the work of a friend, he wrote a note to that friend explaining, with naïve innocence of human nature, that although he felt called upon to write as he did of the work, he hoped nothing would interfere with the continuance of a friendship which—etc., etc.; to which the irate painter replied that when he next met his critic he should give him a sound thrashing, but he hoped that a broken head would in no wise interfere with a friendship which—etc., etc.

To the end Ruskin remained strangely unworldly and innocent of human passions and resentments. He writes in despair to Rossetti: "I don't say you do wrong, because you don't seem to know what *is* wrong, but you just do whatever you like as far as possible—as puppies and tomtits do."

Ruskin's was a rich and full life, a vital part of the history of literature and development of art and taste in the Victorian Era. It was a sad life, dropping, as the years passed, into deeper and deeper gloom. At the close of the first volume the biographer says: "He was yet to know the fire of unfulfilled love and the cold of departing faith. He was to experience the bitterness of seeming failure; and his gifts of mind and heart were to die before his death. In the end, perhaps, he was to reach, as prophet, a reputation higher than was now his as writer; but it was to be mixed with gray leaf and thorn-set stem; no fastening of diadem but with such sharp embroidery."

It was a sad life but not a sordid one, and perhaps no sadness, unsmeared by sordidness, counts as waste. This biography is at once the fullest and most valuable that has yet appeared. It illustrates Ruskin's life by his work, and his work by his life. The interesting parallel between Ruskin's ideals and Tolstoi's might indeed have been pushed farther with good effect.

The author says of Ruskin that he dealt "with art not for art's sake, but art in relation to life; art as the expression of individual and national character; life without industry as guilt; but industry without art as brutality." Beauty in a world governed by social justice is the idea implied in all Ruskin's books.

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ROBERT E. LEE: MAN AND SOLDIER. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.

With the single exception of Mr. Lincoln, who seems to be destined to be written up as minutely and voluminously as Napoleon, not one of the principal actors in the Civil War has found so many biographers as General Lee. It is only natural that the career of the Southern commander-in-chief should possess the same fascination for the Southern mind

that the martyred President's possesses for the Northern, since the two men typified whatever was highest and best in their respective causes. Lee has the additional charm, from the Southern point of view, of having won the most memorable successes for a cause that failed abysmally in the end; and as offering, in his character and conduct, a silent refutation of the extravagant charges of the extreme Abolitionists as to the demoralizing influence of the institution of slavery upon all brought within its pale, charges to which the Southern people were always highly sensitive.

A new biography of a great soldier and an upright man like General Lee will always attract attention, but for it to have any permanent value, it must, in the light of the many excellent biographies of him by contemporaries already in existence, be able to stand successfully at least one of these three tests: It should be either a concise but comprehensive narrative of his career, modeled on Southey's *Nelson,* for popular use; or an exhaustive biography of large proportions, like Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson,* that contributes a great amount of very valuable new information to further illuminate the subject; or an acute critical study, like Ropes's *Story of the Civil War.*

The most recent addition to the lives of General Lee is from the pen of the distinguished Southern novelist, Thomas Nelson Page. In spite of the literary charm which all his writings possess, his last work cannot be said to come broadly and clearly within any of the three categories which have been mentioned. None of the three tests can therefore be successfully applied to it.

In the first place, it is a volume of some 734 pages, and while uncommonly graphic and vivid in style, well digested in substance, and ardently sympathetic in its point of view, it is frequently diffuse, occasionally desultory, and sometimes slovenly, a fault further accentuated by numerous typographical errors. Neither by brevity (when the length of the book is considered), nor by conciseness of statement, nor by comprehensiveness of treatment, can Mr. Page's volume, in spite of exceptional merits as a narrative, be regarded as adapted to become a handy and convenient work for general use.

On the other hand, although a voluminous production, Mr. Page himself expressly disclaims having made any addition to the sum of our existing knowledge of the character and career of General Lee. The authorities used appear to be restricted to those already well known to the students of his life. There is no indication of any research among documents or papers which had previously escaped the attention of biographers.

Mr. Page's personal recollections of the war were not such as by themselves to qualify him to pass a weighty judgment on General Lee's campaigns. Indeed, he modestly questions his competency to become an independent critic of these campaigns from a purely military standpoint; and he contents himself with presenting the views which have already been advanced by Ropes, Henderson, Allen, Humphreys, and Bigelow.

What, then, is the *raison d'être* for a volume which, although always delightfully and often eloquently written, contains a virtual acknowledgment that it is chiefly a restatement of well-known facts, and, in considerable measure, a synopsis of other writers' conclusions? The reason for its composition seems to have been that Mr. Page was strongly of the impression that the North had not yet been informed of a point that would

compel it to do complete justice to the character of Lee as a man, and to his greatness as a soldier. As a Southern writer who possessed a large circle of readers in the Northern States, Mr. Page was justly of the opinion that he was in a position of advantage to remove these prejudices, and to impart knowledge where there was before supposedly only dense ignorance. This work is, therefore, really at bottom a strong appeal to the Northern people to reconsider the facts of General Lee's life and the spirit which governed his conduct, so that they may obtain a more correct and sympathetic view of their greatest opponent in the Civil War. Such an appeal all Northerners can understand, and it is one which few of them will fail to respond to.

As time has steadily dissipated the passions which survived the Civil War, the North has recognized the essential greatness and nobleness of General Lee with constantly increasing cordiality. Indeed, he is considered there now to have been a man of so much ability and merit that he does not really require to be treated quite so eulogistically as Mr. Page has treated him throughout this book. There are times when the author of this new biography suffers his fervor to carry him too far even from the Southern point of view. One effect of it is to cause him (apparently unconsciously to himself) to minimize comparatively the achievements of Stonewall Jackson, whom some Southern critics have regarded as General Lee's superior in military genius, and who was certainly Lee's only rival on the Southern side. In these pages, the hero of the Valley campaign does not seem to possess much more military initiative or talent than General Stuart or General A. P. Hill, two of Lee's ablest, most active, and most zealous lieutenants. The author shows a jealousy for General Lee's fame in connection with the real hero of Second Manassas and Chancellorsville which General Lee himself never exhibited, and, from his magnanimity, perhaps never even felt. Henderson was as much disposed to exalt Jackson as Mr. Page is to to exalt Lee, but he never, even by inference or imputation, depressed Lee as Mr. Page depresses Jackson at more than one place in his interesting volume. Jackson was something more than a mere lieutenant of his commander; and it is a convincing proof of his genius that, after his death, the Confederacy was never half so near its independence as it was before his fall. Second Manassas and Chancellorsville were both won by the audacity of his flank marches. No such flank march was ever undertaken by Lee after Jackson's death, although urged to do so at Gettysburg by Longstreet. It was only by such bold and aggressive movements that the smallest hope could be indulged of permanently crippling the Army of the Potomac. From Gettysburg down to Appomattox, Lee's attitude was purely defensive—aggressively defensive when the opportunity arose, but still defensive. The Confederate cause began to decline as soon as it ceased to be offensive. Lee, no doubt, perceived this only too clearly.

Mr. Page, like other biographers of Lee, complains that Mr. Davis was constantly hampering him in his military plans. There is much more reason to complain that Mr. Davis would have headed off all the efforts which General Lee would have made to bring about pacification had it been in his power to act on his own discretion. The letter from Lee to the Confederate President, quoted at length by Mr. Page in his account of the events which immediately preceded the battle of Gettysburg,

would seem to indicate that the writer at that time was in favor of peace even if the condition of obtaining it was the South's re-entrance into the Union. And he probably felt the same way after the Second Battle of Cold Harbor.

General Lee was never an advocate of secession; he was not bitter against the North even during the progress of the war; and he came again to be thoroughly national in spirit as soon as hostilities ended. At no time does he seem to have entertained sanguine hopes of final success; and as he was a very wise and practical man, there was probably not an hour after the Battle of Chancellorsville, when, had the issue been left to him, he would not have made peace with the North on the basis of reunion. He would have felt that the South had accomplished all that it could legitimately fight for had it secured such guarantees for its safety within the Union as no subsequent agitation could hope to break down. He was a Union man before the war began, and while thoroughly loyal to the South during the continuance of hostilities, he was not so passionately blind that he was ready, like Mr. Davis, to shut his eyes to all the portents of approaching destruction, and thus to court for his section of the country a ruin that would leave it at the mercy of the conquerors. Had he been political dictator as well as commander-in-chief, the upshot of the war for the South would have been different. There would have been no Appomattox, and no besom of Reconstruction.

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Life and Labors of Bishop Hare (Apostle to the Sioux). By M. A. de Wolf Howe. Sturgis and Walton Company. 1912.

As seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, shall not perish from off the earth, so heroism in human life is everlastingly recurrent. We may indeed live by our admirations. There are still men that can hold up their heads with those who fought with beasts at Ephesus, that are entitled to a place on the Christian Honor Roll of that fine eleventh chapter of Hebrews—men "who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness," of whom the world is not yet quite worthy. Hardship and toil, privation and danger, endured gladly in pure love of their fellows —this is the guerdon that still appeals to noble souls, and is a true offset to that "materialism" of which we hear so much.

Not only is honor due to Bishop Hare as a Christian teacher and great missionary—"Apostle to the Sioux," he was called—but equally to him as a citizen and public man. For such as he performed a twofold and interrelated service—he paved the way for civilization, law and order, on the one hand; as well as, in common parlance, "saved souls," on the other. His services to the government are quite as great as those to the Church. He was both missionary and pioneer, an instructor, and an exponent of the best that modern civilization shows. To speak generally, of the twenty thousand Sioux to whom Bishop Hare went out in 1873, and to whom he so faithfully ministered—after thirty years of labor, when illness forced him from his post, ten thousand were baptized members of the Episcopal Church, and *all* had been brought more or less under the best Christian influences. Schools for boys and girls had been established, and all agencies that lead to self-help and true citizenship were in full working order.

The Indian cannot be made over into a white man, nor is this desired or desirable; but he can be developed along his own best lines, and can be helped and encouraged to become an increasingly valuable man and citizen. This Bishop Hare early recognized, and shaped his course accordingly. The faith and hope, the courage and insight, that inspired and sustained him, are something to be laid to heart and never forgotten. Soldier of the Cross he was, but also a true patriot of our American Republic which, if it is to continue, must fuse its many nationalities into a reasonably homogeneous whole. And men are only molded and made one by their ideals. A noble ideal of Christianity and a noble ideal of citizenship are what Bishop Hare's life and labor stand for and express. His character presents just that fine combination of delicacy with strength, of flexibility and adaptability with definiteness of aim and firmness of purpose, which are necessary to the organizer and upbuilder.

> "Mortise us into the wall again,
> Or lift us up, lest we live in vain,"

sing the Stone Men and Women of Moody's *Fire-Bringer*. Bishop Hare was a true Fire-Bringer, and brought the live coal of spiritual life to a people, savage from our standpoint, yet with certain clear ideas of truth, honor, and obligation of their own—ideas that are the very bases of civilization, and without which no superstructure can be raised. Pioneer civilization is always defective; and, on our frontiers, the white man's civilization has been wretchedly misrepresented. Bishop Hare stood for truth, justice, and fair-dealing as between man and man, stood for forbearance and patience from the strong to the weak, as well as for all that his religious calling implies. He was not only the apostle, but the friend, and by consistently representing to the Indians the best of our civilization, he did an incalculable and lasting service to his government and his own race. He planted Christian thought and modern civilization among the Sioux—in so far as they were able to assimilate both—and when the outposts of civilization touched their reservation, a reasonably common life was possible between Indians and whites.

Our dealing with the Indian is the sorriest page of American history, but the long years of Bishop Hare's wonderful ministry go far to redeem the story. He loved to tell the anecdote of the Quaker who, being asked, "How shall we reach a full-blooded Indian?" replied, "By sending to him a full-blooded Christian." And the grandson of Bishop Hobart, of New York, who was distinguished for his missionary labors among the Oneidas and other tribes of the famous Six Nations—that grandson was surely a "full-blooded Christian."

In reading such a life as this, the comment is not infrequent: "Why take such a man for such work? Would not a less fine instrument have served as well? Why take the highest type of manhood, a Christian gentleman, one cultured and refined, sentient and responsive to the best in our modern life—and then let him devote over thirty years to missionary work in a remote corner of our land, among primitive men?" As these questions are suggested by the Life, so are they answered by it. Bishop Hare was the servant of the Lord of the fragments, who has commanded that all shall be gathered up, that nothing be lost. Then it is just a fine and complex instrument that is needed for the work he so suc-

cessfully performed. It requires subtilty and delicacy of imagination to enter into the life of primitive men, a deep sense of the essentials of humanity, a quick and penetrating eye to perceive likenesses behind seeming differences, an understanding heart to realize what is common to us all. Had Bishop Hare been less highly gifted, less finely furnished forth, he could not have done his work so well. For he dealt with immature civilization as represented by the Indians, and with defective civilization —salt that had lost its savor—as represented by the whites. The story of his struggle against the shameless divorce laws of South Dakota, and his leadership of the forces that made for right thinking and right living, with their ultimate triumph, are not the least interesting and instructive chapters of this interesting life. Bishop Hare has been happy in his biographer, and none can read the book without a deepened sense of the wonderful possibilities and great responsibilities of our American Republic.

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LOVE AND ETHICS. By ELLEN KEY. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1911.

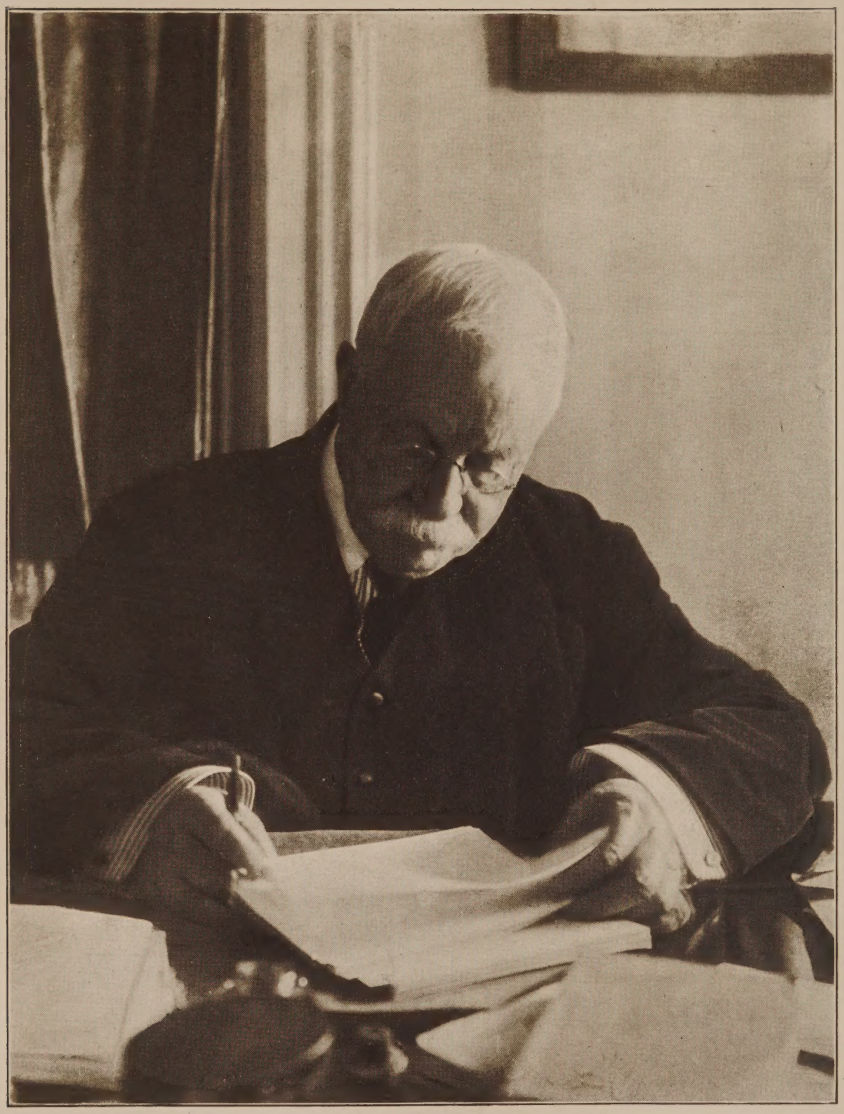
"No liberty, no virtue," was the motto that Shelley approved, and Ellen Key's little monograph, following her book on *Love and Marriage,* is a treatment of the same theme. Speaking of the present status of monogamic marriage and its concomitant, prostitution, she says: "The horrors of the present system are such that what we should do is compare them with the possible dangers of a new system and see which are to be more dreaded." The great question in her mind is how can we find a more efficient ethical code than the present one for improving the species. It is the hope of Ellen Key that some day we shall reach a point where the erotic discord between the soul and the senses physically and the discord between several persons psychically will be impossible. As the highest happiness can only be obtained through the larger feelings, psychologic necessity will exclude the smaller ones.

The whole book is a plea for a nobler and a freer type of love, a worthier marriage. The author speaks of women as the creator of men and of souls. It is a mistake to think the mother creates the child any more than the father. But she is quite right when she adds: "To fulfil these tasks properly women require the same human rights as men, and until they have obtained these rights feminism has still all its work before it."

One of the winged words of the little volume that cannot be sounded too oft in American ears is, "It is not utilities, but complete human beings, that elevate life."

"A more perfect race means a more soulful race, a more soulful race a race having greater capacity for love."

There is always a question in many minds as to whether a certain amount of suffering is not a condition of growth. But there may come a time, as Ellen Key hopes, when self-discipline and aspiration may be as cruel forms as are necessary of suffering. "The one necessary thing," she says, "is to make ever greater demands upon the men and women who take to themselves the right to give humanity new beings."



W. D. Howells.

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# THE UNWRITTEN LAW AND THE "GREAT EMERGENCY"

BY THE EDITOR

THE convention of delegates designated by the various States to formulate a Federal Constitution met in Philadelphia on May 25, 1787. The first momentous question to arise related to the appointment or election of a Chief Executive. Three plans were proposed—to wit:

"Election by the people.

"Appointment by electors chosen by the people or by the State Legislatures.

"Election by the National Legislature or by the Senate."

True to his inclinations in favor of a strong centralized government, Alexander Hamilton urged the election of Senators for life and the appointment by the Senators so chosen of an Executive for life. A limitation of the Executive's term to seven years he opposed upon the ground that—

"He would be ambitious, with the means of making creatures; and as the object of his ambition would be to *prolong* his power, it is probable that in case of a war he would avail himself of the emergence to evade or refuse a degradation from his place."

To this Benjamin Franklin responded, as reported in the Debates:

"It seems to have been imagined by some that the returning to the mass of the people was degrading to the magistrate. This [he thought]

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was contrary to republican principles. In free governments the rulers are the servants, and the people their superiors and sovereigns. For the former therefore to return among the latter was not to *degrade* but to *promote* them—and it would be imposing an unreasonable burden on them to keep them always in a state of servitude, and not allow them to become again one of the masters."

The Franklin view was sustained immediately by a vote of seven to three, and no more was heard of the proposal to give the Executive a life tenure of office.

Direct election by the people was discarded upon the ground that this method would give the more populous States a preponderance of influence.

On the 17th of July, after weeks of debate, the Convention voted unanimously that the Executive be chosen by the Legislature for a term of seven years. It was also decreed by a vote of six to four that he be re-eligible. On the 26th of July that decision was reversed by a vote of seven to five, and the article went to the Committee on Detail and was subsequently reported back in these words:

"The executive power of the United States shall be vested in a single person. His style shall be 'President of the United States,' and his title shall be 'His Excellency.' He shall be elected by ballot by the Legislature. He shall hold his office during a term of seven years; but shall not be elected a second time."

Meanwhile a strong sentiment had developed against making the Executive an appointee and virtual dependent of the Legislature, and the whole subject was referred to a special Committee of Eleven, which on September 4th reported the Electoral College system which, with few alterations, was finally adopted. The term of the Executive was fixed at four years and no restriction was made respecting re-eligibility. The issue was joined promptly. On September 6th—

"Mr. Spaight and Mr. Williamson moved to insert 'seven' instead of 'four' years for the term of President."

Then follows this significant declaration:

"[An ineligibility would have followed this prolongation of the term.]"

The motion was lost by a vote of eight to three, Virginia supporting the amendment—a circumstance confirming the assertions of Judge Jeremiah S. Black, made in 1880, that "Washington and Madison acted throughout the session of

the Convention in steady opposition to unlimited re-elections" and that "to this conviction all their conduct was faithful afterward as well as before."

The outcome was in effect a compromise. The Convention repudiated continuous re-elections when it rejected the Hamilton proposal, but refused to decree ineligibility for a second term upon the ground that faithful service should entitle a President to the approbation implied by re-election. In order, however, to conform to the general opinion with respect to length of service, the term was reduced to four years, thus making two terms the virtual equivalent of one term of seven years. Further than that it was not practicable to go. After all, the main point had been gained. The Executive had been freed from the dominance of either the Senate or the Congress and had been constituted as the direct representative and spokesman, not of an oligarchy, but of the people themselves, who in the ultimate must and should be intrusted with the power to act rightly even when not bound by express legal obligation. Moreover, it was a certainty that the first Chief Magistrate would be George Washington, whose patriotism so far surpassed his ambition that he was sure to set an example from which any successor would depart at his peril.

Thomas Jefferson, then in France as the envoy of his country, recognized both the actual danger and the expediency of acquiescence, as evidenced by his letters home:

"*To George Washington, under date of May 2, 1788:*

"I had intended to have written a word to your Excellency on the subject of the new Constitution, but I have already spun out my letter to an immoderate length. I will just observe therefore that according to my ideas there is a great deal of good in it. There are two things however which I dislike strongly. 1. The want of a bill of rights. I am in hopes the opposition of Virginia will remedy this, and produce such a declaration. 2. The perpetual re-eligibility of the President. This I fear will make an office for life first, and then hereditary. I was much an enemy to monarchy before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil known in these countries which may not be traced to their king as its source, nor a good which is not derived from the small fibres of republicanism existing among them. I can further say with safety there is not a crowned head in Europe whose talents or merit would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America. However I shall hope that before there is danger of this change taking place in the office of President, the good sense and free spirit of our countrymen will make the changes necessary to prevent it. Under this hope I look forward to the

general adoption of the new Constitution with anxiety, as necessary for us under our present circumstances."

"*To Edward Carrington, May 27, 1788:*

"Re-eligibility makes him (the President) an officer for life, and the disasters inseparable from an elective monarchy render it preferable, if we cannot tread back that step, that we should go forward and take refuge in an hereditary one. . . . Our jealousy is only put to sleep by the unlimited confidence we all repose in the person to whom we all look as our President. After him inferior characters may perhaps succeed and awaken us to the danger which his merit has led us into. For the present, however, the general adoption is to be prayed for."

"*To Francis Hopkinson, March 13, 1789:*

"Since the thing (re-eligibility) is established, I would wish it not to be altered during the life of our great leader, whose executive talents are superior to those I believe of any man in the world, and who alone by the authority of his name and the confidence reposed in his perfect integrity is fully qualified to put the new government so under way as to secure it against the efforts of the opposition. But having derived from one error all the good there was in it, I hope we shall correct it the moment we can no longer have the same name at the helm."

"*To David Humphreys, March 18, 1789:*

". . . And should the majority change their opinion and become sensible that this trait in their Constitution is wrong, I would wish it to remain uncorrected, as long as we can avail ourselves of the services of our great leader, whose talents and whose weight of character I consider as peculiarly essential to get the government so under way as that it may afterwards be carried on by subordinate characters."

Great men were the Fathers of the Republic—great in their unselfishness and in their patriotism. At the very moment when uttering these sentiments from a troubled heart, Jefferson might with full warrant have been looking forward to his own elevation to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, whose Declaration of Independence was *his* declaration. But here breathes the spirit of reconciliation, not in resentment of the probable thwarting of personal ambition, but in apprehension of danger to popular sovereignty—of reconciliation to the life tenure in office of the "great leader," but of no successor. And his was the thought of the country. Implicit and universal was the faith that Washington would rise to the occasion with the serenity and power of exalted character. How completely this confidence was justified is evidenced by the event.

The crowning glory of George Washington was renunciation. Twice he had been chosen unanimously to serve as President of the new Republic. A third election required

only his silent acquiescence. Abroad he was regarded as a Chief Magistrate installed for life—a constitutional king in all but name. Democracy meant no more than the familiar dominance of a ruler and a class in a new form. Government by the people continued to be a myth. Revolution had only severed political ties. The substance of control such as held the nations of Europe was to be perpetuated on the Western hemisphere.. Monarchs breathed more freely; aristocracy sneered. Then came, like a bolt from the blue, the declaration from George Washington that, at the expiration of his second term, he should return to private life. It was a calm and measured averment, but definite and final. None questioned the President's sincerity; none dreamed of suggesting reconsideration upon public or patriotic grounds in time of alleged need. Washington embodied Truth. His were words of probity and fidelity. And his act signalized the confirmation in fact of the profession which had been advanced in theory of the perpetuation, no less than the mere establishment, of popular sovereignty. It was a notification to all the world of the actual beginning of the greatest experiment in government ever known, of the experiment which has conserved the liberties, the prosperity, and the happiness of a population already increased thirtyfold, which has driven arbitrary rule out of the Western hemisphere and which has cut the foundations from under the tottering thrones of Europe.

Detractors have urged that, because he used simple words in announcing his retirement, Washington withdrew from public life for the sole purpose of gratifying his personal inclination. Had he then so soon forgot the admonitions of Jefferson and Madison and his own steadfast opposition to continuous occupancy of the Presidential office? How was his act regarded at the time?

On September 17, 1796, Washington published to his "friends and fellow-citizens" that Farewell Address, of which the historian Henry Cabot Lodge says: "Every word was instinct with the wisest and purest patriotism." After "declining to be considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made" for President at the next election, he said:

"I beg you at the same time to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relations which bind a dutiful citizen

to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both."

Did the people or the Houses of Congress construe this as a mere expression of a wish to retire to Mount Vernon? Let us see! On December 10th the Senate voted "an address to George Washington, President of the United States," recounting his invaluable services and closing with these words:

"The most effectual consolation that can offer for the loss we are about to sustain arises from the animating reflection that *the influence of your example will extend to your successors*, and the United States thus continue to enjoy an able, upright, and energetic administration."

And the House of Representatives on December 15th:

"For our country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish *that your example may be the guide of your successors*, and thus, after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age, become *the patrimony of our descendants.*"

Both addresses were voted unanimously. The great precedent was made by the most illustrious man of his age and ratified irrevocably without dissenting voice by the chosen representatives of all the States and all the people.

Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as President in 1801 and was re-elected. When the date of the expiration of his second term drew near his party was in full control and Jefferson himself was at the height of his powers, mental and physical, as evidenced by the fact that he lived and studied and wrote for nineteen years thereafter. Nevertheless, when besought by the Legislature of Vermont to accept a third term, he replied, under date of December 10, 1807, as follows:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or *supplied by practice*, his office, nominally for years, will in fact become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government responsible at short periods of election is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding *the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor*, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office."

Despite the great popularity of Jefferson and the well-nigh universal belief that his knowledge and experience constituted an equipment surpassing that possessed by any other, his resolution met with general approval. Speaking to the citizens of Philadelphia on February 3, 1808, he said:

"Your approbation of the motives for my retirement from the station so long confided to me is confirmation of their correctness. In no office can rotation be more expedient."

Again to the citizens of Wilmington on February 10th:

"It is a consolation to know that the motives for my retirement are approved; and although I withdraw from public functions I shall continue an anxious spectator of passing events, and offer to Heaven my constant prayers for the preservation of our republic, and especially of those its best principles which secure to all its citizens a perfect equality of rights."

Many years later, writing as the venerable sage of Monticello, he emphasized the increased strength of his conviction in his autobiography with notable explicitness thus:

"My wish was that the President should be elected for seven years and be ineligible afterward. But the practice adopted, I think, is better, *allowing his continuance for eight years, with a liability to be dropped at half-way of the term,* making that a period of probation. . . . Though this amendment has not been made in form, yet practice seems to have established it. The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the form of precedent and usage; insomuch that *should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views.*"

The four Presidents to whom Jefferson referred were Washington, himself, Madison, and Monroe, the last of whom was so popular that but one electoral vote was cast against his re-election. Neither he nor Madison, however, even contemplated for a moment the breaking of the tradition which they considered had already become an inviolable edict.

Andrew Jackson, the next President who achieved re-election, was a stickler for forms in written law. From the beginning to near the end of his terms, in specific language, he urged upon Congress the enactment of a statute definitely forbidding a third election. His appeal was disregarded solely upon the ground that the effect of the established precedent was fully binding and that further action was

unnecessary. In this judgment Jackson finally acquiesced and in his last annual message he did not revert to the subject. That he abandoned the idea of definite prohibition with reluctance, however, and that he still viewed technical re-eligibility with apprehension is indicated by the solemn warning contained in his Farewell Address—to wit:

"You have no longer any cause to fear danger from abroad; your strength and power are well known throughout the civilized world, as well as the high and gallant bearing of your sons. It is from within, among yourselves—from cupidity, from corruption, from disappointed ambition and *inordinate thirst for power*—that factions will be formed and liberty endangered. It is against such designs, whatever disguise the actors may assume, that you have especially to guard yourselves."

The first attempt to break the rule thus established was made in 1875. Grant's second administration was drawing to a close, and the masterful clique which surrounded him and practically controlled his acts disclosed a purpose to obtain for their chief a third term. Instantly a storm of protestations arose and was crystallized finally in the following resolution adopted by the House of Representatives on December 15, 1875:

"*Resolved,* That in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the Presidential office after their second term has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom will be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The vote was nearly unanimous—233 to 18—and was so strongly endorsed by the country that the schemers abandoned their project.

Four years later the attempt was renewed with great vigor. Grant's popularity had been enhanced materially by his receptions abroad; the difficulty of retaining the power which had been held only by chicanery in 1876 was uppermost in the minds of Republicans; and Roscoe Conkling was at the height of his fame and dominance. The issue was joined upon the insistence that the rule applied only to *consecutive* terms—a plea then entered for the first time, obviously to fit the case. Despite the common belief that only Grant could save their party from defeat, thousands of patriotic Republicans united in a determined effort to maintain the ancient tradition in its full integrity. Already the Republicans of New York, in convention assembled, had

declared their "unalterable opposition to the election of any President for a third term." The Republicans of Massachusetts had resolved:

"That sound reason as well as the wise and unbroken usage of the republic, illustrated by the example of Washington, requires that the tenure of the Chief Magistracy of the United States shall not exceed a second term."

The Republicans of Pennsylvania had recorded:

"That we declare a firm and unqualified adherence to the unwritten law of the republic, which wisely and under the sanction of the most venerable of examples limits the Presidential service of any citizen to two terms; and we, the Republicans of Pennsylvania, in recognition of this law, are unalterably opposed to the election to the Presidency of any person for a third term."

The Republicans of Kansas had pronounced judgment:

"That the unwritten law enacted by the example of the Father of his Country in declining a re-election to a third term is as controlling as though it was incorporated in the National Constitution, and ought never to be violated."

To supplement and emphasize these expressions a National Convention of Republicans opposed to a third term was held in St. Louis on May 6, 1880. The following preamble to appropriate resolutions was adopted unanimously:

"In pursuance of the demand, and representing the convictions of what we believe to be a majority of the Republican party throughout the Union, this convention of Republicans has assembled for the purpose of declaring those convictions with reference to the present aspect of political affairs. This action is necessary in view of the determined efforts to force upon the party the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency for a third term in defiance not only of the traditions of the government, but also of the solemn declarations of the Republican party through its conventions in the largest and controlling Republican States, reaffirmed by its representatives in the popular branch of Congress, and adopted by the entire party in the declarations of its latest Presidential candidate."

Subsequently, despite the tremendous forces brought into action on his behalf, Grant was rejected by the Republican convention, and the unwritten law, which had already been upheld by the unanimous vote of the Democrats in Congress, was now definitely and officially sustained by the Republican party.

President McKinley was inaugurated a second time on March 4, 1901. On June 10th of that year he made the following proclamation directly to the people:

"I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made. I doubt whether I am called upon to give to it notice, but there are new questions of the gravest importance before the administration and the country, and their just consideration should not be prejudiced in the public mind by even the suspicion of the thought of a third term.

"In view, therefore, of the reiteration of the suggestion of it, I will now say, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that *I not only am not and will not be a candidate for a third term, but I would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered to me.*

"My only ambition is to serve through my second term to the acceptance of my countrymen, whose generous confidence I so deeply appreciate, and then with them to do my duty in the ranks of private citizenship.—WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

That, in conformity with the solemn pledge of his party made in 1880, President McKinley rejected the subterfuge of "non-consecutive" terms is clearly evidenced in his concluding sentence. That he regarded the tradition itself as binding he left no room for doubt. Immediately after the Cabinet council in which the President's announcement was discussed, Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith said:

"In taking this step President McKinley has not only followed his personal inclinations, but he is actuated by a deep sense of duty and by his belief in a principle of our institutions which he thinks absolute and unchangeable."

The statement of John D. Long, the Secretary of the Navy, was to the same effect:

"I am satisfied that personally he did not desire, nor would he have been willing to accept, a third term. After eight years of the burdens and responsibilities of office he looks forward to the relief of private life.

"As a matter of principle and conviction also he would not accept a third term, and he evidently felt it his duty to confirm the traditions of his country in this respect. This action of his, I believe, will do more than anything else can do to settle this question for all time."

Emulating his predecessor's example, President Roosevelt declared his fidelity to the established custom with characteristic promptitude. On the evening of the day on which he was re-elected, November 8, 1904, he issued this carefully phrased statement:

"On the fourth of March next I shall have served three and one-half years, and this three and one-half years constitute my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

Three years later—on December 11, 1907—he reiterated his declaration in these words:

"I have not changed and shall not change that decision thus announced."

This action upon the part of President Roosevelt was duly celebrated and heartily applauded in the ensuing Republican convention in 1908, when the Chairman, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, declared, with marked fervor:

"Nothing has added so much to his just fame as his persistent and irrevocable refusal to break the unwritten law of the Republic by accepting a nomination for a third term. By this act of self-abnegation he places his name and fame in the secure keeping of history by the side of that of the immortal Washington."

This completes the record of the great tradition which has been held inviolate for one hundred and sixteen years. Of the most sagacious commentators upon American institutions, De Tocqueville strongly urged its establishment and James Bryce pronounced its unbroken maintenance conclusive. In *The American Commonwealth,* Mr. Bryce says:

"Washington submitted to be re-elected in 1792. But when he had served this second term he absolutely refused to serve a third, urging the risk to republican institutions of suffering the same man to continue constantly in office. . . . In the Republican party convention of 1880 a powerful group of the delegates put forward Grant for nomination as the party candidate, alleging his special services as a ground for giving him the honor of a third term. Had there not been among the Republicans themselves a section personally hostile to Grant, or rather to those who surrounded him, the attempt might have succeeded, though it would probably have involved defeat at the polls. But this hostile section found the prepossession of the people against a third term so strong that, by appealing to the established tradition, they defeated the Grant men in the convention. This precedent has been taken as practically decisive for the future, because General Grant, though his administration had been marked by grave faults, was an exceptionally popular figure. A principle affirmed against him is not likely to be departed from in favor of any aspirant for many elections to come."

And yet Mr. Roosevelt is now an avowed candidate for a third term. The "act of self-abnegation," marked by his "persistent and irrevocable refusal to break the unwritten law of the Republic," thus "placing his name and fame in the secure keeping of history by the side of that of the immortal Washington," is repudiated and the beneficent consequences thereof are forfeited beyond recall. That fact of itself, since it bears merely upon the reputation for mental and moral integrity of an individual, is of comparatively little moment. But the basis of, or rather the pretext

for, the attempt to break down the established tradition is of vital importance. Mr. Roosevelt sets it forth in these words:

"My position is perfectly clear. I stated it as clearly as I could in 1904 and reiterated it in 1907. I said that I would not accept a nomination for a third term under any circumstances, meaning, of course, a third consecutive term.

"I could not have said less at the time, nor could I have said more. Of course I could not then know whether or not there would be a demand for me to accept a nomination at some future time. And believing as I do that the selection of candidates for the Presidency rests entirely with the people, I could not say that at no time in my life would I accept another nomination."

This is simply ridiculous. Surely Mr. Roosevelt could have said less; he need not have said anything. There was no public or private demand that he should declare his resolution. His utterance, in fact, evoked general surprise quite equal to the gratification which it afforded those who had professed faith in his fidelity to principle and law, written or unwritten, with regard no less to "substance" than to "form." How idle, moreover, to assert that he could not have said more! If it was his real intent to limit his renunciation to a third "consecutive" term, the addition of a single word would have made his meaning clear.

That Mr. Roosevelt "could not then know" whether or not there would be a demand for him to "accept a nomination at some future time" is obvious; so obvious indeed, that clearly he could not then have known whether such a demand might not arise at the end of his second term; in which case, "believing that the selection of candidates rests entirely with the people," would he have felt impelled to attribute yet another inconceivable spirit to the letter of his pledge? And why could not he say that at no time would he accept another nomination? No such embarrassment confronted Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, or McKinley, though no one of those defined his attitude with half the explicitness or emphasis employed by President Roosevelt.

Apologists assert that Mr. Roosevelt has merely "changed his mind" in conformity with his undoubted right. Not so Mr. Roosevelt himself! With redoubled vigor he insists that he is of the same opinion still—that opinion being, of course, not the opinion stated, but the opinion privately held for subsequent interpretation by himself.

But the tergiversations of a fantastic intellect sink into insignificance when contrasted with the theory upon which this apparent reversal of position is based. Mr. Roosevelt continues:

"It must be clear to any reasonable man that the precedent which forbids a third term has reference only to a third consecutive term. It grew out of the fact that a President of the United States under the present convention system of electing delegates, can, if he knows how to use the machinery at his disposal, renominate himself, even though the majority of his party is against him. But after he has been out of office for a term he has lost control of that machinery. He is in the position absolutely of any private citizen. The machinery is then in the hands of the man occupying the office of President."

On the contrary, "it must be clear" to any person familiar with our political history, or to any one who has read the foregoing record, that the precedent forbidding a third term bears no reference whatever to "the present convention system of electing delegates." The precedent was established by Washington in 1796, was recognized by both Houses of Congress, was confirmed by Jefferson, was accepted by Madison and Monroe, and was ratified with great positiveness by Jackson before a national convention was ever held or conceived of. Its purpose, plainly set forth, was to limit the duration of any man's service as President to eight years, "with a liability to be dropped at half-way of the term." None of these great Presidents ever contemplated the possibility of returning to his former position after a lapse of years in retirement. Each recognized "the wise custom" and adhered strictly to the determination tersely expressed by Mr. Roosevelt himself "not to be a candidate for or accept another nomination" at any time during the remainder of his life.

So much for Mr. Roosevelt's attempt to revive the nonconsecutive subterfuge, which was raised by the supporters of Grant and met its logical fate in the Republican convention of 1880.

We need not dwell longer upon the shuffling evasions and paltry excuses of Mr. Roosevelt. Far more important are the explanatory defenses of those of his supporters who are supposed to be more fully endowed with the sense of moral discrimination. One in particular must not pass unnoticed. A famous and revered teacher of religion, whose name shall find no place here in connection with the promulgation

of such a code, puts forth the following "homely illustration" of Mr. Roosevelt's ethical methods:

"When a man says at breakfast in the morning, 'No, thank you, I will not take any more coffee,' it does not mean that he will not take any more coffee to-morrow morning, or next week, or next month, or next year."

The imperfection of the analogy is apparent. Mr. Roosevelt was offered nothing, declined nothing. Clearly, since he had not yet even entered upon his second term, he was speaking not of the present, but of the future. Regard for the merest approach toward accuracy should have impelled his vindicator to present his homely and no less amazing illustration in words such as these:

"When a man says at breakfast in the morning, 'The wise custom which, in consideration of the public health, forbids one in my position to set a harmful example by partaking of more coffee, regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I seek or accept another cup.'"

Even so, however, there would remain for use in case of need the somewhat antiquated doctrine of mental reservation—obviously the only one which could justify to a teacher of morals a contrary interpretation of an explicit pledge. What the good divine would say to a man convicted of adultery who should plead, "Truly, I pledged fidelity, but that did not mean that I should be faithful the next day, the next week, or the next year," we cannot venture to imagine. Pertinent admonitions without number might be quoted from the Good Book, but adequate treatment of ethical perversion arising from a personal obsession would involve the application of principles of psychology to an extent far too painful, in the present deplorable instance, for contemplation.

But we are told that if a third term be considered pernicious, a like objection must apply to a second term. The answer, of course, is that *acceptance* of a second term and *rejection* of a third term are equally confirmed as rightful and proper by the usage of a century.

Why, we are asked, was not the prohibition incorporated in our written Constitution? And why should heed be paid to a "mere sentiment"? The answer to the first question, we believe, will be found conclusive in the record presented above. History responds to the other. Our Saxon ancestors

owed their freedom to the preservation of their *customs,* such as now constitute the fundamental law of England. Few of those customs were as firmly established as this one of ours by uninterrupted use and universal approval of people and Presidents for more than a hundred years, but they were customs generally acquiesced in and, therefore, laws which safeguarded their rights against the encroachments of monarchy. When a king undertook, with the aid of his parasites, to force a surrender of those rights, the barons gave him " that memorable answer, simple, to be sure, but made sublime by the occasion ":

" *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare!*"

(" We *will not* change the laws of England!")

This was the dictum that Grant received from the Congress of 1875 and from the Republican convention of 1880 when he and *his* parasites tried to force the abandonment of a custom which had become a " part of *our* free institutions."

But Grant did not recognize the validity of the law. Roosevelt does—or did. His attitude, as of to-day if not as of " to-morrow or next week or next year," is favorable to the maintenance of the " wise custom," with, however, a " mental reservation " which allows an *exception* in time of stress or imagined need. This, his supporters declare, is such a time, and in justification of their conduct they adduce the following segregated sentence from Washington's letter to Lafayette in 1788:

> "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who on *some great emergency* shall be deemed *universally* most capable of serving the public."

Eight years later, speaking from a vision broadened by actual experience, Washington defined his words by his acts. That he was " universally deemed the most capable " there can be no question. And there was no lack of " emergencies " in the putting into effective practice of the theories of the new government and in a threatening of war with France. Nevertheless, he voluntarily withdrew to private life and thereby set " an example " which has indeed become " the patrimony of our descendants."

What, then, is the " great emergency " which now confronts the Nation and demands the violation not only of a sacred tradition, but of the personal pledge of an American

President to the American people? We are not engaged in a mighty war, such as undoubtedly Washington had in mind in 1788, as constituting exceptional necessity. We are at peace with all the world and, under the guidance of our present Chief Magistrate, are leaders of a world-wide movement to insure pacific relations among all peoples. Laws are being enforced more consistently and are respected more highly than at any time since the Civil War. Our serious internal problems are in process of solution by use of the adequate methods provided by our fundamental law. But for constant agitation by ambitious and unscrupulous demagogues, there would be no more of unrest than is natural to a great and rapidly increasing population. There is no plague of pauperism or poverty. The physical, mental, and moral condition of our whole people is infinitely superior to that of any other. Surely no "great emergency" now actually exists.

Is it, then, in anticipation of a mighty crisis about to arise that a violent wrench in our governmental system is deemed essential to the preservation of our lives, our properties, and our liberties? And who is the man "*universally* deemed most capable of serving the public"? Is it Roosevelt? Do *all* the people consider that he is better equipped than Taft, let us say, to deal with the troublesome conditions in Mexico, in Cuba, in Porto Rica, in China? Does *anybody* of intelligence? Do *all* the people think Roosevelt is more capable or more desirous than Taft of enforcing the laws against pillaging corporations? Has he so shown himself? Do *all* the people regard Roosevelt as purer in thought, word, and deed than Taft, as more manly, more straightforward, more sagacious, more patient, more unselfish, more devoted to his fellows, more competent, because of temperament, disposition, even manners, to meet all crises or *any* crisis that may arise? Is he more sincere? Is he more honest? Is he more truthful? Is he more dependable? Is he a better American? Is he, in fine, the possessor of a single attribute, desirable in a Chief Magistrate, not held in superior measure by Mr. Taft?

There can be but one answer to these questions. There *is* no "great emergency" and there *is* no "universal demand" for a revival of the explosive gyrations which made Roosevelt's administration as grotesque in the eyes of the world as it was, in effect, unavailing at home.

What, then, is the ultimate object of those who now give color to the claim that our most cherished tradition must be trampled under foot in order that a personal ambition may be served, a personal vengefulness gratified? Why these desperate efforts to advance a movement from which even the warmest friends of the eager recipient have recoiled in disgust? Is emotional fervor, unhampered by reason, the actuating motive? Of some deluded persons, no doubt. But what of " the seven Governors " who heedlessly incite warfare upon established institutions and urge upon the populace a fancied need to tear away the foundations of representative government? Are they merely ignorant, or are they, too, like the noted divine, obsessed by a spectacular personality? Surely they must be aware that they are engaged in a conspiracy to wipe out the Constitution once for all and to have done with its restraints upon arbitrary power. So much they have been told plainly by their standard-bearer. Even though the treasonable words had not been uttered in Columbus, these men cannot yet have forgotten that, while President, Roosevelt never so much as stopped to inquire what was in the Constitution which he had sworn to protect, preserve, and defend; that if he had taken an oath to destroy it, his hostility could not have been more pronounced; that his one idea of government was a system of absolutism without law, giving him full power to reward those who had contributed to his own success and to punish those who had not; that all authority not explicitly withheld by written law was his and his alone. Assuredly the " seven Governors " knew all this. And yet even now, when in so many words their leader proposes to obliterate the judiciary in particular and representative government in general, they continue to wave the flag whose advancement as a signal of triumph could spell only Cæsarism or anarchy. To all such we commend earnest perusal of the words of one whose mantle has been grasped with ruthless hands by the apostle of impudence. On January 27, 1832, in Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln rose and spoke as follows:

" Ambitious men will spring up who will find no gratification in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others. Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It scorns to tread in the footsteps of any predecessor, however illustrious. It throbs and burns for distinction, and if possible it will have it.

"When such a man appears it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to government and laws and generally intelligent, to successfully frustrate his designs.

"Distinction will be his paramount object, and although he will as willingly—perhaps more so—acquire it by doing good as harm, yet that opportunity being present, and nothing left to be done in the way of building up, he would set boldly to the task of pulling down."

Such an one has sprung up and is now appealing to the mob. We anticipate the consequences of his audacious action with the utmost complacency. Betrayal of a friend might be overlooked. Disdain of fundamental law is the natural sprout of a lawless mind and, in time of excitement, might pass unrebuked. But we live in implicit faith that never will the American people repudiate their splendid tradition, their *lex legum,* which stands as the unconquerable fortress of popular government against personal aggrandizement and bears a relationship to civilization akin to that to all humanity of the great unwritten law of Nature, whose "seat is in the bosom of God and whose voice is the harmony of the world."

THE EDITOR.

# CAN THE CHINESE REPUBLIC ENDURE?

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKÉ

THE Chung Hwa Republic, as the revolutionary leaders have named the New China, is no longer a thing of to-morrow. It is in the cradle. The world asks whether this astounding, turbulent child can live. In other words, are the Chinese people qualified to maintain a republican government?

China has been for ages the home of the most democratic race in Asia. Strange as this fact may be to Occidental minds, it is familiar to all the Far East. *Yorozu Choho,* a halfpenny daily published in Tokio, the newspaper of the crowd rather than of the thinkers, put the Oriental idea in a phrase the other day: "China is a Yellow America and America a White China." Yes, the fact has been existent for ages; only since the tenth day of last October has China added a few dramatic gestures in making it known to all the world.

A people lives by its ideals as truly as lives a man. Chinese scholars for ages have looked back with regret, with devotion, with unspeakable yearnings, to—

"The days of Yao and the time of Shun."

Yao was Emperor of China from 2357 B.C. to 2254 B.C. His father was a mere humble citizen, and he ascended the throne because—as the ancient chronicle has it—"his virtue as a magnet drew the hearts of the people to him." At the end of his reign of one hundred and three years, Yao, about to die, named as his successor no son of his own, but the learned and able Shun, who was the choice of the people. Shun reigned from 2255 B.C. to 2204 B.C. and then relinquished the sceptre to Yu, an outsider who had undergone the severest test and was the choice of the people. China

had then no system of election machinery such as we moderns know, yet the will of the people was unerringly recorded. So, at least, the accepted historians tell, although a few scoffers pretend that Yao died in prison and Shun became a wanderer in the wilderness. What I would emphasize, in order to illustrate the emotional and mental attitude of the Chinese people to-day is that to them Yao and Shun stand for the qualities Americans revere in Washington. Also with them there is no tradition, or even fiction, of crown or scepter handed down from father to son. They have revered and obeyed the throne during forty centuries or more, as the concrete, though sometimes clouded, expression of the national authority, not as the embodiment of a divinely chosen dynasty.

If Americans were worshipers of the past, as the Chinese are—instead of warmed by the heady wine of progress and lure of the future—then you would rightly estimate the powerful influence of "the days of Yao and the time of Shun" upon the children of Han even to this present year of grace. It is not these individual emperors who dominate the dreams of the Chinese, but rather the golden age of democracy during which they governed. The days of Yao and Shun were democratic; old, very old-fashioned, rugged, a little paternal, but democratic to the core.

The Chinese, then, started from their race infancy with democracy as their political ideal. This ideal has never been allowed to die completely; it twinkles and glimmers through the stormiest days of struggle. It was their great political prophet Mencius, who said to a ruler: "If you can win the hill people—*i. e.*, the humblest of the common folk—then, indeed, will you become the Son of Heaven." Also when Wuwang slew the tyrant emperor Chou and so founded the Chau Dynasty, 1122 B.C., historians wrote: "Wuwang did not slay his ruler; he simply executed a tyrannical individual." It is a classic saying in all Han: "The Under-Heaven—the world and all its people—is not the Under-Heaven of one person: it is the Under-Heaven of all the under-Heaven."

One could quote thousands of similar expressions of the democratic idea flourishing in the hearts of the people. Often it bore fruit. Liu Pang, founder of the great Han Dynasty, rose to the throne from the humble position of village chief or burgomaster. There were many other

plebeian emperors. Any boy or girl of any social plane might hope to "mount the blue clouds" to any higher plane. China has had no strictly hereditary aristocracy. The people have always regarded their rulers as of no rarer clay than themselves—the very antithesis of the belief of their neighbors across the Yellow and Japan Seas, over whom one dynasty, divinely founded, has ruled for more than twenty-five centuries.

Moreover, the Chinese law of descent does not recognize the right of primogeniture. Said De Tocqueville, speaking of the far-reaching influence of this law on the future life of a nation: "I am surprised that ancient and modern jurists have not attributed to this law a greater influence on human affairs." Primogeniture is the father of aristocracy the world over; under the law of undivided inheritance, estates pass from generation to generation; accumulation of property intensifies family sentiments, family pride in its origin and history, its power and its glory. The law of partible inheritance, on the other hand, "not only renders it difficult for families to preserve their ancestral domains entire, but it deprives them of the inclination to attempt it." In China to-day, as in ages past, all the male children share the property of their father alike at his death. The widow, if there be one, receives a portion equal to double of one of her son's.

Democracy in China has expressed itself in another form. As early as the fourth century before the Christian era one of their famous philosophers, Motse by name, was wont to preach what may be called an agricultural socialism. His doctrine was that the farmers were the real sovereigns of the land and that they who dwelt in palaces were sovereigns only in name. To him the real producers were the real citizens of the land, and the rest, such as officials, educators, men of letters, and so on, were mere parasites who should remain subservient to the tillers of the soil. Wang Anshi, favorite minister of the Emperor Shentsung (1068-1086 A.D.) received permission to put his socialistic theories into practice, nationalizing the sale of produce of the whole empire, lending government funds to poor farmers at two per cent. a month, and imposing an income tax on other classes.

The Chinese have enjoyed during many centuries the practice of self-government and majority rule under the very eyes of the worst despots that ever sat enthroned. For

in sheer self-defense against official corruption the people organized all sorts of secret unions, the most widely known of which among Americans and Europeans are the trade guilds. These unions dispensed justice between man and man and governed the conduct of trade. Their leaders inaugurated and enforced the policy of honesty that gives Chinese financial credit to-day the highest standing in the world. I believe that the world has never seen a more dramatic proof of this fact than the present status of the Chinese government bond.

The Imperial Chinese Government five-per-cent. Hukuang Railways sinking-fund gold loan bond was offered for public subscription at .97 and accrued interest. After more than three months of revolution, when the Peking government has lost nearly fifteen provinces out of the eighteen of China proper; when not only the Peking treasury, but also the revolutionary republicans are bankrupt, are actually without money to pay their soldiers and administrative expenses; when the whole country is overrun with armed bandits; business strangled to death by anarchy; when there are said to be three millions of people without food; when Yuan Shikai, the only man from all reports upon whom foreign Powers rely, is playing the heroic rôle of an out-of-date Joshua bidding the sun of the Manchu to stand still on the hills of the Far-Eastern Gibeon; when the Ta Tsing dynasty and the glories that were Kanghi and Kueilung are ready to give up the imperial ghost as eagerly as any scared burglar—to-day, when all these things and more are true, what is the price you will have to pay for the Chinese bond? Ninety-four—only three points off the original price!

It is a financial miracle.

Its meaning becomes more striking still when one reads the above fact in the light of the history of American finance at the time of the Civil War. Mr. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, sent Mr. R. J. Walker (formerly Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk) to Europe as a special revenue agent to interest the London and Paris stock exchanges. He failed. To be sure, there was the bitter political opposition of Louis Napoleon and Lord Palmerston. Still, financial distrust was a factor.

It has been said that the great undeveloped resources of the Chinese Empire inspire a deep confidence in foreign capitalists. If this be true, America at the time of her

Civil War should at least have commanded as much financial faith abroad. All signs seem to point in another direction for the explanation of this latter-day miracle—the real author of the miracle is the traditional reputation of Chinese commercial integrity. Whatever happens—so the faith of the foreign capitalists seems to say—the Chinese know what commercial and financial obligation means; they understand the meaning of a contract as no other race of people do; our money is safe whatever happens. It is wonderful—all the more wonderful because this miracle of faith is spelled out in cold cash: and money is not sentimental. Capital is always notoriously timid. Whence comes, then, the high standing of Chinese financial integrity? The answer is inescapable—from the guild system of China. And this among a people noted for exaggeration and mutilation of the truth. "In China," writes Dr. Arthur H. Smith, "a fact is the hardest thing in the world to discover."

Truly the power and honesty of the Chinese guilds may be called miraculous. Numberless transactions, involving thousands upon thousands of taels, are conducted and settled upon the mere word of merchants and their own entries in their books. Disputes occur, of course, but no one worries. The merchants know that it is not an individual who will judge the matter. The guild delivers its decision after looking into the dispute and by majority votes. Does a mercantile body of Canton wish to have a certain municipal measure passed? It does not go to the mandarin; it submits the matter to the guild. Only the foolish, the mad, or the vain carry their litigation into public courts; for there, too often, he who buries the real coins of the realm in that bottomless grave called the mandarin's pocket comes out the winner.

The people of China have learned to go to the guild with their disputes because they have come to see the sanity and justice of the majority judgment. They have tried and tested the actions of the guild system and have come to realize that this democratic institution gives them a greater measure of fair treatment than they could find elsewhere. Merchants are not the only class of people who combine in a guild or a similar organization. Long before America was discovered, in the days of Kublai Khan and his Yuan dynasty (1279-1333 A.D.), the Capitalists' Association carried on its business in a way which need not blush by comparison

with the great American trusts of to-day. Even the beggars have their guild—now one of the most powerful in China.

Poor brides form clubs and so raise the money to buy their trousseaux. The hired mourners at funerals have their union. Indeed, high and low and in every province, the Chinese form themselves into all manner of associations and guilds. These associations have been for ages the elementary schools for them in republican forms of administration. There the Chinese have had actual practice in popular administration rare in the experience of any people. Moreover, of recent centuries, thanks to the incapacity and still more to the indifference of the mandarin class, the Chinese have enjoyed a large measure of local administration. The mandarin, who rarely stays at one place long enough to enable him to get acquainted with the special needs and local usages, has been in a large measure compelled to rely upon his subordinates and on the suggestions of the local organizations, such as guilds. That is the reason why in every law court in China the judge invariably inquires what has been the verdict of the family council or of the guild on the particular case brought before him. And he rarely reverses the decision rendered by local guild or family conclave. The mandarin intrusts village or district councils with the management of local affairs.

We see, in brief, that the Chinese, who never forget, have during forty centuries worshiped democratic ideals; that they have long practised in secret the art of self-government; that no matter how dynasties flourished or fell, public and private honesty has been the rule among the people. Do not the facts we have reviewed promise a long and happy future for the infant Chung Hwa Republic?

ADACHI KINNOSUKÉ.

# FRANCE OF TO-DAY*

BY GUSTAVE LANSON

In submitting the following thesis, it is with the purpose of laying before American readers some general ideas about France, ideas which might be of use to them as a framework within which to classify and put in order their own observation. I do not ask to be taken at my word, but rather that the testimony offered be regarded as an hypothesis or as advice which may be scrutinized or verified by individual research.

The first general condition to which our national life is subjected in France is our age; we are an old country. We have behind us nine or ten centuries of civilization and of intense activity in every direction. The first consequence of this age is that our progress of to-day seems slow. Younger nations go forward at a quicker pace; their growth is more rapid; if our growth which dates back so many centuries has not stopped, it has at least become more slow.

Again, our wealth and our culture are already ancient, and the result is, with many among us, a tendency not, perhaps, to the repose of inactivity, but to more disinterested forms of activity; the pressure of material needs is not so strong. We have a marked tendency toward art, toward intellectual professions, toward all forms of activity which seem noble because their immediate purpose is not gain, and lastly, our instrumentalities for all human affairs date back some centuries, and within the last fifty or sixty years the world has gone forward at a rapid rate and our instrumentalities have grown old.

Besides this general condition of the whole national life in France, three great events have shaped our development

* A lecture delivered by Professor Gustave Lanson to l'Alliance Française in New York, on the 8th day of November, 1911, and translated by Mr. Paul Fuller.

in the last forty years. The first was the establishment of the Republican régime, the second the Franco-German War of 1870-1871, and the third is a matter of world history—the last half-century's spread of Socialism.

During the last forty years we have made great efforts to meet all the exigencies of these new conditions of being. We had to provide for the national defense and the rebuilding of our military forces. We had to transform our institutions and put them in accord both with the principles of the Republican régime and with the new economic and social environment. We had to modernize and transform the industrial and commercial instrumentalities of the country.

One visible evidence of our national activity is the legislative work of these last forty years. Not since the work of Napoleon is any such labor of reorganization to be found in our history. First, the school laws which made primary education obligatory and free and spread it throughout the land, which created secondary education for girls, which so remodeled our higher education that our rejuvenated universities contribute every year increasing progress to the science and erudition of France and of the world. The religious laws have brought into the life of the Catholic Church in France the greatest change seen for centuries. It was not only the Concordat of Napoleon I. that was abolished, but the Church faced the sudden termination of a régime under which she labored from the time of Francis I.; and if, by a misfortune, without attempting to fix the responsibility for it, she has been impoverished, on the other hand she has recovered an independence which she had lost for nearly four centuries. Economic and social laws; a transformation of the customs service; the establishment of protective tariff; a complete system of labor legislation; the protection of women and children employed in manufacture; labor insurance and pensions; laws of public aid; laws regulating the freedom of association under which professional syndicates have been organized; military laws, applying the obligation of military service more and more completely to every citizen by the successive suppression of all privileges or exemptions; the reorganization of the old and the creation of new military equipment; the construction of fortifications, etc., etc. And, lastly, financial laws to meet in the first place the enormous expenditures

resulting directly or indirectly from the disastrous war of 1870 and the increasing expenses required by new legislation in every direction.

Add to all this effort the formation of a great Colonial Empire, an Empire such as France has not had since the time when she was mistress of Canada, Louisiana, and the Indies. Compare a map of the world in 1870 with a map of the world to-day. What did we possess in 1870?

Besides Algeria we had the insignificant Senegal in Africa; in America we had Guiana and two or three islands in the Antilles. We had some islands in Oceania and a restricted territory in Cochin China, with the small protectorate of Cambodia.

In 1911 Colonial France comprised almost all the immense peninsula of Indo-China, where Annam and Tonquin have been added to Cochin China and Cambodia; the great island of Madagascar; vast territories in the Soudan and the Congo. In North Africa, Algeria is protected on one side by Tunis, whose Bey has placed himself under our protectorate; on the other side by Morocco, where our rights and our authority are daily more and more completely recognized.

This is a sketch of the enormous work which is apparent at a glance. We must remember that this work was accomplished in the midst of bitter party contests, and it may be useful to recall that amid the violence of these party discords we have on two or three occasions within recent years been upon the verge of civil war. Such a disaster was avoided by the patience and mildness engendered by a deeply rooted civilization and by the memory of the civil war of 1871 which followed the Franco-German conflict. The lesson of the Commune has been thoroughly impressed upon and remains fresh in the minds of all the various parties and, except in rare instances, has contributed to hold within the limits of legal action all political passions, no matter how angry.

It was in the midst of such conflicts that the progress referred to was carried out; and if stress upon this has been laid, it is because the accomplishment was not that of an administration or of a party, but of the whole nation. It is true that on certain points and with reference to certain laws a part of the nation presented all the resistance possible and that the extreme Left or the extreme Right made

violent opposition to some of the movements; but it may be safely said that every one of the groups has on many occasions and very effectively united with the Government and with the majority in accomplishing these results. The work done, whether good or bad, has been in truth the work of the whole nation.

This legislation need not be referred to were it only a question of idle formulæ, meant to be buried in some official journal or in some Code; but these laws are the result of the serious interest and preoccupation of the mass of the nation and they have definitely guided into new channels the exercise of the nation's activities. The impulse which produced this result came from the whole people; it was the nation which furnished to the various administrations the power of action; it is the nation that is to be affected by the action taken and we must, therefore, examine and try to understand that nation.

Without doing injustice to the various elements which in succession or together have worked to make the France of to-day; without injustice to the royal or imperial dynasties, to the nobility, to the clergy, to the savants, to the merchants, we may affirm that two classes above all others have constructed France as we see her, and these are the peasants and the law-builders *(légistes)*.

We are a nation of peasants, of peasants attached to the soil, devoted to their labor, and trained in economy. They follow a routine; they live upon hereditary experience; they prefer to resist evils and deceptions with that patience which brings renewed effort, rather than with modernisms which simply change the form of their activity.

They have passed through frightful crises during the last thirty years; twice the vine-growers of the south were ruined; they made a great outcry because they are of the south, but they never gave up; they replanted the vineyards which the phylloxera had destroyed; they struggled against the economic conditions which in later years cut off the sale of their wine, and on both occasions they got upon their feet again.

The wheat-growers did not make such an outcry; it was not in their temperament; they simply drew out their savings from their woolen stockings and continued to turn over the soil and to wait for better days.

However devoted to routine our peasants may be, they

are not refractory to any progress which they once understand, but to understand means for them not to listen to discourses, to reasonings, to mere words; to understand means for them to see and to realize.

Pasteur made his experiments in the midst of an agricultural people; for weeks he demonstrated how by preventive inoculation he could protect the sheep against the sting of the anthrax fly. The farmers in the Brie, in the Beauce, who every year had suffered heavy losses from infected animals, looked on at first incredulous, unbelieving, mocking, ready for a laugh at this gentleman from Paris, but they watched, they examined, and when the experiments were over they accepted the accomplished fact; in a few years there was not a sheep in the Beauce or in the Brie which had not been inoculated.

Out of this mass of the peasantry there developed a *bourgeoisie* of law-builders and out of the *bourgeoisie* in course of time other elements came to the surface, but the fundamental element which impressed its character upon the class were the law-builders. The *bourgeois* is as laborious as the peasant and as economical, his intelligence is clear, subtle, logical, exacting order and reason in everything; order throughout society as well as orderly thought. Both peasant and *bourgeois* are possibly somewhat narrow, lacking, perhaps, in elevation. Their good sense, their common sense, may not rise to the height of the imaginative and passionate thought of certain races; they are not at all mystical and have but little of the poetic. They require that their sentiment be guided by intelligence and subjected to critical examination and to the clear light of conscience so that their reason may confirm it; they are not lacking in idealism, but their idealism is reasonable and practical. It consists in extending to its utmost bounds the respect for humanity and the triumph of intelligence. There are three words that have always been a power in French development and these words are Truth, Equality, Justice.

Our national character is, on the whole, a combination of routine and of hardihood; of patient docility and revolutionary outbursts. While we examine, while we criticize, while we mock, yet we are long and patiently obedient to authority and to hereditary prejudices. Before it decides upon action, the French mind requires certainty of proof, and this certainty must be not only of the mind, but of the heart, and

then the feeling of right is the motive of action and furnishes the motive power for action. The people, after prolonged submission, suddenly revolts against further submission and then comes the revolution.

One characteristic throughout our history is that the Frenchman does not oppose his rulers by a daily and continuous resistance; he submits for a long time, then suddenly rebels and in one day retakes what is due him.

The morals and customs of the country were, like its laws, the formation of long centuries of monarchy, and during the past forty years the country has labored to adapt itself to the new conditions of republican liberty. Under the monarchy, domestic and worldly morals had developed, but not any sense of civic right or duty.

As a consequence our worldly intercourse was intense and it was charming. There is no need to emphasize this. All foreigners recognize it at first sight and our critics are little disposed to contest our possession of all the qualities and the virtues of openness and good fellowship, amiability, politeness, pleasant intercourse, mutual regard and attention; the effacing of self and consideration for the self of others; the disposition to bear burdens in order to spare others; all these have universal recognition.

We had equally strong ties of family life and an impregnable tradition of domestic virtues, but these qualities foreigners were not so ready to recognize. They were blinded to them by many obstacles. In the first place, there are countries where education and customs require a severity of demeanor and even extreme rigorism in manners and in language. There are countries where nothing is so greatly esteemed as respectability. When from such lands visitors reach France, they cannot but be astonished and perhaps shocked. The Frenchman loves laughter. He has a bantering, ironic, mischief-loving spirit. He takes pleasure in mockery; he is afraid to be suspected of preaching or moralizing. Rigorists excite his mockery and at times he pushes to an extreme in action and in speech his horror of the "air severe." From the earliest times of our literature the vice for which Frenchmen have found the harshest blame, the vice which they have most keenly satirized is hypocrisy, and not infrequently we interpreted the exhibition of severity as an index of hypocrisy. Many worthy people among us, men of a firm and serious conscience mask these virtues

under appearances of lightness which deceive the foreigner.

Nor does our literature tend to dissipate the misjudgment. I do not hold that the French novel has purposely or continuously slandered French morals.* It would not be difficult to point out works where one may find them truly pictured, but these are not among the most conspicuous nor the better known, and foreigners who have not become intimate with our life have a tendency to accept as truth the darkest pictures and the most shocking.

As a fact our family morals are good. The scandals which periodicals and the daily press spread before us are with us, as elsewhere, exceptional and accidental. Family life in France is orderly, gentle, and affectionate. The child is coddled, spoiled if you will, precisely as elsewhere. Parental authority is exercised less arbitrarily and less severely than in earlier times. The child is often allowed at an early age his freedom of speech. He is almost the comrade of his parents, but this familiarity, far from weakening, rather strengthens the bond between them.

One sign of this intimate union of the child and his parents is that wherever social requirements permit of it the boarding-school is falling off. The great *Lycées* of Paris which formely had a large contingent of boarding pupils have to-day but a handful, while the total number of their pupils has increased. What does this indicate except that as communication between the various quarters of Paris has become easier, the families keep their children at home as much as may be and only yield them to the public establishments of education for the few hours during which instruction is given?

The Frenchwoman is to-day the counselor, the collaborator, the partner of her husband; the comrade of good days and of bad, and frequently one finds peasants who would not make a bargain, nor buy a cow, nor sell a calf without the counsel of the "mistress" or the *bourgeoise,* as he calls her. Throughout the other classes—professional, industrial, commercial, and even intellectual—it is by no means rare to find wives who, without losing sight of their housekeeping or of their worldly and social duties, are in touch with the labors and the ambitions of their husbands.

* This lack of insight cannot, however, be attributed to Mr. Barrett Wendell, whose recent work shows a thorough appreciation of home life in France.

They do not ask to be set apart nor are they set apart from our interests, our enterprises, or our troubles.

The siege of Paris demonstrated to what extent the Frenchwoman in every rank, from the working-woman to the wealthy *bourgeoise*, can, under the veil of the humble housekeeper or under the light appearance of the worldly woman, display a firmness and patience in sacrifice—heroism, in a word; with what simplicity, with what a cheerful humor, sustained by innate pride, she withstood the hunger, the cold, the horrors of bombardment, giving freely to the country, without hesitation and without display, more than her own life—the life of her husband, the life of her sons—and all without a hint of weakness or murmur of complaint.

On the other hand, we must admit that until very recent times the social conscience in France has shown but feeble development. The State was despotic and this despotism, though often paternal, maintained the citizen in a narrow tutelage.

It is to be remembered that there have been times when the governmental administration secured the continuance of the national life; it is the bone and sinew of our political association, and in the main this administration is industrious and honest. In it are numbers of men whose devotion to the public good is given without measure, and, amid the agitations of the political world, it is because of these men that all holds together and that all goes forward. But the administration has its defects, its contrarieties, its traditions. It is arbitrary; it is not conciliating; it claims the right at all times to dispose of the individual and at all times to regulate the activities of all its citizens.

Place an official insignia upon a Frenchman, be it only the cap of a rural guard, and he believes himself invested with some of the power of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon. He conceives himself to be within his little sphere their successor.

The corollary of this arbitrary guardianship exercised by the administration upon the nation is a spirit of criticism and of opposition. While the Frenchman obeys, he obeys grumblingly and with a sneer. In our country from the remotest times the revenge of the governed, as well as their consolation, has been to ridicule their governors. For example, the definition of the old régime: "an absolute monarchy tempered by lampoons."

But when, by the firm establishment of the Republican régime, the authorities were forced to renounce the exercise of this constraint, which had survived from time immemorial, it may well have seemed at times that the country was in process of dissolution; that the spirit of indiscipline and of opposition met with no restraint, and authority time after time was made helpless in whatever hands it was vested. The President of the Republic found himself prevented from exercising the rights with which the Constitution vested him. Ministers and the heads of great departments of public service surrendered with pitiful weakness before legislative majorities, while Parliament gave us the most complete spectacle of anarchy. Majorities were made and unmade without intermission. The old habit of opposition in the Republican party was so strong that when the party reached power many of its members could not be transformed into men of government; they remained members of the opposition and, themselves constituting a part of the majority, they opposed their own leaders; they opposed one another, and of this were born reciprocal mistrust, intrigues, jealousies, betrayals, haphazard conditions, and the crumbling of parties.

The deputy who inspired a Minister with fear bent low in his turn before the electors and the committees of his district. Magistrates weakened in presence of political power and were in fear of the lawyers, many of whom had the advantage of the judges in a safer pecuniary situation or the prestige of political relations or political office.

And lastly juries, whenever called upon to determine a matter in which there was even a shade of politics, preferred to wash their hands of it rather than undertake the responsibility of defending public interests.

An indulgent and universal good-nature seemed to threaten the very life of the country; everything was let alone; everything was passed over; and all these easy ways were but a mask of weakness which dreads any effort and of the selfishness which is absorbed in personal interest.

These acts of indiscipline and anarchy, these revolts against the law, these threats—all of these tentative appeals to individual or collective force have been multiplied within a few years.

The Church and the General Confederation of Labor both entered into open confiict with the law.

The vine-growers of the south joined in an uprising and a refusal to pay taxes; in the Champagne district we witnessed successive insurgencies against the Government, and when the Aube was pacified the Marne was in revolt. We witnessed a battalion of the line refusing obedience to its officers and against their orders quitting its quarters.

Taine conceives that the Revolution had destroyed co-operative life in France and that the principle of equality was to leave the isolated individual face to face with the enormous and all-powerful State; but in fact it was Napoleon and the monarchies that succeeded him that held the individual in this powerless and isolated condition. As soon as the Republican régime had asserted itself for a while, laws were passed which gave Frenchmen the opportunity for associated effort and this associated effort has begun. In a very few years it has become intense and widespread. Forty years ago there was but one great association within the State and that was the Church. To-day professional unions or syndicates are numerous; they are grouped into federations and a General Confederation of Labor has taken on all the appearance of a proletary State organized to stand against the *bourgeois* State.

The purely socialist spirit of the General Confederation of Labor has given way to a rebellious and revolutionary spirit from which anti-patriotism, anti-militarism, and anarchism have blossomed. The conflict of classes has been transferred from the economic to the political field. Appeal to force has been preached and illegality and violence have been declared lawful. War has been made upon universal suffrage by giving to the will of energetic and active minorities a preponderance over the will of a timid and purblind majority.

Outside of the labor associations, other associations of all kinds have been founded, of which undoubtedly the most original are those syndicates and associations of Government employees which have not hesitated to threaten strikes against the State that employs them and are continually alert in opposition to their superiors and to the Ministers.

We thus see that one of the first and most evident effects of the liberty of association has been a menace against the continuance of political society and a hindrance, if not absolutely an obstacle, to the exercise of authority, as well as the weakening of national unity. These numerous associa-

tions of every character seem to unite Frenchmen only by dividing France; and in these latter years we have even witnessed a reawakening of the old provincial sectionalism, until it seemed at times that the Frenchmen of Brittany, of Provence, or of Champagne were too conscious of the fact that they were Bretons, Provençals, or denizens of Champagne.

Fortunately all these indications were but mere appearances; France was going through a crisis, but it was the crisis of a necessary transformation—a transformation from the monarchic notion of obedience controlled from without to the democratic notion of freedom under discipline. It was essential that the Frenchman, so long repressed by the force of government, should learn to repress himself and to give the example of voluntary submission to an authority whose function is to labor only for the general good. Reassuring symptoms are already apparent. The social conscience of the nation is in process of liberation; the militant elements of parties are all minorities; the majority of the nation passes from time to time from one party to another, following or deserting them as they promise it or secure to it what it is seeking for. The majority in France is intent upon assuring through a constitutional Republican government liberty and toleration, security and good order. To procure and to guarantee these benefits the majority at present is appealing to a government which really governs. In these latter years all the men who have maintained an energetic hold upon power and have assumed, without flinching, all the responsibilities of authority—all without exception, whatever may have been their doctrines, have been sustained by the greater part of the French nation. The conscience of the country demands to-day, no less energetically, honesty and justice in governmental administration, and a powerful movement of public opinion has been launched against political corruption. This corruption must not be exaggerated; in its lowest and most material form, venality, it is sporadic and accidental, notwithstanding a few scandals which have been noisily exploited. Nor must one be too insistent upon the assumed mediocrity of the political personnel; intelligence and talent are not wanting in our legislative assemblies, and I know of no Parliament which could in these respects excel our Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

But what is most wanting in our political public men now

is character—the faculty of resisting the temptations of power as well as the solicitations of friends and electors. The form which our political corruption takes is favoritism, comradeship, the coalition of selfishness and greed for the exploitation of power and of influence.

The country is weary and disgusted of this trafficking, and public sentiment is so strong in this regard that it has brought into the Chamber itself a tendency to honest dealing.

If the system of proportional representation which assures to each party a number of representatives in exact accord with the number of votes which the party produces has found so many adherents; if even among the majority which controls the power there has been found an imposing number of deputies and of senators willing to concede that half of the electors plus one should not have all the places at their disposal and willing, therefore, as a consequence to risk the diminution of their dominant party, it is because in the universal acceptation proportional representation symbolizes, whether soundly or unsoundly we cannot say, an ideal of justice and the hope of making an end of electoral intrigues and bargainings. The strength displayed by the union of Government employees and which enables them to stand up against the State and its administration came from the fact that their action gave promise of a check against ministerial autocracy, against favoritism, against the influence of the deputies, and we must admit that their action has had some effect.

We have already seen an administrative tribunal, the members of which were appointed by Government, pass judgment upon and reverse the decisions of Cabinet Ministers; the Council of State has shown itself in these latter years the resolute defender of office-holders against the exaggeration of governmental power; at one stroke, for instance, it restored to active service seventeen naval lieutenants whom a Minister had put on the retired list against their will and against the law; one of these was our great writer, Pierre Loti.

Succeeding the many manifestations of weakness by our courts, we witnessed an unexpected awakening and saw a jury condemn to death the secretary of a union under indictment for having by his incendiary speech led the strikers to the murder of a "scab." This was a sudden revulsion from the extremity of weakness to the extremity

of harshness and the verdict was not made effective, but it greatly stirred public opinion and is an indication of the disposition of the middle classes who abhor violence and illegality.

In these latter years the *bourgeoisie* seems to be gathering some civic education. For a long period after the French Revolution, from which it secured its power, the *bourgeoisie* appeared to harbor no other purpose than the pursuit of wealth and the exploitation of the State for its individual interests, and in later days it has seemed at times on the verge of dissolution and abdication like the nobility before 1789; some of its members joined the parties of reaction to provide a defense of their property and capital, while others, moved by generous idealism, joined hands with the Social Democracy. To-day we seem to witness the emergence or the restoration of a *bourgeois* class more open and more generous than that of other days, insisting upon its right to govern France because it has the intellectual power, but willing to govern it by justice and for the good of all; defending what it deems its privileges, or even its wealth, only within the limitations in which the life of the nation is involved in the maintenance of property.

On the other hand, the laboring class is also acquiring its education. A good portion of this class is beginning to pass judgment upon the excesses of revolutionary unions and shows the courage to resist them and to repudiate them.

As a result the true and the prosperous unions are those which restrict their activities to the defense of their trade interests and labor, without anarchical violence, for progressive betterment of our institutions. The failure of the post-office and the railway strikes has had a very real and conservative influence upon the General Confederation of Labor, and a large body of the laboring class has measured the consequences of this double defeat—with the result of greatly strengthening the reform movement.

Throughout these crises, it must be acknowledged, we have not the press which we might wish. Intelligence and even talent are superabundant; our newspapers are clear, their matter well arranged, and make agreeable reading. On occasions the French press has been awake to its national duty, but too often it has been a mere agency for political corruption; frequently it has been the instrument of financial interests; and the newspaper has been reduced to an in-

dustrial enterprise from which the only demand to be made is the production of good dividends by any means available —self-laudation, scandal, or blackmail.

It is too true that a nation has only such a press as it desires; the press flatters the vices of its readers; gives satisfaction to gossip and to malignity or to the taste for gossip and malignity—to all kinds of petty and envious passions which drag all questions down to the level of personalities, and when the press fills its columns with shameful indiscretions in the private lives of well-known citizens it only caters to the morbid curiosity of the public.

And yet unquestionably the duty of the press should be not to reach the public through its lowest and most evil appetites, but rather to endeavor to reflect and interpret the more noble and generous elements of the French character.

Also we have not the literature which we would need for the social good. Probably at no time has talent been more wide-spread, and if at certain periods we have been favored with such genius as we cannot point to at this day—though what the verdict of the future may be in this regard we would not predict—never at any time have we had a greater number of very distinguished men. But these are either artists who imprison themselves in the contemplation of their ideal of beauty, disdaining the crowd, disdaining practical life and the interests of the masses, or the few who have acquired a social conscience and who manifest it only as party men. They represent the doctrines and the hatreds which divide us rather than the feelings and the aspirations in obedience to which all Frenchmen can work in common.

Look, for instance, at the part played in the last two years by two of our great men of letters—Anatole France and Maurice Barrès; the one as the voice of collectivism, the other of nationalism. Our men of letters are totally wanting in the real function of literature, which should be to strengthen the unity of the French conscience.

We are also at this moment passing through a crisis in philosophic thought which may well have sorry consequences for our national power.

For some years past war has been declared upon intellect. Sheltered under the doctrine of the great philosopher Bergson, and under the name of Bergsonism, skillful men, in the interest of their party, have declared a war against

intellect and on behalf of whatever is traditional, irrational, instinctive, and spontaneous in life. Such a propaganda ignores the fact that the strength of France, its oldest instinct and dearest tradition, have tended to extend the power of intellect in every domain, to bring everything as far as possible to the test of clear and definite notions, and to subject all individual and collective life to a will guided by reason. If this war upon intellect is to continue, it will be a danger for France. Other nations have quite as much, if not more, instinct, spontaneity, passion, and life than we have; what in us has compelled their admiration? What has brought them to us for examples in their search for culture has been the prestige of our clearness, our logic, our intellect. When we shall no longer have these gifts to bestow upon other nations, what will they come hither to seek? However, this assault upon intellect, to whose seduction at one time our youth was yielding, is beginning to lose its vogue.

Another danger, greater than that just pictured, is one which threatens the very existence of the country. I refer to the diminishing birth-rate which we have so long deplored without finding any remedy for it. Sadder still is one of the partial causes for this evil, alcoholism, which has made frightful strides since 1870. This we have already begun to combat, but little progress in the struggle is yet perceptible. Other causes, too, contribute to diminish the birth-rate in France. It would be too long a task to enumerate them here, but they are, in general, social and economic causes which, instead of making it the interest of all to have children, make it the interest of many to suffer the loss of that joy and to repress the natural instincts of paternity or of motherhood.

While recognizing, however, the grave evil, it would be well to inquire whether a large birth-rate is itself the sole criterion of energy. Taking account of the human race or of the animal race, is superiority to be measured solely by fruitfulness? Do power and a civilization belong always and everywhere to the most prolific population?

A continued increase of the birth-rate is a condition of continued existence, and this makes of it an essential element in the greatness of a people, and for this reason we may well deplore its absence among us. But the energy of a people may be measured by other criteria. It should be

measured in the first place by the power of assimilation, which indeed furnishes a partial compensation for a small birth-rate.

France assimilates and has always assimilated the foreigners who take up their residence among us, whether isolated or in groups, and those of our fellow-citizens who, through a blind and mistaken feeling of patriotism, believe they are protecting what they call the " French race " by closing our country to foreigners show their great imprudence, not to say their folly. How many illustrious men and faithful servants of our country would we strike from the list of Frenchmen if the purity of French blood were exacted as an essential to the quality of Frenchman! We should be forced to surrender from among our glories, among many others, Cardinal de Retz (who was a Gondi), the Marechal and the Duc de Broglie, the Marechal de Berwick, the Marechal de Saxe, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Benjamin Constant, Bonaparte, Madame de Stael, Marechal de McMahon, Gambetta, General Bourbaki, Emile Zola, and the great philosopher Bergson. We should have to exclude the three Dumases—the general, who was half negro; the romancer, who was quarter negro; and the author of the *Demi-Monde,* who was one-eighth negro. Montaigne had probably Jewish-Portuguese blood; Sainte-Beuve had English blood. The Mirabeaux came from Italy, the Ronsards probably from Hungary; we would be poor indeed if we rejected all those of mixed blood.

Indeed, one of the most obvious characteristics of our French energy for fifteen or twenty centuries has been the assimilative power of our country. From the beginning of the Christian era we successively digested many Romans, Franks, Visigoths, Burgundians, Normans, Huns, Saracens, Bretons, Irish, Scotch, Italians, and Poles. There is nothing to indicate that this energy or power has decreased, and far from any indignation that the Meztisos are so numerous in France we should rejoice that they come to us and make up the inadequacy of our own birth-rate. Just as the son of a child of Auvergne may make an excellent son of Lorraine, so the son of a Greek, Hungarian, or a German may make an excellent Frenchman.

Another criterion of energy is the ease with which the Frenchman carries the financial burdens of his country, as, for example, the five milliards of the German indemnity

which were so promptly paid. We sustain the burden of heavy taxes, which are collected without trouble; we frequently show an abundant surplus, and the national wealth is growing constantly and at great strides, and all this money comes from the savings of the poorer and middle classes; it is money which represents consolidated labor, and it brings to France an enormous strength in its international relations. We may, indeed, regret that it is not used more frequently within our own borders, and one of the causes of our slow progress in making over our economic equipment and of our slow industrial development is that both the French peasant and the French *bourgeois* prefer to send their money out of France, far away into the dreamlands of romance. This is their way of emigrating; this is their method of adventure. But in our international relations this wealth is the source of incomparable strength and it has all the more weight at this day, because within a few years past French finance has been more closely allied with the foreign politics of the country, and the effects are already apparent.

But it is not only money that we have—we have men. The type of the home-loving Frenchman is a familiar one, following his routine, exhibiting no initiative, and who prefers to grow quietly, to vegetate, in his own country rather than make a fortune by exile; or who is even content with a modest income or a small salary and shrinks from labor and the risks of commerce and of industry. This is a real type, but not the only nor the characteristic type of our people. Recall the share that our compatriots have taken in the creation and in the progress of new industries—aviation and the automobile, for instance. Recall the exploits of our explorers and our colonists.

In the last twenty or thirty years a new French type has arisen, or, better, the resurrection of a type which seemed to have disappeared since the day when we lost Canada and the Indies—the type of the colonial Frenchman —energetic, active, enterprising, less a man of the world than a man of action. Our literature is beginning to take account of him and to picture him, to the delight of our youth.

It has been a traditional subject of jest among foreigners, and even among Frenchmen, to mock at our colonists—at our colonies said to be established by governmental fiat and

to which in default of colonists we exported functionaries or office-holders. It is quite true that the Frenchman is content at home; it is quite true that the Frenchman is readily satisfied with a small salary or a narrow income which permits him to remain among his own in his town or little village; it is also quite true that he values wealth less than security and that the regular salary of some administrative place or the assurance of a small income satisfy his ambitions by securing him the privilege of spending his days in the places and among the people he loves.

But give to this same Frenchman who declines to leave his native home, his friends, or his family in quest of fortune in Africa or in Indo-China some little duty to perform; make him a sub-lieutenant or a subaltern officer, an undergovernor or an administrative clerk; give him the hope of a modest retiring pension or of a small tobacco-stand upon which his widow may live, and he will go into any unknown land and risk his health and his life as often as need requires; he will spend himself in the public interest and for the fatherland; he will become Henri Riviere or de Brazza or one of many others of that type. There is no finer human type than this of our French explorers or French soldiers who labor to acquire for France vast territories without the spilling of human blood and without even divorcing the expansion of national territory from the constant effort to better the conditions of life among the populations which are made subject to us.

M. de Brazza conquered the Congo land, we may say, alone, with no escort but two or three natives, without ever firing a shot; he won over the negroes, he subjected them to French authority, because he made them conscious of a France that was powerful and just and capable of defending these unfortunate populations against the savagery of slave-dealers and the cupidity of their petty kinglets.

What does all this signify unless it demonstrates that our energy is an idealistic energy? Money-making is not in general a determining motive for the Frenchman; he will not set out on such a quest; he must be beckoned by the service of the country or by some religious or philosophic idea; by the desire to serve humanity, or perhaps simply by the ambition and the joy of becoming a chief, a commander. The Frenchman who cannot be dragged out of his own coun-

try by the love of fortune will be more readily drawn to the colonies by the delight of exercising some share of authority. And yet in these latter days the union of commercial activities, with the superior interests of country and humanity, is being better realized by Frenchmen and more than one young man among us is often looking out in the direction of Tunis, of the Congo, of Madagascar, of Indo-China, and much youthful energy is being expended in those far-off lands in agriculture, in industry, and in commerce, with a certainty of enlarging the common patrimony of wealth and of honor.

I cannot close this summary and very incomplete picture of the actual condition of our nation without a word in regard to our relations with Germany—that is, the question of Alsace-Lorraine. The foreigner is often astray in looking for the reasons of the attitude of the French toward Germany; beyond question our defeat of 1870 deeply wounded us in our national pride, in our chauvinism, if you will. But the wound went deeper than that; it touched us in the most sensitive point of our national conscience. For more than one hundred years past one of the sentiments dearest to Frenchmen, one of the ideas to which their reason clung with greatest force, was their faith in the right of nationality, in the principle that varying groups of mankind should be free to dispose of themselves and to adopt whatever political régime they chose and to be a part of such national organization as they preferred. We had put this maxim into practice by coming to the rescue of the English colonies revolting against the motherland, and during the nineteenth century we had repeatedly put it into practice on every occasion by the sympathy and the aid which we gave unstinted to Greece, to Poland, to Ireland, to Hungary, and to Italy.

Pushing our faith and disinterestedness beyond the verge of prudence, we gave no consideration to the danger of helping to establish in Europe a group of great nations that might one day become our menace; more than once, indeed, we showed our sympathy with the desire and the effort of the Germans for a national unity, for a unity which could only be accomplished at our expense. Could we, then, be expected, having so often yielded to this sentiment on behalf of others—could we be expected to smother it when we were ourselves involved? Could we quietly admit that Alsace and

Lorraine might, without their own will, be constrained to become German?

This explains why the Treaty of Frankfort was submitted to as an unquestioned fact, but never accepted as the genesis of a new and final right.

But, on the other hand, for forty years past France has desired peace; during all that time she has been profoundly pacific. This was, perhaps, due in part to the memory of the defeat, to apprehension of a renewed risk, to a sort of superstitious dread of that great military machine which we call Germany and the operations of which were alive to our imagination as brutally and inexorably irresistible, but it was also largely due to a human dread of the frightful disaster which must be involved in a war with the perfected weapons at the disposal of both peoples, and to the conviction that the victor in that field would itself be ruined for years to come, if not mortally exhausted. This is the explanation of our apparently paradoxical attitude of declining to accept peace as the safest status and of being unwilling to engage in war.

Meanwhile the world is moving. Europe has gradually, with a somewhat slow intelligence, aided, however, by experience, realized the consequence of 1870 which overturned the conditions of European equilibrium.

The Russian alliance furnished us security against a new aggression. The *entente cordiale* has brought us closer to our century-old rival, England. We have regained the friendship of Italy, although Italy is still a member of the Triple Alliance. But while seeking for her security abroad, France remained uneasy and uncertain about herself, and here it was that Germany rendered us a signal service.

She had, indeed, for the last forty years been doing us a good turn by her methods of treating the populations of the annexed territory of Alsace-Lorraine. She kept alive their French sentiment, the realization and the will to be and to remain French in tradition and in culture. She prevented the Alsatians and the Lorraines, incorporated into the German Empire against their will and compelled to accommodate themselves to the new life, from going so far as to fall away from the traditions of French civilization. She has shown a conspicuous inability to assimilate them and has failed to ripen or to gather the full fruit of her political and military conquest.

But beyond this and beginning in 1906, Germany has done us another great service. She has unconsciously wrought a renewal of our confidence in ourselves. By the alarm of Tangiers (the visit of the Emperor), of Casablanca (in the matter of deserters), of Agadir (the sending of her gunboat), France has forced the entire French nation for the first time to look war in the face—to realize the necessity for a people to accept the risks of war in certain contingencies without tremor and without retreat—to stand firmly upon the right and without fear of the result, to put a limit to concessions when they cease to be honorable.

This is what France has done during the half-year just past. There is in this neither chauvinism, nor blind hatred of the foreigner, nor boasting, nor provocation. France wants no war; she recognizes in the broadest way the rightful interests of other nations, even those of her conqueror, Germany. She accepts as far as she may without endangering her own security and her vast interests the point of view of the Germany which aspired to enhance its own growth and which is searching an outlet for the activity of its subjects. This readiness to put oneself in another's place, to appreciate another's point of view, and to pass judgment with an impartial disinterestedness of its own claims, is one of the marks of the intelligence of our people, as it should be of every people. It was this facility of assimilation of another point of view than her own which impelled France a few years ago to accept so readily and without the least resentment the humiliating abandonment of Fachoda. The mass of our citizens recognized what the interests and the rights of England compelled that country to insist upon. They took cognizance of the particular injuries which the somewhat inconsiderate and vexatious activity of some of our statesmen might occasion.

France was equally ready to take into account the exigencies of German honor and of German interest, but German diplomacy in demanding too much and demanding it in too German a fashion made the whole country alive to the necessity of saying "No," of saying it resolutely, and of refusing to yield anything which could not be yielded with honor.

In general, Germany—diplomats, press, and nation—have no understanding of the psychology of the French people. They explain all our acts by referring them to a fantastic

idea of our character which they have themselves constructed upon their victory of 1870, and it is by this misunderstanding that they so grievously erred on certain occasions in interpreting or forecasting the conduct of France.

In the latest affair of Morocco, Germany has restored the will-power of France. The uneasiness which many among us might have entertained as to the attitude of the nation under trying circumstances has disappeared; we are now as confident of the moral force of the country as we are of her material strength. This assurance we owe to Germany, and when she rises to a clear comprehension of the extent to which her action has strengthened the soul of the French nation the peace of Europe will be assured for long years to come.

GUSTAVE LANSON.

# WHEN THE PRISONER RETURNS

BY O. F. LEWIS

As profound a problem in the treatment of the criminal as there is before the people of the United States to-day is the case of the discharged or the released prisoner. Formerly the prisoner served his term with commutation for "good time"—that is, he received a definite sentence. By exemplary conduct or industry he cut from his time in prison sometimes a third, perhaps more. Discharged from the prison, he faced the world with a new suit of clothes, a small sum of money, and his railroad ticket back to the place from which he had been sent to prison. The prison authorities no longer had anything "on him." He had paid his debt. The world had punished him for his crime. The slate was clean.

What was he to do? Who cared save the pals and the gang that awaited his return to the Kingdom of Crookedness? Who would take this social leper to work? Who would be strong enough, among these social lepers, to play the part of Jean Valjean in real American life? What was the inevitable line of least resistance? The State had sent him away to punish him, and God knows he frequently received his punishment. Within the memory of men still young who have done time in State prisons in Eastern States inmates have pushed their fingers into molten metal to incapacitate them from the inhuman strain of contract labor under the "old" conditions or have thrown themselves out of factory windows upon the flagging beneath, that broken arms or legs might send them for a respite to the prison hospital. Those were evil days.

One can say to-day that in many States those evil days have passed. This is not the place to canvass American prisons for prison abuses, for the water cure, the lash, the

manacling up of the prisoner to his cell door in impossible postures. That such punishments still sporadically exist is testified to by prisoners, and legislative committees still bring such instances to light. But in an increasing number of prisons the wardens are progressive, thoughtful, big-hearted men, and the day of corporal punishment is passing.

The question to-day has shifted from prison abuses to prison labor; from prison madness to prison sickness or health; from prison punishment to prison reformation; from the penal servitude problem to the economic problem on the one hand of the maintenance of prisons at the least cost to the State, and on the other to the rehabilitation of the prisoner as an industrially productive member of society.

The problem of the released prisoner is not a small problem nor one that will take care of itself. It is the question whether each year somewhere from fifty to five hundred thousand persons, each one of whom has stared prison bars in the face, will go " right " or go " wrong."

This country has recently been swept by a wave of anti-tuberculosis sentiment. We have read that some 200,000 persons die yearly from the great white plague. It is a national problem. But if tuberculosis insidiously steals through the social body, infecting neighbors and striking down victims, should we not also be nationally concerned as to the army of thousands upon thousands of those convicted of crime, or tried for crime, who pour back into the social body—to go " right " or to go " wrong "?

There is a first stage in tuberculosis during which the victim is still curable and during which the disease alters but little the external appearance of the sufferer. So with the road to crime. The jail, the workhouse, the village lock-up, even the penitentiary are often pest-holes in the breeding of crime that can compare remarkably with the slums, the filthy back yards, the cheap lodging-houses, and other centers of tuberculosis infection.

The argument as to the seriousness of our crime problem does not need to go to an allied disease for a strengthening analogy. Take the number of discharges from institutions of a penal nature reported by the New York Commission of Prisons for the twelve months ending September 30, 1910:

| Institution. | Discharges. |
|---|---|
| Prisons | 2,137 |
| Reformatories (male) | 1,804 |
| Penitentiaries | 11,837 |
| County Jails | 35,610 |
| New York City Institutions | 100,447 |
| Total Discharges | 151,835 |

There is probably considerable overlapping here. But let us assume one overlapping in every three discharges. We still have over 100,000 discharges from behind the bars. Ask yourself how slight or how indelible would be to you the sensation of even one night's imprisonment and you have the answer to the statement often made: "Well, the great bulk of incarcerations are but for a day or two and the man is out again, so what does it matter?"

If there are 100,000 discharges from correctional institutions each year in New York State, how many are there throughout the country? Five hundred thousand? Perhaps a million? Does one person in eighty or ninety of our population get behind the bars once a year? Is not the question of the released prisoner, then, one of moment?

We search for the causes of poverty and crime in wretched living conditions, in child labor, in the wrong kind of education, in orphanhood, in unsupervised street life. But what shall we say of the hundreds of thousands of discharges from jails and workhouses each year as crime-producers? Were the jails and the workhouses of our land our finest structures, best managed and best appointed, serving as reformatories for the short-sentenced man or woman, they might be real reform schools. But startling indictments are still brought against the average jail.

"Most jails are so constructed that it is impossible to prevent the association of their inmates. Jail friendships have made many a novice a lifelong criminal. . . . One of the most serious defects is the lack of proper ventilation. A large proportion of the jail inmates are diseased. In some jails there are no facilities for bathing. The ordinary jail can be kept in sanitary condition only by unremitting vigilance. Overcrowding necessitates the placing of two or more prisoners in a cell, which is injurious to health as well as to morals. The monotony of jail life is very injurious. Many jails have no libraries or collections of small value. In many States, in the rural counties, criminal terms are infrequent, and men lie in jail for months awaiting trial. Sometimes they are acquitted and have no remedy for the wrong done them. The num-

ber of jail inmates is increased by the fee system (so much per prisoner), especially in the rural counties." *

In short, by far the greatest number of men committed to correctional institutions in the United States are committed for comparatively short terms to poorly kept institutions, with no reformatory influences, where idleness largely prevails, where the novice in crime can be taught debauchery not only for the asking, but often in spite of himself. And this kind of institution—in point of numbers the real type of American correctional institution—we endure in probably every State of the Union and, it can be frankly said, we are indifferent to it in spite of its being universally considered by penologists as a school of crime.

Reference to the special census report of 1904 on the population of penal institutions in the United States shows that of 149,691 prisoners committed to penal institutions during 1904 practically seven out of ten were committed to country jails and workhouses. We also find that the most frequent commitments were for drunkenness (23 per cent.), vagrancy (19 per cent.), larceny (16 per cent.), and disorderly conduct (11.5 per cent.). The offenses of drunkenness, vagrancy, and disorderly conduct are perhaps the least among many crimes, yet, in a word, we imprison under the worst conditions the great bulk of our prison population.

Would any one to-day say, if all our penal institutions were wiped out at a sweep of the hand, that the small prison should be the last to take on reformatory or sanitary attributes? The gospel of the prevention of poverty pervades the land, yet jails endure, numbering eighty-eight per cent. of our penal institutions, while reformatories number only one per cent. of our penal institutions.

This country can prosper only in proportion as our national life is sane, sound, and secure. To-day the precept still is: "Stay out of prison if you value your life."

Let us turn now to the question of the return of the convict —the major prisoner, so to speak; he who has sinned grievously against society's laws. What chance has he to "square it," to make good in life? This brings us to the questions of the indeterminate sentence and parole—two modern features of prison discipline that have revolutionized American penology. Neither the indeterminate

* Charles R. Henderson, in *Correction and Prevention;* New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1910.

sentence nor parole is effective without the other. Complementing each other, they bid fair to go far toward the solution of the problem of the felon who returns from prison.

The indeterminate sentence—let it be said at once—is not absolutely indeterminate in any State of the Union. It is a sentence to prison within limits. For instance, the judge sentences to Elmira Reformatory without stating the length of sentence. But a State law provides that while no minimum shall be set (that matter being left to the decision of the board of managers of the reformatory), the maximum term during which a prisoner may be confined at Elmira is the period equal to that which would have been the maximum for the crime committed had the judge pronounced a definite sentence. By a merit system automatically checking up the prisoner's work in the shops, his conduct in general, and his scholarship in the schools, he is relatively master of his fate.

A second form of the indeterminate sentence is applied in the sentencing of men to the New York State prisons, an indeterminate sentence with maximum and minimum—not less than two years and six months, for instance, and not more than four years. At the expiration of the minimum sentence the prisoner thus sentenced is eligible for parole, the decision as to his release upon parole resting generally with a board of parole or with the board of managers of the institution.

The indeterminate sentence, putting the burden of proof of eligibility for parole upon the prisoner, acts as a stimulus to the man eager to be again on the outside, while, ironically enough, it chafes and irritates the old-timer, who, in the course of repeated prison terms, has thrown upon the prison régime and regulations much of the burden of thinking for him and directing him. To the prisoner who formerly, under the definite sentence, knew that his only hope of a shortened sentence was through good time, the indeterminate sentence is an additional spur in that the expiration of the minimum is generally sooner than the expiration of the definite sentence less the good-time commutation. From the administration standpoint, which should represent the standpoint of society which maintains these penal institutions, the indeterminate sentence has the further important value of placing the released prisoner under the supervision of

official parole agents during a considerable period after the provisional release.

What have been the results, first as to the indeterminate sentence within the walls, and secondly as to the after-lives of the released prisoners without the walls? Amos W. Butler, recently president of the American Prison Association and also secretary of the State Board of Charities and Correction of Indiana, has written thus:

"The following States now have reformatories operating under the indeterminate sentence and parole system: Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin. In some States the indeterminate sentence also applies to the State prison. This is true in Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Mexico, and Washington.

"Prisoners are committed to prison under either definite or indeterminate sentences in Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

"Another result is to be observed in the deterrent effect of the indeterminate sentence. While the first offender may be released at the end of the minimum sentence, the average time of imprisonment is lengthened. The law has resulted in extending the time of imprisonment of confirmed criminals. Those who formerly compromised with the officials by pleading guilty to a minor offense and received a short sentence are now given the indeterminate sentence, and if their full history were known the probability is that they would serve the entire maximum sentence prescribed by law for the offense of which they were convicted. We find that when such persons are released from prison they do not want a railroad ticket to the place from which they were sentenced; they want transportation to some place without the State, and generally leave expressing strong feelings against the law and avowing their intention of not being caught again in a State which has such a system."

The tendency is to extend the indeterminate sentence in States where it already has a footing. Shall it be applied to life prisoners, as by recent act of the New York Legislature, making them eligible for parole at the expiration of twenty years from the day of sentence? Shall it apply to those whose sentences have been commuted by executive clemency from death to "life"? Will the time come when even the capital crimes will be followed by an indeterminate sentence? If there is no minimum sentence imposed, as in the case of Elmira Reformatory, should there logically be any maximum imposed?

Joseph F. Scott, formerly superintendent of Elmira Reformatory and a leading prison administrator, said at the

State Conference of Charities and Correction in New York in 1908:

"The maximum limit should be removed from the indeterminate sentence, to have it thoroughly effective. An inmate should not be released from prison unless he has shown evidences of reformation through his own efforts. It is as senseless to release a man from prison who shows no evidences of reformation as it is to release a lunatic from a lunatic asylum who has shown no improvement. . . . I now plead for the abolition of the maximum period for State-prison sentences, allowing the magistrates simply to determine the minimum sentences, the sentence to be entirely indefinite beyond the minimum time so fixed. With all sentences to reformatory institutions indefinite, and all sentences to State prisons indefinite beyond a minimum period, no prisoner would be released without the safeguards of parole."

Moral degenerates the indeterminate sentence should permit a board of parole to retain permanently within prison walls or until liberation again seems safe for society. Note that by present laws the indeterminate sentence holds no prisoner longer than the term of the definite maximum sentence that might be imposed upon him.

Let us turn now to the parole period, that period of conditional freedom when theoretically the paroled man is supervised by parole agents in the interest of the State. Here we face the great question: "After prison, what?" Let us first ask what facts are available as to the reformation and rehabilitation of ex-prisoners.

First, we are justified in assuming that the bulk of released prisoners want to "square it." Cynical on the surface, perhaps, while in prison, they nevertheless come to see that for the confirmed crook there is in the end nothing in it.

Is employment as hard to find as it used to be? Not by any means, at least in New York State, for the man from behind the bars. In fact, by the terms of the parole law each man paroled from Elmira Reformatory and from any of the State prisons must have work already assured him before his release, obtained through his own letters or through the exertions of his friends. The difficulty that the Prison Association of New York finds is not the initial search for employment for the ex-convict, but the difficulty of holding the ex-prisoner to his "job" and of securing him further employment when, as he so often does, he gives up his first job.

Many of the paroled men are child-like, if not childish.

They want you to do their thinking for them. Their minds run off on tangents. They see mountains where mole-hills exist, yet fail to discern the real mountains when their inclinations lead them to self-gratification.

Such, then, in the main, is the problem of the discharged prisoner. He wants to square it; he says he would work if he had it; he has relatively little difficulty in getting it; society, as a rule, is not against him to the extent of cutting off every source of legitimate income. Fairly few persons will take him into their houses as employee, but he finds employment in factories, with contractors, as driver or helper or porter, sometimes as farm-hand. He needs a persistent, sympathetic, but firm friend, and he needs to be supervised, held to the mark of good conduct through months and often through years, or he will revert to crime.

You and I for two reasons want the ex-convict to make good. Never was the realization of universal brotherhood so strong as now. We want the man on parole to make good because we feel that he has been to a larger or smaller extent the victim of circumstances—a man who didn't have a fair chance to grow up. We do not take great stock in innate depravity, in moral turpitude as the causes of crime. We see the slums, and child labor, and the orphan asylum, and the street life of city urchins, and we subconsciously question what we would have become, perhaps, under like conditions. We know that environment has prevented many a man now a criminal from starting right.

Secondly, we want the ex-convict to make good because it costs much if he doesn't. Every man imprisoned in State prison costs probably over a hundred dollars a year for maintenance. In New York State the State-prison maintenance cost per capita is annually in the neighborhood of $140. Prison labor may wipe out a third of that cost, and in States where the contractor comes in to bid for the labor of the men the State may even clear all expenses for each inmate by each inmate's work. Or, as in Minnesota, the State may control the binder-twine industry and make the prison self-supporting.

But the criminal on the outside is all cost. The State prison ex-convict who does not reform is a dangerous element in society. The State can well afford, then, to invest a reasonable sum in post-prison reformation for its own sake. What are now the percentages of reformation?

To quote Mr. Butler again. In the twelve and one-half years ending September 30, 1909, 4,893 men were paroled from the Indiana Reformatory and the Indiana State prison. Between April 1, 1900, and November 30, 1909, 160 women were paroled from the Indiana women's prison. All of these were released upon conditions which impose honest, law-abiding lives for a period of at least one year each. During the term of their parole they were visited from time to time by the State's agents and they were required to make regular written reports. The following tabulation contains the record of each of the three institutions named:

| | Reformatory. | State Prison. | Woman's Prison. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Received final discharge | 1,576 | 1,025 | 79 | 2,680 |
| Sentence expired during parole period | 272 | 125 | 22 | 419 |
| Returned for violation of parole | 422 | 299 | 25 | 746 |
| Delinquent and at large | 432 | 126 | 22 | 580 |
| Died | 58 | 32 | 3 | 93 |
| Reporting | 339 | 187 | 9 | 535 |
| Total paroled | 3,099 | 1,794 | 160 | 5,053 |
| Percentage of unsatisfactory cases | 27.5 | 23.6 | 29.3 | 26.2 |

On the average, one out of every four paroled prisoners reverts to crime within the year. Three out of four "stay straight," which, with so many odds against the released man, is surely a good record. But these records of "reformations" are for the period of parole, which in New York is six months, in Indiana one year, in Massachusetts for the period between the time of release on parole and the maximum sentence. What constitutes reformation? Good behavior while on parole or permanent lawful conduct?

The Prison Association of New York has during the last year made a specially careful analysis of the after-lives of some five hundred men released on parole from Elmira Reformatory during the year 1904 to the Prison Association as parole agent. These men have been out now over seven years. It was of the utmost interest and importance that these men should be tested by the standard of "reformation"—*i. e.*, keeping out of prison after release. For the test of the prison or the reformatory is, after all, what it makes of its inmates.

The research, conducted with special carefulness, showed that of four hundred and fifty men paroled in 1904 at least forty per cent. by 1910 had again found their way behind

the bars. In addition to the forty-odd per cent. thus definitely traced a considerable percentage were untraceable. The presumption is that these "unknowns" found their way into prison again in at least the same percentage as the "knowns." So that pretty nearly one out of two of the 1904 group was not reformed by the reformatory, and continued, at least eventually, upon his criminal career.

Does this mean that the State is making a failure of its reformatory? Not so. It means principally that the reformatory, having developed up-to-date methods of training for citizenship the inmates within the walls, has not as yet developed the necessary supervision without the walls. If with quite inadequate supervision through a few scattered parole agents only one out of four ex-convicts slips back, what might be done with a complete system of friendly, well-organized supervision extending not over a period of six months or nine months or a year solely, but to the end of the maximum sentence of the man on parole? Indeed, the figures of the careful investigation above quoted are hopeful. They show what has already been done under partial supervision. They show conclusively that even in the case of the more serious crimes there is little in the pessimistic and traditional adage, "Once a thief, always a thief."

What, then, seem to be the natural lines of development for the future?

First, a fight all along the line against the continuance of demoralizing, unhealthy, idleness-breeding jails and penitentiaries. The abolition of the type of jail that our best prison administrators call schools of crime. The continued presence of these jails throughout the United States is due in part to the nature of the officials in command; in part also to the indifference generally felt by a county or a political division of a State as to the introduction of industrial plants, costly new buildings, reformatory methods, and individual care of the prisoners. Sheriffs and jailers, unversed in penology and appointed only too often for political reasons, regard the care of the prisoner as finished when they prevent his escape and keep him alive. There are many exceptions to the rule, but the general truth of the proposition holds.

Therefore, the public opinion of each community must be aroused to the necessity of humane, redemptive treatment for first and minor offenders. There should be not

only separation of men and women in jail quarters, but also of adults and minors. There should be employment, and decent food, and sanitary cells, and speedy justice for those awaiting trial. These are not impossible demands; their absence makes many a jail little better than a pest-hole. In the field of correctional institutions the American jail is the white man's burden. Has not the time come when the house should be put in order?

So much for the institution that stands at the beginning of the crime ladder. Secondly now, how can we reduce the percentage of recidivism in crime? How can this country produce a permanent seventy-five per cent. of reformations and rehabilitations instead of the present fifty per cent. or so? Not by radical changes in our present reformatory or prison systems except in the direction of greater individualization of treatment. Rather by the extension of the indeterminate sentence along practical lines, and especially by the extension of the supervision of paroled prisoners.

It would seem that the necessary extension of the reformation and rehabilitation of the prisoner would include a State-wide system of parole in each State. At present there are, perhaps, thirty prisoners' aid societies in the United States. Despite the fact that such relief societies for discharged prisoners were early established in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York, other forms of charitable effort have forged ahead and at present there are two hundred or more charity organization societies in this country to a score of prisoners' aid associations. Nor do all of these associations for discharged prisoners act as parole agents. State after State reports that it does little or nothing in parole supervision of prisoners. Yet the test of any institution is its results, and by the fruits of our prisons shall we know their usefulness as reformatories.

Let us, then, for the future contemplate State-wide systems of parole supervision, with centralized direction, either a State-supported department or under the direction of a private society. Logically, the parole work should, perhaps, be under the direction of the board of parole, assuming that the board of parole is a body appointed by the Governor, with long tenure of office, and appointed independent of political pressure. Such a system of parole agents, stationed throughout the State and covering rural districts as well as the cities, should be composed of carefully picked

men knowing the complex psychology of their wards and filled with optimism as well as vested with authority.

Each man on parole — which should include all men paroled from State prisons and reformatories and probably all those who have received indeterminate sentences with maximums of over six months—should be seen at work and at home at least once a month. Not only should the paroled man be required to render a written report monthly to the board that paroled him, but there should be also a report in detail each month from the parole officer that has him under supervision. It would seem that at least one parole officer is needed for each seventy-five men on parole. In the smaller cities and in the rural districts it will be possible to use frequently for parole purposes the probation officers already appointed to supervise those upon whom suspended sentence has been pronounced, but who have been allowed to go in conditional freedom during an extended period of probation.

Paroled men will need help of various sorts: financial assistance, employment, clothing, shoes, tools, and so forth. In the future the means of most effectively providing this help must be worked out. In New York the State chartered the Prison Association nearly seventy years ago for this purpose, and perhaps in that State the Prison Association would logically be the body to develop the parole work and the needed relief extension. In other States local conditions must be considered, but certain it is that the policy of adequate yet reasonable aid and assistance to the discharged prisoner is not only humane, but also in the highest degree economical.

In a large State it will probably be necessary to have several offices in different parts of the State, partly for the purpose of developing opportunities of employment. The paroled man should never long fail of a chance to work in case he is not an intentional idler. That " Satan finds work for idle hands to do " certainly applies in the case of paroled men. In addition, the interest of the community should be stimulated in the lot of the ex-prisoner. What can be done? Recently a quiet, inconspicuous club has grown up in New York City. It calls itself the Barrows League. Its membership includes business and professional men and social workers. The League numbers now about fifty men and meets monthly; it is the big-brother move-

ment adapted to adult ex-prisoners. Many of its members have already given employment to men from "up river" and from Elmira. Other members have given of their time to find employment for the friendless men who have "done time." Others of the club, lawyers by profession, have interested themselves in the legal difficulties of some of the ex-prisoners, notably in recovering money or property that was due them.

Along these lines, then, it would seem that we may profitably develop our prison system. The population of the United States is increasing rapidly. The twentieth century is becoming certainly a century of urban civilization. City life is a stimulator of crime. Immigration adds to the crime problem, and the law creates each year new misdemeanors and felonies. Our correctional institutions need additions. New prisons cost two or three million dollars each. Legislatures are the watch-dogs of the State treasury, and new prisons do not grow on every bush. Nor are prisons the only disciplinary institutions we need. We hope for farm colonies for vagrants and tramps, farm colonies for the inebriate, reformatories for misdemeanants as well as felons. The juvenile reformatories, transformed along the cottage plan, become far more costly. And for health and hygiene, for the insane and the defectives, urgent annual pleas for appropriations are made.

Why not, then, seek the most economical means of checking or reducing the amount of recidivism or repetition of crime? Whether a prisoner is serving his first or his second term, he occupies room and consumes food.

Any prison system must justify itself. In the olden days, when imprisonment was retributive, if the prison punished sufficiently it justified itself. Now in this century when again the question is asked, "Art thou thy brother's keeper?" that system of penology that will endure must answer three questions: First, "What are you doing to keep persons from becoming criminals?" Second, "What are you doing to reform and rehabilitate your criminals in prison?" Third, "What are you doing to prevent them from reverting to crime when they are released from prison?"

How do we of the year 1912 measure up to these questions?

O. F. Lewis.

# ARE THE JEWS AN INFERIOR RACE?

BY NAHUM WOLF

RECENT anti-Jewish publications abroad are zealously disseminating the idea that the Jews are an inferior race. Based on anthropology and biased by personal psychology, anti-Semitic literature advances the theory that the Jewish race is divested of the higher forms of genius and is to be regarded as an uncreative, imitative, practical, and utilitarian body. Mental inferiority and spiritual impotency circulate accordingly in the very blood of the Jew.

It was in Germany where this theory first sprung into existence, and her illustrious men like Fichte, Schopenhauer, Dühring, Wagner, and von Hartmann were the fathers of it. Whatever opinions one may hold of the general teachings of these geniuses, it is certain that those concerning Jewry were largely engendered by prejudices and as such are problematical and uncreditable. Genius is no warrant against prejudice and a great mind no bar against false presumptions. The wings of an eagle may carry him into the farthermost ideal regions, but they may also level him to the ground.

Particularly is it so with a prejudice that ranges so wide and far, that knows not the barriers of sea and mountain, human tongue and color, caste and creed, as anti-Semitism unfortunately is. Once born into a society permeated with anti-Jewish ideas, the would-be genius imbues them from his very childhood and remains thereafter slave to anti-Semitism just as the ordinary man. Moreover, the great man, who is bent to carry everything to its extreme, furthers national prejudices to their utmost as well. While with the plain mortals anti-Jewish ideas can be put together in a few syllables, the genius erects out of them a whole philosophical structure—a theory as cardinal and extreme as might be any theory of his on the riddle of the universe.

Such was the case in Germany and other European countries. The average German ascribed whatever qualities he found in the Jew—bad or good, if any—to a certain *superiority* of his. The Jew is banker and gambler in stocks, because his commercial abilities eclipse those of his Christian neighbor. He is amassing wealth and fortune by all means, honest and dishonest, because his brains are saturated with schemes. He is doctor, lawyer, and not hard-working artisan, because to him life itself is identical with a higher station in life and because he is endowed with the nerve to fight and conquer adverse circumstances.

The German philosophers construed a theory diametrically opposed to this. To them it is the inferiority and not the superiority that is accountable for all the qualities of the Jew. He is speculating in stocks, because he is unable to speculate in metaphysics. He is practising law, because he is practical. He is usurer, because he has use for nothing besides money. He is engaged in medicine, because his vision does not penetrate farther than the earthly body, human soul being for him a book under seal and cover. In short, the Jew is a pygmy, bound to the earth, shackled from cradle to grave by all that is concrete and limited.

It was this theory that lent the anti-Semitic movement in Europe all its vitality and gave birth to a literature as copious and profuse as any. Hundreds of writings have since come to light voicing the same sentiment—some repeating in parrot manner all that had been said by the great men, some indulging in attempts at further original thinking. Curiously enough, these theories are beginning to gain a foothold among the Anglo-Saxon nations hitherto regarded as the least susceptible to anti-Jewish teachings. They are even encroaching now upon the shores of America —the land whose very air seems to offer the least nourishment for all those microbes called chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and so forth.

A writer in the February issue of The North American Review says: "*The Jews have survived one empire after another of their oppressors, but have never had an empire of their own. If success has attended their efforts with all their immiscibility, a character so unattractive, even repellent, their shortcomings even in righteousness and their insignificance in everything else, without poetry, without science, without art, and without character, what shall be*

*the result with the Chinese?"** and so forth, and so forth. We leave it to the esteemed author to hold the character of the Jew in such poor estimation. This is a matter wholly concerning him. Character is, after all, a subjective thing and any attempt to bring it out by objective means, to precisely measure and weigh its value, must prove futile. What attracts one in a given character repels another and *vice versa*. The point to be contended is whether the Jews are a nation with "shortcomings in righteousness, without poetry, without science, and without art."

Considering righteousness, it has been proven by many European students of note that the trend toward criminality is much less represented by the Jewish race than by most of the European nations. While the proportion of crimes committed by Jews against property is in many countries exceeding that of their Christian neighbors, the proportion of those committed against life is tremendously smaller. The hand of the Jewish criminal draws back into inactivity as soon as bloodshed comes into question. Again, the greater proportion of crimes against property finds its sufficient reason in the peculiar socio-economic structure of the Jews. They being a townspeople through historical force and having their economic activity principally absorbed in commerce—a commensurate excess in malefactions against property is quite natural. Bankruptcy and similar cases should especially be considered in this conjunction.

But to turn to the world of mental creation. To take the Bible first. The Five Books of the Old Testament, the Book of Ecclesiastes, of Job, of the Proverbs, Solomon's Song, the Psalms, and in particular the Prophets—are they not the most wonderful, unsurpassable productions of genius? How many books like these is mankind in a position to refer to? Exclude the Bible from circulation and humanity will lose much of its poetry. A great lamp, diffusing voluminous light into our dark nooks, will then be extinguished. It is indubitable that the omnipotent and omnipresent influence of the Bible is not chiefly due to its religious sanctity. It is quite as resultant from its genial visions, wit and philosophy, from its deep-sourced inspiration and enchanting style.

Or we delve into another production of the Hebrew spirit —into the so-called Agada, legends dotted here and there

* "Jew and Chinaman," by William Trant.

in the Talmud and Midrash. Are they not the most poetical creations, teeming with fantasy and wit?

And the Talmud itself, that gigantic scholastic work which elaborated Jewish ethics, is surely a monument to the deep-reaching, analytical mind of the Jew. Many of the Tenaim and Amoraim, the authors of the Talmud, were unquestionably geniuses of the highest caliber.

Taking refuge among the Jewish geniuses of modern times, we encounter the names of Baruch Spinoza, David Ricardo, Karl Marx, Lassalle, Heinrich Heine; Mendelssohn, Bartholdy, and Rubinstein in music; Disraeli; Antokolsky in sculpture; the youthful philosopher Otto Weininger, whose book, *Geschlecht und Charakter,* made a tremendous stir in European philosophical circles; our contemporary philosophers, Henri Bergson in France and Hermann Cohn in Germany; and last but not least Joseph Israels, the greatest painter modern Holland has produced.

We have counted thirteen geniuses of the very highest mark. All of them indicate epochs in this or the other sphere of human culture. All of them are as immortal as is humanity itself. Were we to venture, we could prolong that phalanx of Jewish geniuses by adding many talents of high order, who are still tapping at the door of everlasting fame. But we wish to be as strict and unlavish in bestowing the crown of genius as possible.

Surely the above-named thirteen geniuses suffice to demonstrate the presence of higher genius in the Jewish race—a people numbering only eleven million. One poet like Heinrich Heine—one of the greatest lyrists the world has ever known—or one Karl Marx, whose name is indelibly written in the annals of mankind and is in Europe the nearest known name to those of Moses, Jesus, Mahomet, and Luther—would do to repudiate the statement of Jewish insignificance. So will also the hundreds of highly gifted Jews who are swarming in the literature, art, and science of practically every country and among whom are to be found such universally known names as those of Georg Brandes, Lombroso, Max Nordau, Russia's greatest painter Levitan and Germany's foremost living painter Max Lieberman, Sara Bernhardt, Professor Ehrlich, and many others!

In the face of all these shining lights the argument that the Jews are an inferior race bursts like a soap-bubble!

NAHUM WOLF.

# ASPECTS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

## V

In the preceding articles of this series I have endeavored to set forth both the practical and the theoretical arguments for and against Public Ownership with entire impartiality; and I have written in vain if I have not at least succeeded in making clear the enormous complexities of the subject and the difficulty, if not indeed the impossibility, of approaching it fairly and comprehensively from any absolute standpoint. No social or political problem of our times so little lends itself to elucidation by reference to rigid and preconceived formulæ; none is so readily beclouded by the use of arguments and illustrations that are valid only in isolated and highly specialized conditions; in none is the common habit of drawing general inferences from particular instances so beset with pitfalls and so sure to lead an inquirer astray. We have seen in these articles that the better way is not to indulge in large abstractions, still less in loose analogies, however plausible, but to insist on each specific question of Public Ownership being discussed on its merits as, above all things, a local question—a question, that is to say, dependent for its proper solution in any given case upon the nature of the utility under consideration and upon the character, administrative training and aptitudes, social and political environment, and so on, of the community concerned in solving it. Another and not less fundamental point it has been sought to establish is that to define the main issue as one of Public Ownership *versus* Private Ownership is to proceed upon a very partial and incomplete analysis, and that the real alternative is between Public Ownership and an attainably better system of Private Ownership than now as a rule obtains—a system preserving the advantages of private enterprise and at the same time

safeguarding every public interest. How such a system has already been evolved in a few communities, and might be evolved in all, was explained in some detail in the second article. Again, I have tried to do full justice to the strength of the case for Public Ownership, particularly on its social side, admitting that its benefits cannot and should not be assessed by any purely financial test, while disputing the contention that municipalities are better qualified to make a business success of their undertakings than are corporations. In the last article an attempt was made to lay down a rough-and-ready dividing-line between those enterprises that should be in public hands and those that should not; and at the same time it was shown to be extremely doubtful whether British municipalities as a whole are not actually losing money instead of making it on their municipal undertakings. "Meanwhile," it was added, "what appears to be certain from a study of British experiences is that municipal enterprise always leads to an immediate increase of taxation; that its other financial results, whether good or ill, are at present so indefinite as to be almost negligible; and that the many and varied abuses of a political and economic character which it entails cannot, therefore, be condoned on the plea of its commercial success." In the present article I propose to consider in greater detail and by reference to the circumstances of a single utility, wherein these "many and varied abuses of a political and economic character" consist and what allowance should be made for them in attempting to strike a balance between the advantages and disadvantages of Public Ownership.

On the opening day of the present year the British Government took over the entire telephone business of the United Kingdom, which becomes henceforth a monopoly owned and operated by the State. So striking an expansion of governmental functions suggests the possibility of treating the telephone industry as a test case of the virtues or otherwise of Public Ownership, the more so as, speaking broadly, it is owned and worked by the State throughout Europe and left to private enterprise in the United States. A comparison between the results obtained under the European and under the American systems in developing and placing at the public service an invention which in the last thirty years has established itself as an indispensable convenience in commercial and social life ought, therefore, to

throw some light on our inquiry. In the United States there has been from the first practically free trade and unrestricted competition in telephones. But, as with railroads, the economic impulse toward consolidation has asserted itself, enormously to the public advantage, in time to avert chaos, and there is to-day a general recognition of the fact that the multiplication of rival telephone exchanges, operated by competing companies, fighting for an exclusive business, and denying to one another any co-operation of facilities, is from every point of view an extravagant and exasperating blunder. It has been greatly to the benefit of the American public that one strong company should gradually have swallowed up its smaller competitors and that the telephone system of the country should to-day be well on the way to becoming co-extensive with the Union, interdependent and intercommunicating, and directed either by a single company or by an association of companies working in harmony under a single centralized administration. The existence of so vast and powerful and irresponsible a monopoly, controlling a utility of immense public importance, necessarily raises some anxious problems as to its relations with the State and as to the means of regulating its activities in the interests of the consumers. These problems were dealt with in the second article of this series, and in a further article that appeared in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, 1911, under the heading "The Politics of American Business," and more specifically still and with far greater authority in the remarkable report issued last year to his stockholders by Mr. Theodore N. Vail, the president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. They need not, therefore, be discussed again, though they ought never to be lost sight of. For the present I am more concerned to point to two suggestive facts. The first is that every step in the progressive unification of the telephone industry has made for the convenience of the American people. The second is that the country which has done most to improve the telephone, both technically and commercially, and to popularize its use, is the country in which its management and development have been, and are still, exclusively the work of private enterprise.

The history of the telephone in Europe has run on very different lines. Regarded at first as an offshoot of the telegraph, it was naturally offered for sale, first of all, to the

European holders of the telegraph monopolies—that is to say, to the post-offices and governments of the various countries. The governments, partly because they looked upon the new invention as an interesting toy and nothing more and partly because they were rightly reluctant to invest public money in a new, untried, and highly speculative venture, one and all declined to take it up on their own account. At the same time they were willing to issue licenses to companies formed to exploit Graham Bell's invention, and they took the precaution, in case the telephone should prove, after all, a commercial success and a serious competitor of the State telegraph systems, to issue these licenses for restricted periods and to surround them with onerous conditions When time has shown telephonic communication to be both practicable and popular, the companies were bought out or otherwise absorbed by the State and in most of the leading European countries the telephone became, and has since remained, like the telegraph, an official monopoly. The general course of events may be illustrated more succinctly by reference to the vicissitudes of the telephone in Great Britain. The companies that first introduced the invention into England in the late seventies did so without statutory authority. No sooner had they begun to operate than suit was successfully brought against them for infringing the Postmaster-General's legal monopoly of telegraphy. When the companies agreed not to appeal against the decision, the post-office, on its part, agreed to license them for the prosecution of their business for thirty-one years on condition that they paid into the post-office a royalty of ten per cent. on their gross receipts. 'At first the licenses were granted only for small areas; later on, under public pressure, for the whole of the United Kingdom; later still, no licenses were granted except to municipalities; and finally the post-office went into the business itself, took over the trunk lines, and started a competitive service of its own in London. From the first the attitude of officialdom toward the companies was one of jealousy and its policy one of obstruction. It did not actually suppress them or revoke their charters, but it impeded their development at every turn and then used their inefficiency and unprogressiveness as an argument for Public Ownership. No company, for instance, was ever granted statutory powers to run its wires; they were dependent absolutely on such way leaves as they could secure

by permission of private householders and by agreement with the local authorities; and every bill promoted in Parliament to relieve them of this disability was rejected by bureaucratic influence.

The installation of a modern underground system of telephone distribution was thus practically denied to the companies and reserved to the State and the municipalities. At the same time the granting of licenses to cover particular districts and the encouragement given to local authorities to compete with the companies, together with the absence of provisions insuring a uniform system, led up to a tangle that was only partially relieved by the amalgamation of the various concerns into one large corporation. Incidentally it may be noted that while some seventy municipalities applied for and were granted powers to start local telephone services of their own, only six actually embarked on the enterprise and of these six four were but too glad to sell out their undertakings in a very few years either to the post-office or the National Telephone Company. The experiment showed that, in Great Britain at any rate, municipalities could not hold their own successfully against a well-organized commercial company and that their attempt to do so not only contributed nothing to the development of the telephone industry, but proved in every case a source of public annoyance and considerable financial loss to the local taxpayers. Although they possessed, while the company did not possess, the right to tear up the streets at will, and although their enterprises were heartily backed by all the advocates of Public Ownership, none of them made a success, or anything approaching a success, of their telephone services. This is a highly instructive fact. It helps to support the conclusion to which an impartial inquirer again and again finds himself driven—that Public Ownership is only commercially profitable when it has an absolute monopoly of an established utility, that it is fundamentally unfitted to cope with an industry that is still in the experimental and tentative stage, and that in competition with a private corporation it must always go to the wall. The one valuable result, indeed, of municipal telephones was that they demonstrated the wastefulness and futility of competition in an industry that could only render its best service to the community by being organized and directed as a whole on uniform and interconnecting lines. The post-office in 1899

secured a Parliamentary grant of $10,000,000 to enable it to establish a competing telephone system in London. But when the undertaking came to be considered by practical men it was found to be so hazardous financially and so clearly detrimental to the interests and convenience of the public that it was abandoned in favor of an understanding which for the past eleven years has permitted the post-office and the National Telephone Company to work together with more or less harmony in equipping London with two telephone systems, one the offspring of governmental action and the other of private enterprise, but charging the same rates, affording one another equal facilities, and forming, therefore, from the standpoint of the telephone subscribers and users, one uniform system.

But while the post-office and the National Telephone Company have co-operated during the past decade with tolerable good-will, their co-operation has been of an exceedingly one-sided character. The company's original license was granted in 1880 for a term of thirty-one years, expiring on December 31, 1911. It had long been evident that it would not be renewed and that the post-office would succeed to its business; and in 1905 an agreement was reached as to the terms on which the transfer should be effected both in London and in the provinces. The essence of the arrangement arrived at was that the post-office should purchase the company's plant, wherever suitable to the purposes of the post-office service, as working plant *in situ,* without allowance for good-will or for past or future profits. The harshness of these terms is self-evident and arises from the fact that the company was not really a free agent in making the bargain, that with the expiration of its license it would lose its legal right to continue in the telephone business at all, and that it was therefore practically forced to accept whatever terms the post-office chose to offer. After weathering all the anxious years of experimentation, after nursing a public utility into a popularity so great that it has now become an indispensable adjunct to every-day life, and after rendering this immense service to the community in the face of official obstruction, the company might well have thought itself entitled to be expropriated—if expropriation was to be its fate—at something more than the bare working value of its plant. But the inequity of the terms of the transfer is not more pronounced than their impolicy. One of the

essential features of sound telephone development is the systematic installation of plant and material beyond the actual needs of the moment and in preparation for future requirements. Growth, and elasticity, and the accumulation of an ample margin of spare facilities over and above the demands of the day, are fundamental conditions of any telephone company's progress. But they are conditions impossible of fulfilment when the fiat has gone forth that on a certain date a few years ahead the plant of the company is to be purchased by the State not at its prospective value, but at its actual working value. There can be no question that the Agreement of 1905 between the post-office and the National Telephone Company has strangled the latter's work of constructional development, has prevented it from branching out in directions that could only be revenue-producing when its license had expired, and has resulted in the post-office finding itself possessed of a congested system, without proper plans or facilities for expansion, and necessitating not only a large and immediate outlay, but also a considerable period of bad service and retarded development.

The history of the telephone in Great Britain is, then, the history of an invention over which the Government from the first asserted a legal monopoly, but the practical development of which it leased to private corporations in return for a ten-per-cent. royalty on the gross receipts. It cannot be said that the State showed the slightest prevision of what the telephone was destined to become, or of how it ought to be popularized, or of the proper policy demanded in the public interests for its regulation. It began in the usual way by scoffing at the new toy, but even while it scoffed it sought to safeguard itself against the possibility that it might compete with the Government's ownership of the telegraphs. It threw upon private initiative all the risks of the new enterprise, reserving to itself the right to expropriate the ultimate profits. It failed altogether to recognize that competition in telephones, so far from being a protection, was really a betrayal of the public interests. Accordingly, it scattered its licenses broadcast and encouraged the municipalities, always with disastrous results, to exploit the new utility for themselves. It hampered the private companies in every way with jealous shortsightedness, and then used the inefficiency of their service as an

argument for Public Ownership. And finally it employed its irresistible statutory powers to buy out the companies on terms that were in the last degree ungenerous and oppressive. More or less this also has been the history of the telephone not only in Great Britain, but throughout Europe, except that the majority of European countries anticipated Great Britain by several years in making the telephone a Government monopoly, while in all of them official regulations and restrictions have multiplied both in numbers and stringency. The contrast, therefore, between the American and the European policy in regard to the development of this public utility and to its relations with the State is complete; and a comparison of the results achieved under the two systems is both pertinent and illuminating. Take first the test of numbers. The well-known English expert, Mr. Herbert Laws Webb, writing some eighteen months ago and taking as the basis of his comparison the total number of telephones in each European country and the number operated under the Bell system in America—which is, of course, considerably less than the total number of telephones in use throughout the United States—found that the telephone development in Europe in 1910 was almost exactly one-tenth of the American Bell system in proportion to population. That is to say, while the Bell system furnished Americans with 64 telephones per thousand inhabitants in Europe there were no more than 6.4 telephones per thousand people. If the comparison had been between all the European telephones and all the American, whether in or out of the Bell system, it would have shown that a thousand people in Europe have one telephone where a thousand Americans have fifteen. If the telephone had been developed in Europe on the same scale as the Bell system in America, Great Britain would have about four and a half times as many telephones as she actually possesses, Germany four times as many, France over ten times as many, Russia six thousand times as many, Sweden twice as many, Austria-Hungary twenty times as many, Switzerland three times as many, Norway the same, Denmark twice as many, Italy over fifty times as many, Holland seven times as many, Belgium ten times as many, Spain ninety times as many, and Portugal, Greece, Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania about the same. In Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy,

Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania the telephone is a State monopoly; and in only two of these States—Germany and Switzerland—has anything approaching a success been made of it. In Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, where also the results are comparatively satisfactory, the Government and private companies work side by side, though with increasing difficulty. Taken as a whole, therefore, it will be seen that private enterprise as practised in America has been overwhelmingly more effective in diffusing the benefits of the telephone than Public Ownership, or than private enterprise in official leading-strings, in Europe. And if a comparison could be instituted not merely between numbers, but between the efficiency of the services provided in Europe and in the United States, the disparity, I believe, on the technical and commercial sides, and particularly from the standpoint of the consumer's convenience, would be found to be even greater. Private enterprise has given America the best and the biggest telephone service in the world, while Public Ownership in Europe has hindered its development, impaired its usefulness, and inflicted incalculable losses on many millions of people by depriving them, or supplying them with nothing more than a parody, of the speediest means of communication that human ingenuity has yet invented.

What are the inferences that may fairly be drawn from this remarkable record? First it should be noted that the policy of European governments toward the telephone was from the beginning largely dictated by the fact that they already owned and operated the telegraphs and that in very few countries, if any, had the telegraph monopoly proved a commercial success—the British post-office, for instance, loses about $5,000,000 a year on this branch of its service. The entrance of a new competitor that promised to increase still further the annual deficit on the telegraphs was a development, therefore, anything but welcome to the bureaucratic mind. Just as municipalities that own the gas-works are inevitably driven to oppose the advent of electric lighting under company management, and just as the local authorities that own and operate the city street-cars are insensibly hostile to the competition of motor omnibuses, so on a larger scale the European governments, fearful of its effects upon their telegraph monopolies, set out to control, and at once succeeded in checking, the development

of the telephone. That is one more illustration of the principle that Public Ownership not only grows by what it feeds on, but finds itself constantly compelled to enlarge its dietary in ways it had not anticipated and does not relish. Not all, but certainly a great many, of the objections to Public Ownership would disappear if we could be sure that all public utilities had reached a final and static form and were never henceforward to be exposed to the danger of supersession by newer inventions. But so long as mechanical progress continues and old methods are displaced by new ones so long must governmental undertakings from time to time become obsolete or be threatened with an exhausting rivalry. And when that happens, when a new ultility is discovered menacing some established State monopoly, the history of the telephone in Europe tells us what we may expect. Nothing in the nature of free competition will be permitted; the new invention will be thwarted by governmental regulations; its development will be obstructed nominally in the public interests, really to preserve already existing State enterprises from a too successful attack; its very right to enter the country at all will only be allowed on condition that it admits itself an interloper without legal standing, that it agrees to abide by whatever restrictions the Government may see fit to impose, and that, if it prospers and proves practicable, it will submit to expropriation by the State. Under such circumstances progress can make but little headway, capital becomes discouraged, and a policy designed among other things to preserve the community against the exactions of a private monopoly operates in effect to deprive it of a needed utility. Public Ownership of any given service means, in short, public jealousy and strangulation and ultimate purchase of anything that threatens to compete with it.

Another point emphasized by the history of the telephone in Europe is the inability of a Government Department to improve and get the best results from a utility that at the moment of its absorption by the State is still in an unsettled and embryonic phase of development. The British post-office has been wiser or more fortunate in deferring the expropriation of the National Telephone Company until experience has solved most of the early technical problems of the telephone industry and has laid down the broad principles of business-like management. With scarce-

ly an exception the States that took over the telephone in its infancy, and within a few years of its first introduction, have lamentably failed to keep pace with the inventions and devices that have raised it in the United States to the top notch of perfection. They find themselves encumbered today with antiquated plant, apparatus of a kind that in America went to the scrap-heap twenty years ago, and crude commercial practice. There are great and famous towns in Europe at this moment where the obsolete magneto system, long ago abandoned in the United States for the central battery, still obtains, where the old flat-rate scheme of tariffs is still the rule, and where the single exchange district, with relatively high rates for distant parts of the town, still holds the field; while throughout the length and breadth of the Continent hardly a single efficient long-distance service is to be found. Why is this? It is partly because the governments have shrunk from putting sufficient capital in the business and have thus forfeited one of the principal advantages that the advocates of Public Ownership claim for it over private enterprise, while at the same time, in countries where the telephone has not been made a Government monopoly, the system of issuing limited licenses, terminable at the end of a fixed and usually too brief period and under indefinite conditions as to the repayment of capital, has hindered the flow of private investment. Mixed up with the routine of a great Government Department, and linked especially with the administration of the telegraphs, which in no country, I believe, brings in any revenue to the State, and subject to a variety of political influences that have nothing to do with, and are often opposed to, business-like and economical management, the official managers of the State telephone systems in Europe have found it practically impossible to get the money necessary for the proper development of their enterprise. And just in proportion to its extreme technicality both on the scientific and the commercial side, the telephone industry, in its early experimental years particularly, asked venturesomeness, faith in the future, an instant readiness to adapt new discoveries, and an incessant expenditure without any immediate return. In 1905 the Merchants' Association of New York inquired into the telephone system of that city and issued a report. "In the New York telephone system," it said, "improvements and changes have

succeeded one another at close intervals during the entire period in which the business of exchange telephone service has existed. During the sixteen years which the committee's investigation covers the plant has been practically rebuilt three times. At various times radical improvements have been made in cables and in switch-board systems, which have involved the abandonment of plant by no means unserviceable because of its physical conditions and its replacement by plant of an improved character. Some of the central stations have been rebuilt three times within a little over ten years."

But alertness and enterprise such as this cannot reasonably be expected from a Government Department. The characteristics of the bureaucratic mind and temperament forbid it. The organization of a Government office, with a virtually irremovable staff, forbids it. The spirit of officialdom, with its traditions of subordination, its narrow professional outlook, its unwillingness to concentrate responsibility, its insensible stifling of initiative, forbids it. When humanity has reached the plane on which the ideal of social service is a stronger incentive to sound administration than the hope of gain, and when politicians are inspired solely by an informed desire for the public good, things may be different. But at present a Government office cannot raise and discipline its staff to the same level of efficiency as a commercial corporation, cannot act with the same freedom and directness as a Board of Directors, cannot pursue a business object without deference to a hundred influences and considerations from which a president of a company is exempt and which all militate against the first principles of commercial success and cannot, therefore, display the same open-mindedness and elasticity, the same speculative foresight, the same promptitude in taking risks, without which an industrial undertaking, and especially one which is just groping its way from the experimental to the practical phase, is doomed to failure and stagnation. The marked and pervasive unprogressiveness of the great majority of the State telephone systems in Europe is not an accident. It is the inevitable result of the constitution of governments if not of human nature itself. I believe I am right in saying that not one of the innumerable discoveries that have transformed the technical and commercial management and development of the telephone in the last thirty

years has emanated from a Department of State, that European governments have been the last to adopt them, and that the verdict which experts are obliged to pass upon them, with perhaps one or two exceptions, is that they have not learned their business. A Government, it must be remembered, is debarred, or feels itself debarred, from utilizing the most powerful of all the weapons of modern commercial enterprise—it cannot advertise; it is cut off from the hundred and one expedients that are needed to explain and popularize a new invention; and one of the reasons for the comparative backwardness of telephone development in Europe is that its usefulness has never been properly brought before the public and that the various State Departments, charged with its management and expansion, have never sought subscribers, but have waited for subscribers to come in of their own accord. Another and hardly less potent reason is that political pressure has induced the fixing of rates at a figure which could only be maintained by a progressive sacrifice of efficiency. Practically all the governments of Europe in their conduct of the telephone industry have made the vital and fundamental error of seeking efficiency through economy instead of economy through efficiency. They failed at the outset to recognize that an untrustworthy and dilatory service is dear at any price and finding it politically impossible to raise the rates to a remunerative figure and being equally unwilling to bear the losses that a first-class service on a basis of unprofitable fees would have involved, they have ended by giving the telephone a bad name and by making it throughout the greater part of the Continent synonymous with all that is incompetent. There is, in short, little in the European history of the telephone that contradicts Mr. Vail's trenchant dictum that "the combination of the promoter, investor, and capitalist, with their imagination, personality, optimism, and desire, has been at the bottom of every development of every kind or nature which has benefited the human race in the way of utilities and is still the only way in which new utilities can be developed." That history confirms his declaration that "whenever any great works have been undertaken by governments they have been on lines of old development, based on experience of that which has been developed by the persistent genius and application of some individual or group of individuals."

One may, therefore, with some safety deduce from the experience of Europe, first, that Public Ownership is inapplicable to any industry the methods and principles of which are still in the formative stage; secondly, that an overzealous guardianship of the public interests—a guardianship that quickly passes from regulating a given utility to obstructing its growth—is a formidable obstacle to technical progress and inflicts severe losses socially as well as financially on the community as a whole; thirdly, that even when, as in Germany and Switzerland, it is seen at its best, Public Ownership of telephones does not produce nearly such striking results as private enterprise; and, finally, that when a corporation and a public authority are each engaged in furnishing the same locality with the same utility the advantages inherent in corporation management are sufficient to outweigh official opposition and restrictions and to put the local authority out of business. A perfervid advocate of Public Ownership, however, might admit all this and still maintain that Great Britain, for instance, has done well to purchase and operate the telephone business of the country in the present stage of its development—that is to say, when it is a well-established and expanding industry with an assured future before it. This is a perfectly intelligible standpoint and deserves consideration. Personally I think it was long ago evident that State ownership in Great Britain was bound to be the ultimate consequence of the harassing policy directed by successive governments against telephone development in private hands. That policy, as I have explained, has from the beginning cramped the growth and usefulness of the telephone. Nothing less than its reversal and abandonment and the strict limitation of State activities to the work of regulating the monopoly and extracting from it a legitimate royalty would have enabled the National Telephone Company to expand with the same speed and efficiency as has been shown in the United States. And in these matters governments rarely, if ever, reverse their policy. The practical alternatives which confronted Great Britain lay, therefore, between an inferior telephone system under private management—inferior because the State would not permit it to expand to the full measure of its capacity—and an improved and more widely diffused system under National Ownership. The legislature in these circumstances had no option but to choose the latter

as the smaller of two evils. But while approving its choice one must not lose sight of the policy of official obstruction, pursued from the beginning to the immense loss of the community, which made that choice necessary. The post-office will certainly provide the British people with a better telephone service than any they have yet had. But it will not provide them with so good a one as they might have had if the course of action adopted by the Government in the early years of telephone development had been helpful instead of repressive and if officialdom had shown itself more anxious to promote the public welfare than to protect its monopoly of the telegraphs. Nothing can now repair the waste and confusion engendered by that initial blunder or furnish the United Kingdom with telephone facilities up to the American standard of numbers and quality. The post-office at the best will supply an ampler and more efficient service than it has allowed the National Telephone Company to supply. But it is both a physical and a financial impossibility for it to hope to rival or even approach the successes achieved in the United States by unhampered private enterprise.

So far, then, as telephones are concerned the action of the State has in the past been demonstrably injurious to the social and commercial interests of the British people. What now of the future? For practically a decade the post-office and the National Telephone Company have been working side by side in the development of the London telephone service. The published accounts show that though the post-office pays neither rent nor rates nor taxes its working expenses have been seventy-three per cent. of its gross receipts, whereas those of the private corporation have been only fifty-six per cent. of its gross receipts. Clearly, therefore, the telephone business is not going to be handled by the State with anything like the same economy as though it were under a strictly commercial management. Will Public Ownership and operation prove as enterprising as private initiative, as prompt to discard obsolete methods and apparatus, as quick to adopt new inventions, as skilful and aggressive in gathering in subscribers? Nobody with the example, on the one hand, of State telephones in Europe before him, on the other, of what has been accomplished in the United States by the Bell system can for one moment believe it. If the central battery were to be super-

seded by some more efficient device one may be tolerably sure that the British post-office would be the last to experiment with the new improvement; if automatic telephones or wireless telephones were suddenly found to yield better results than the present system, one may be tolerably sure that official recognition of the fact would follow far in the wake of private recognition and private utilization. It is not an absolute and universal rule that the State must always lag behind the individual and the corporation in the qualities of inventiveness and enterprise—it was a Government, for instance, that designed the "Dreadnought"—but it is so nearly an absolute and universal rule that the exceptions to it are negligible.

We come now to the question of prices and profits. A bare comparison of the rates, tariffs, charges, wages, and similar financial items obtaining in different countries, or even in different parts of the same country, is rarely decisive, is usually, indeed, misleading, in the discussion of an economic or industrial problem. So much depends on the general scale of living, and the local purchasing-power of money, the cost of labor, and a variety of other conditions, that all figures to be helpful or even intelligible need to be translated by a knowledge of the circumstances that surround them. But there cannot, I think, be much question that, even when all such allowances have been made, the cost of the telephone in the United States is considerably higher than in Europe, and especially than in England. In London you can go into any post-office and ring up any number in the London district for four cents, and the average charge for using the British long-distance lines is the astonishingly low one of eleven and three-fifths cents. By comparison with England it might, therefore, be reasonably argued that Americans pay twice over for their telephone service, first by being charged at an appreciably higher rate and secondly by seeing the profits of the telephone monopoly disappear into private pockets. On the other hand, it might just as reasonably be argued that the tariff fixed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company cannot be excessive when judged by American conditions and by the efficiency of the service provided, for otherwise the telephone would never have attained its phenomenal and universal popularity. Moreover, it is an exceedingly tenable proposition that the low rates charged in England are

really delusive and have only been made possible by sacrificing the prime essential of a rapid, expanding, and dependable service. The extreme probabilities are that, as in the case of the telegraphs, the British telephone system will be worked at a loss. The post-office, indeed, publicly disclaims any intention of seeking a profit. Its aim is to popularize the utility as widely as possible and to furnish it, if necessary, below cost price. But we have seen that there is a strong likelihood, amounting almost to a certainty, that the post-office will not succeed in emulating the efficiency and enterprise of corporation management. The question, therefore, from the standpoint of the community resolves itself into this: Is it better for a nation that its telephones should be in the hands of the State, run without thought of profit, charged for at a low rate, and administered by comparatively inefficient and unenterprising methods, or that its telephones should be managed by a private corporation under State supervision and regulation, working for a profit, charging on the whole a higher tariff, but striving for and attaining a maximum of efficiency, progressiveness, and reliability? That is the problem; and the evidence and arguments I have adduced seem to me to show clearly to which side the balance of public advantage inclines. Wherein do the British people benefit by the transfer of the National Telephone Company's undertaking to the State? They surrender the royalty which the company paid to the post-office; they face the virtual certainty of a heavy increase of the national expenditure and liabilities, an increase which can only be offset by some form or other of additional taxation; and they receive in return a better, a larger, and possibly—though this is doubtful—a cheaper service than at present, but nothing like so good or so extensive a one and only a little cheaper than they might have had long ago had the policy of the State been one of what I may call co-operative regulation—had the State, in other words, encouraged and facilitated the development of the new utility to its fullest capacity while rightly supervising its charges and operations in the public interest. Whether to correct abuses or to promote the common welfare, the history of the telephone in Europe and in America shows private initiative under State control to be a far more effective instrument than Public Ownership and public operation.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

*(To be Concluded)*

# AMERICAN IDEALS AND RACE MIXTURE

BY PERCY STICKNEY GRANT

THE most impressive sight to be seen in America is the stream of immigrants coming off ship at Ellis Island. No waterfall or mountain holds such awesome mystery; no river or harbor, embracing the navies of the world, expresses such power; no city so puts wings to the imagination; no work of art calls with such epic beauty. But there are spectators who behold in the procession from overseas an invading army comparable to the Gothic hordes that overran Rome, who lament this meeting of Europe and America as the first act in our National Tragedy.

Undoubtedly we have a situation unknown to any other nation, past or present. In 1910 the total population of the United States was 91,972,266; of these 13,343,583 were foreign-born whites; 10,239,579 were negroes, Indians, and Asiatics. Between 1900-1910, 9,555,673 immigrants came in from over fifty races. Of the native whites forty-seven per cent. are the children of foreign-born parents. Of our entire population 43,972,185 were born of native white parents—that is, only forty per cent.

A recent writer in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the League for Limiting Immigration and author of a volume on immigration, stated in the January number the case against the future of American ideals under the influence of race mixture. He began by quoting Gobineau: "America is likely to be not the cradle of a new, but the grave of an old race." Mr. Hall sought to sustain this prophecy.

I belong to no immigration league, "limiting" or "liberal"; I have had no admixture of blood in my own family, outside the original area of Massachusetts, for two hundred

years, but I wish to suggest considerations that may calm the fears of Mr. Hall and his friends. In the half-dozen years since his larger study of the question a new collection of facts in the case has been made in America. A volume, *The Problem of Immigration,* just published by Professor Jenks and Professor Lauck, ought to modify considerably a pessimistic forecast. Both the authors were from the beginning connected with the United States Immigration Commission which has been studying the problem for the last four years, and they have summed up in their 484 pages the information collected in forty-two volumes of the original material published by the Commission.

Broadly speaking, our apprehension of harm to American ideals from race mixture is nothing but prejudice. Much of our dread of a deterioration of the American stock by immigration is a survival of ancient jealousy and alarm which once characterized the contact of all "natives" everywhere with all "foreigners." The sight of a foreigner meant ordinarily a raid or a war. This real dread, as it was of old, lingers in our subconsciousness. The destruction of the trait will yield only to intelligence, sympathy, and civilization.

Another element in our fear is the fetish of Teutonic superiority and the dogma of Latin degeneracy. Races that have produced in our lifetime a Cavour, a Mazzini, a Louis Pasteur, that have fought and defeated ecclesiastic and feudal enemies in their own households, have much to teach us.

In the Conference on Immigration held in New York a few years ago, there were delegates scarcely able to speak the English language who orated against later arrivals in this country than themselves and predicted our downfall if they were admitted. In short, every race considers itself superior; its diatribes against other races are sheer vanity. We Americans, in conceit of superiority, are in the same class as the Chinese. William Elliot Griffis, a writer on Asiatic people, recently declared that

"after an adult lifetime of study of the peoples of the Far East, I find few or no novelties in their history or evolution as compared with that of our own rise from savagery to civilization; nor is their human nature by a hair's-breadth different from our own. What we need now to have cast in the world's melting-pot is the colossal conceit common to the white and the yellow man with more scientific comparative history."

At any rate, our free government is a standing invitation to the oppressed of other countries, and our undeveloped wealth makes a constant appeal for strong arms and hard workers. What can we do, then? We cannot shut out "foreigners" and still be true either to our own ideals or to our practical requirements. Nor can we pick and choose. There is no accepted standard of excellence except health and "literacy." Moreover, there are not enough of one foreign stock, were we to select one as the best, to do the work in the United States waiting to be done.

Why shouldn't the badly-off foreigner come here? There is no evidence that the present forms of government under which the immigrant races live at home are the best for them; many of these governments have had to meet grave popular uprisings and revolutions. We cannot say to the immigrant, "Stay where you were born, because the government there is best adapted to you." Some of our new people are even exiles—driven from their homes. Nor can we say, "Reform your government." Such a method under despotism is too uncertain for men who desire to see results.

The forms of government under which men live are not stereotyped, and, while some change slowly, others in response to the people's need change rapidly. A democracy is the most plastic form and gives freest course to evolutionary development. There is, consequently, a natural flow from rigid to plastic governments, which can only be checked by the plastic becoming set. This it cannot do without committing suicide. One of our mistakes (a most important cause, too, of our distrust of race mixture) is to suppose that our own form of government is fixed and final, only to be injured or destroyed by any change.

The scientific attitude toward heredity is to-day different from a generation ago. Darwin's theory of slowly acquired characteristics and of the transmission by heredity of acquired characteristics was attacked by August Weismann, whose germ-plasm theory of heredity seriously weakened Darwin's hypothesis. Then came the botanist, De Vries, with his theory of spasmodic progress, amounting to "spasmodic appearance of species at a given time under the influence of certain special conditions."

Francis Galton brought forward the theory of mathematical inheritance, which, modified by Pearson, amounts to this: That of all the heritage which an individual pos-

sesses one-half on the average comes from his parents, one-fourth from his grandparents, and so on. Meanwhile the studies of Gregor Mendel, Abbot of Brünn, neglected for thirty-five years after their publication in 1865, came to light, with a specific body of botanical experiments leading to certain general principles of heredity. The essential part of Mendel's discoveries is the principle of the segregation of characters in the fusion of the reproductive cells or gametes, with its natural corollary, the purity of the gametes. Mendel did not believe in blends, but in the unit character of heredity.

Two theories of heredity are now current:

"1. Children show a tendency to revert to a type intermediate between the types of the two parents, or in cases of changes of types to another type, dependent upon the mid-parental type. In other words, the characteristics of the parents are blended in the children.

"2. Either the father's or the mother's type, or the type of a more remote ancestor, is reproduced, and certain parental traits may be dominant over others—*i. e.*, one particular trait, either father's or mother's, to appear with greater frequency in the children than the corresponding but different trait of the other parent."*

An inquiry into the values of a cephalic index (that is, the ratio of the width of the head to the length) has shown clearly that the type of heredity in intermarriages in the same race is that of alternating heredity. Children do not form a blend between their parents, but revert either to one type or the other.

Mendel's law attaches so much value to "dominant" and so much danger to "recessive" units that under his theory, it would be natural to try to divide races into the old categories of sheep and goats. But even under the operation of his law a mixed race has advantages over a pure race.

"The clear lesson of Mendelian studies to human society is this: That when two parents with the same defect marry—and there is none of us without some defect—*all* of the progeny must have the same defect, and there is no remedy for the defect by education, but only, at the most in a few cases, by a surgical operation. The presence of a character in one parent will dominate over its absence in the other parent; . . . the advanced position masters the retarded or absent condition."

*"The mating of dissimilars favors a combination in the offspring of the strongest characteristics of both parents*

* *Change in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants,* by Franz Boas.

*and fits them the better for human society.''** A strong argument for miscegenation.

Environment to-day is considered a most important factor in heredity by students outside the ranks of pure biologists. Take such a fact as this, that the intellectual classes among the Magyars, the Uralo-Altaic peoples, the Slavs or German races, furnish us with identical measurements of trunk, extremities, etc., whereas individuals of the same race differ considerably when once distinctly separated by their occupations. Another fact in the same direction is that the measurements of Austrian Jews correspond entirely with those that Gould mentioned in the case of cultivated persons in the United States. The Austrian Jews are not engaged in mercantile work, but almost exclusively are money-lenders, small shop-keepers, lawyers, and doctors.†

We all agree with Professor Ripley that

"the first impression from comparison of our original Anglo-Saxon ancestry in America with the motley crowd now pouring in upon us is not cheering. It seems a hopeless task to cope with them, to assimilate them with our present native-born population."

But listen further:

"Yet there are distinctly encouraging features about it all. These people, in the main, have excellent physical qualities, in spite of unfavorable environment and political oppression for generations. No finer physical type than the peasantry of Austro-Hungary are to be found in Europe. The Italians, with an out-of-door life and proper food, are not weaklings. Nor is even the stunted and sedentary Jew—the third greatest in our present immigrant hordes—an unfavorable vital specimen. Their careful religious regulations have produced in them a longevity even under most unfavorable conditions. Even to-day, under normal conditions, a rough process of selection is at work to bring the better types to our shores. We receive, in the main, the best, the most progressive and alert of the peasantry that the lower classes which these lands recently tapped are able to offer. This is a feature of no mean importance. Barring artificial selection by steamship companies and police, we need not complain in the main of the physique of new arrivals."

*The great problem for us in dealing with these immigrants is not that of their nature, but that of their nurture.*‡

"We Americans who have so often seen the children of underfed, stunted, scrub immigrants match the native American in brain and

* Charles B. Davenport, "Influence of Heredity on Human Society," in *Annals of American Academy,* July 1, 1909.

† Jean Finot, in *Race Prejudice,* pp. 120, 122.

‡ William Z. Ripley, in "Race Progress and Immigration," in *Annals of American Academy,* July, 1909, pp. 130-138.

brawn ought to realize how much the superior effectiveness of the matter is due to social conditions. The cause of race superiority is a physiological trait—namely, climatic adaptability."*

The races coming to America show power of adaptation. But as this power of adaptation must be slow, we must be patient. It was slow among the best of the early colonists. "*The adaptability of the various races coming together on our shores seems, if these indications be borne out by further study, to be much greater than had been expected.*"†

"*Not merely do the children of immigrants in many instances show greater height and weight than the same races in their mother country, but in some instances even the head form, which has always been considered one of the most stable and permanent characteristics of races, undergoes very great changes.*"

"But the important fact to be kept in mind is that whatever the cause may be, and whether the change in type is for the better or worse, the *influence of the new environment is very marked indeed, and we may therefore expect that the degree and ease of assimilation has probably been somewhat greater than has been heretofore assumed.*"‡

The rapidity of the race assimilation in the United States is proved by the absence of racial domination where given races are numercially in the ascendancy.

In America different nationalities are subjected to the same conditions. Each has a chance to make its characteristic dominant.

"The process of assimilation is going on in the United States and is going on very effectually and rapidly, or else there would be differences between different communities, which would be obvious to superficial observation. This assimilation takes place

"(*a*) By intermarriage. It is principally in second and third generations that amalgamation occurs, for two immigrants who come here are either already married or will naturally marry those with whom they associate.

"(*b*) By the common-school education.

"(*c*) By the exercise of political rights.

"Assimilating influences are principally social—that is, the influence

*E. A. Ross, "Causes of Race Superiority," in *Annals of American Academy*, July, 1910.

† *The Immigration Problem*, by Jenks and Lauck, 1912, pp. 266, 269.

‡ E. A. Ross, "Causes of Race Superiority," in *Annals of American Academy*, July, 1910.

of institutions already established, of a dominant language, of the customs of original inhabitants."*

Professor Earl Finch presents "some facts tending to prove that race blending, especially in the rare instances when it occurs under favorable circumstances, produces a type superior in fertility, vitality, and cultural worth to one or both of the parent stocks."

This view was maintained, on the whole, in the preliminary discussion of the last Congress of Races, the manifest exceptions to the statement being explicable mainly by the unsatisfactory social conditions of the half-breeds—in other words, *the problems of miscegenation are sociological rather than physiological.*

Professor Franz Boas, of Columbia University, in a recent volume, *The Mind of Primitive Man,* defends the proposition that there is a substantial equality in the native mental ability of all races of mankind; that the inferiority of races is not due to any lack of native ability, but to the accidents which have prevented them from sharing in the fruits of the discoveries made by individual geniuses. He finds that "the characteristics of the osseous, muscular, visceral, and circulatory system have practically no direct relation to the mental ability of men" (Manouvrier); and that the size of the brain is so nearly alike in all races that no inferences can be drawn from the facts collected. "It is not impossible that the smaller brains of males of other races should do the same work as is done by the larger brain of the white race" (p. 27). He contends that "the civilizations of ancient Peru and Central America may well be compared with the ancient civilizations of the Old World" (p. 7). *In view of his investigations, the author does not fear the effects of the intermingling of races in America.*†

Says Professor Ripley: "Going back far enough, it is clear that all the peoples of Europe are a hodge-podge of different stocks." Going back as far as we please to the Aryans, we find, some scholars claim, a mixed race. "*Le terme d'Aryen est de pure convention.*"‡ In addition to this sort of general evidence, there is material of a more definite

* Richard Mayo-Smith, in *American Statistical Association,* December, 1893, pp. 429-449.

†From the book review in *Bibliotheca Sacra,* January, 1912.

‡ Quoted in *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century,* Chamberlain, p. 264, note.

kind. Distinguished men have an ancestry of a mongrel sort.

"Alexandre Dumas (West-Indian negro blood); Alexander Hamilton (French and English); Du Maurier and St.-Gaudens, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, stand for still greater strains of bonds of nationality. Lafcadio Hearn (Greek and Irish). These few examples show that intermixture is, at all events, not destructive in its effect."

Take, too, such a case as Robert Browning, who was rather proud of the fact that he was the product of four strains of European blood.

Drs. von Luschan and Haddon agree that there are practically no pure races still existing, and that a discussion of races is mainly of academic interest. The former goes so far as to state that the old Indo-European, the African, and the Asiatic all branched off from the same primitive stock, perhaps hundreds of years ago, but all three forming a complete unit, intermarrying in all directions without the slightest decrease of fertility.

Even American families have been much beholden to "foreign" blood. Wendell Phillips and Phillips Brooks would be regarded by most people as fine products of the Anglo-Saxon stock. Both had Du Maurier's "drop of Hebrew blood." Professor Sombart credits the Jews with furnishing one frontiersman to every four in the era of American beginnings.

The unfavorable mixture of South-American races with Indians and negroes cited by Prescott F. Hall is not a fair parallel with the mixture of European races. It leaves out of account the European and American *milieu*—education, marriage, the home, and high political institutions.

There seems some distinct limits put by nature upon the mixture of certain races, just as there is to the blending of blood which has become badly vitiated. Nature puts a final veto upon propagation in such directions. There would seem to be, then, a friendly hand held out by nature itself to prevent disastrous results in race admixture.

Another interesting side to this question, however, is seen particularly in the Orient, where the Chinese have mixed with many peoples, as, for instance, the Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Malays. These Mestizos are recognized in the Orient as particularly clever, the reason often assigned being that the Chinese protect and educate their children, no matter what the other blood may be, whereas the Eurasian (white

and Asiatic mixed) is crippled by the lack of support and education—that is, practical desertion by the white father.

But moral motives are effective in race assimilation and unification. The English lower classes received an enormous uplift, according to Macaulay, from the Reformation, which in his vivid phrase, as I recall it, "transformed the rabble of Wat Tyler into the invincible Ironsides of Cromwell." Transforming and unifying enthusiasms may at any time appear among our new-comers.

The Roman Empire did not fall on account of racial degeneracy, due to the infiltration of Huns, Goths, and Vandals, but on account of the weakness of its political and industrial institutions, and the enervation of the people in the hands of the patrician class. The Roman land laws and Roman slaves, as well as the Roman system of government, which had no method of true amalgamation, but was a loose sort of confederacy, are responsible for the break-up of the Roman Empire.

The rapidity with which the democratic ideas are taken on by immigrants under the influence of our institutions is remarkable. I have personally had experiences with French-Canadians, Portuguese, Hebrews, and Italians. These races have certainly taken advantage of their opportunities among us in a fashion to promise well for their final effect upon this country. The French-Canadian has become a sufficiently good American to have given up his earlier programme of turning New England into a new France—that is, into a Catholic province or of returning to the Province of Quebec. He is seeing something better than a racial or religious ideal in the freedom of American citizenship; and on one or two occasions, when he had political power in two municipalities, he refrained from exercising it to the detriment of the public-school system. He has added a gracious manner and a new feeling for beauty to New England traits.

The Portuguese have taken up neglected or abandoned New England agricultural land and have turned it to productive and valuable use. Both the French-Canadian and the Portuguese have come to us by way of the New England textile mills.

The actual physical machinery of civilization—cotton-mills, woolen-mills, iron-mills, etc.—lock up a great deal of human energy physical and mental, just as one hundred years ago the farms did, from which later sprang most of

the members of our dominant industrial class. A better organization of society, by which machinery would do still more and afford a freer play for mental and physical energy and organization, would find a response from classes that are now looked upon as not contributing to our American culture; would unlock the high potentialities in the laboring classes, now unguessed and unexpended.

The intellectual problems and the advanced thinking of the Hebrew, his fondness for study, and his freedom on the whole from wasteful forms of dissipation, sport, and mental stagnation, constitute him a more fortunate acquisition for this country than are thousands of the descendants of Colonial settlers. In short, we must reconstruct our idea of democracy—of American democracy. This done, we must construct a new picture of citizenship. If we do these things we shall welcome the rugged strength of the peasant or the subtle thought of the man of the Ghetto in our reconsidered American ideals. After all, what are these American ideals we boast so much about? Shall we say public schools, the ballot, freedom? The American stock use private schools when they can afford them; they too often leave town on Election Day; as for freedom, competent observers believe it is disappearing. The conservators and believers in American ideals seem to be our immigrants. To the Russian Jew, Abraham Lincoln is a god. If American ideals are such as pay honor to the intellectual and to the spiritual or foster human brotherhood or love culture and promote liberty, then they are safe with our new citizens who are eager for these things.

Not only do these races bring with them most desirable qualities, but they themselves are subjected to new environment and strongly influential conditions. Just here arise duties for the present masters of America. Ought they not to create an industrial, social, and educational environment of the most uplifting sort for our foreign-born citizens?

If working-people are obliged to live in unhealthful tenements situated in slums or marsh land, if the saloon is allowed to be their only social center, if they are fought by the rich in every effort to improve their condition, we may expect any misfortune to happen to them and also any fate to befall the State.

What improved *milieu* can do to improve the physique is easily seen on all sides. The increase in the height and

weight of Americans in the last few decades is conspicuous. Even the size of American girls and boys has increased, and this increase in size is commonly attributed to the more comfortable conditions of life, to better food, and especially to the popularity of all forms of athletics, and the extension, as in the last twenty-five or thirty years, of the out-of-door and country life. If these factors have made so marked and visible a change in the physique of the children of native-born Americans, why may not the same conditions also contribute an improvement to the more recent immigrant stock?

Our question, then, as to the effect of race mixture is not the rather supercilious one: What are we admitting into America that may possibly injure American ideals? but, What are the old American races doing to perpetuate these ideals? And is not our future as a race, largely by our own fault, in the hands of the peasant races of Europe?

After all, for those who pin their faith to the Baltic and northern European races, there is reason for hope to be found even in current immigration. From 1899 to 1910, the Hebrew, southern Italian, Polish, and Slovak period, of the nine millions who landed in the United States, while there were 377,527 Slovaks and 318,151 Magyars, there were 408,614 English, 586,306 Scandinavians, and 754,375 Germans, and even 136,842 Scotch, 151,774 Finnish, 439,724 Irish, and 20,752 Welsh. Two millions and a half from northern Europe—over twenty-six per cent. One million seventy-four thousand are Hebrews, mostly from Russia; and the Russian Jews, according to a most distinguished German Jew, are intellectually the ablest Hebrews in America. If, on the other hand, nearly two millions of the immigrants of the last decade have been southern Italians, let us show them gratitude for their invaluable manual labor, for their willingness, their patience, their power for fast work, and their love of America. Their small stature does not argue their degeneracy. The Romans were small compared to the Goths —small, but well formed and strong. The Japanese are also small.

Indifference, prejudice, illiteracy, segregation of recent immigrants by parochial schools, by a native colonial press, bad physical and social environment, and the low American ideals of citizenship held by those the immigrant sees or hears most about, obstruct race assimilation; but all these can be changed. Yes, it is the keeping up of difference and

class isolation that destroys and deteriorates. Fusion is a law of progress.

Lastly, let us observe that the men who hold a brief for the "foreigner" are largely men of science from the faculties of our American colleges. Ripley of Harvard, Giddings and Boas of Columbia, and Mayo-Smith (now dead), Jenks of Cornell, Patten and Kelsey of the University of Pennsylvania. The best thought and the best teaching of the country on race mixture is optimistic and constructive. Is it not also significant that an alienist like Dr. Dana is not dismayed by the immigrant, but is hopeful of his contribution? All these are scientific witnesses and are on the spot.

Every act of religious or civil tyranny, every economic wrong done to races in all the world, becomes the burden of the nation to which the oppressed flee for relief and opportunity. And the beauty of democracy is that it is a method by which these needs may freely express themselves and bring about what the oppressed have prayed for and have been denied. Let us be careful not to put America into the class of the oppressors. Let us rise to an eminence higher than that occupied by Washington or Lincoln, to a new Americanism which is not afraid of the blending in the western world of races seeking freedom. Our present problem is the greatest in our history. Not colonial independence, not Federal unity, but racial amalgamation is the heroic problem of the present, with all it implies in purification and revision of old social, religious, and political ideals, with all it demands in new sympathy outside of blood and race, and in a willingness to forego old-time privileges.

The familiar words of Israel Zangwill will bear repeating —that modern prophet from the race that gave to the world Jesus—when, from a steamer in New York Harbor, he broods over America:

"There she lies, the great Melting Pot. Listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth—the harbor where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian—black and yellow. Yes, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to wor-

ship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races come to labor and look forward."

If America has done anything for an American, it ought to have made him helpful and hopeful toward mankind, especially the poor and oppressed; but science to-day comes to the assistance of democracy and finds the lyric cry of brotherhood in the laws of nature:

> "Open thy gates, O thou favored of Heaven,
> Open thy gates to the homeless and poor.
> So shalt thou garner the gifts of the ages—
> From the Northlands their vigor,
> The Southlands their grace,
> In a mystical blending of souls that presages
> The birth of earth's rarest, undreamable race."

PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.

# THOMAS HARDY'S "THE DYNASTS"

BY THOMAS H. DICKINSON

THE first part of Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts* was published in 1904. The third and concluding part appeared in 1908. So far the work has been received in silence. There are two possible alternative reasons for this apparent indifference. Either it is to be referred to the negligible value of the work itself or it represents a tendency in our age, often seen in the past, to leave to the future the discovery of our masterpieces. The author of this paper accepts the latter explanation, and the study that follows depends upon the thesis that *The Dynasts* is an art creation of the first magnitude judged by the standards of the ages.

Of all projects of art the one of greatest scope is that which is derived from an impulse to create an art-world interpretative of "things entire." To such a project the greatest minds of all time have turned. Homer and Virgil, Dante and Goethe, because they succeeded in this, are given first place in the lists of earthly creators. Sometimes these efforts are thrown into epic form, sometimes into dramatic form. Whether epic or dramatic, their primary essential is an impression of representative magnitude.

It has been found that the way in which such a work, epic or dramatic, may represent the rotundity of things in large is through the treatment of a Great Period or Epoch in human history. It is further found that this period is usually typified by a popular Superman, compounded often of historical and legendary elements, and instinct with the characteristics of the period. So we have in epic Æneas and Arthur, Roland and Beowulf, part person and part abstraction, and blended of historical and mythological elements. Turning to drama we find similar characters representing the same kind of social formula. Prometheus, Tamburlaine, Paracelsus, and Faust are magnified human

figures representative through great drama of great epochs.

It must be remembered that none of the works of which these figures are the heroes stops with the exposition of a single person or epoch. From the lesser they go on to the interpretation of the greater; and all of the figures we have mentioned are subordinated to the exposition of the cosmical "point of view" of the author.

In these points of view there is a certain uniformity. Greek drama began with a note of philosophical symbolism. There was more to the drama than the story it told. The tomb ritual from which many of the dramas were presumably derived gave to most of them a sense of overhanging doom. Particular factors appear in certain plays. The spirit of human sympathy is strongly present in "The Trojan Women" of Euripides, and Æschylus, most cosmical of all dramatists, argues probably for the first time the case of humanity *versus* the gods.

Later times no less show examples of the drama of world meanings. The Chronicle Plays of England were Epoch Plays, and in "Hamlet" and "Lear" Man is the interest as truly as is the name hero. With German, English, and French romanticism, Epoch tragedy came into its own. "Wallenstein" and "Wilhelm Tell," "Marino Faliero," "Manfred" and "Cromwell," and, in a class by itself, "Faust," are plays in which the cosmos is expounded through the lens of an era.

Goethe's theory of "Faust" was that it should be a *Divina Tragedia*. Writing to its author, Schiller said: "In short, the demands upon 'Faust' are at once philosophical and poetic, and, turn as you will, you will find that the very nature of the object forces on you a philosophical treatment of the matter and your imagination will have to resign itself to the service of the philosophical idea." For these words Schiller received the grateful thanks of the poet. "Faust" treats humanity through the symbol of a German Reformation University. "The Divine Comedy" treats humanity through the symbol of Medieval faith. Byron's "Manfred"—compounded of the Staubbach, the Jungfrau, and Byron himself—treats humanity through the symbol of an age run mad with romanticism.

As between the drama and the epic the advantage for the treatment of majestic themes has always been on the

side of the epic. Drama, of which the basic theory presupposes possible production, has for this reason lacked the magnitude which would give to the art the impressiveness of grandeur appropriate to its subject. These limitations we find dramatists striving to correct. From the earliest times dramatists combined plays in series in such a way as to secure surface magnitude. "The Oresteia" of Æschylus, the greatest Epoch drama of the ancient world, is in three parts—the "Agamemnon," the "Choephori," and the "Eumenides." Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" and Dryden's "Conquest of Granada" are in ten acts.

All of these plays are built upon the theory of performance. When we come to "Faust" we reach a new step in the history of Epoch Drama. With modifications the first part of "Faust" may well be played. Performance of the second part, though it has lately been undertaken, can hardly be considered to be in accord with the essential nature of the part. Goethe wrote the second part of "Faust" for the same reason for which Milton wrote his epic, "to vindicate the ways of God to man." Milton had added "Paradise Regained" to his first epic; the "Paradise" of Dante had followed the "Inferno"; "Prometheus Unbound" had supplemented "Prometheus Bound." Apparently finding it impossible to complete his scheme within the limits of practicable drama, Goethe cast aside these hindrances and wrote in the form of Dramatic Epic.

This brings us to the form of drama to which we have just referred. An Epoch Drama is a dramatization of an era for the purposes of performance. A Dramatic Epic is the combination of the forms of epic and drama; it is really an epic thrown into dramatic form, with all the characteristics of drama—dialogue, concrete setting, objectivity—impressed into the service of the epic intent. There are reasons for believing that drama is more in accord with the genius of modern art than is epic. In the dramatic structure of the two parts of "Faust" there is included all that before had been found in epic. The difference that this feat effected in the epic was that the action was made dramatic rather than narrative; the difference that it made in the work as drama was only that it could not be played.

After all, why not Dramatic Epic if Lyrical Drama is accepted? Epic and drama have come near together before in the history of art. Milton cast "Paradise Lost" into

dramatic form before he finally chose the epic form. And his is the last great unmixed epic. So close are the forms of epic and drama in the "Book of Job" that no critic is certain to which class it belongs.

The last great period in human history worthy of an epic and untreated is the Napoleonic era. This period is not only French. It belongs to all civilized nations. It is, in Hardy's words, "a great historical Calamity or Clash of Peoples." As such it is the story of the intense years at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when all the peoples of Europe were settling themselves into adjustment for what we know as the modern era.

It is the Dramatic Epic of this period and of Napoleon, who is its Superman, that Hardy writes. Goethe himself, in "Egmont" and "Die Natürliche Tochter," essayed to express within the regular limits of drama, the spirit of unrest that led up to the French Revolution; but learning his lesson from that writer's "Faust," Hardy throws his drama onto the larger stage of epic. It is well to keep these things in mind in reading *The Dynasts,* for in this work Hardy has provided all the technical machinery of the epic. No work of late years has so thoroughly indicated the principles which underlay its composition and outlined its own critical standards. In writing *The Dynasts,* Hardy has systematized his thinking on the abstruse principles of art and has formulated the code of his own cosmic philosophy. Though it is aside from the point, one feels justified in mentioning the importance of this work in expounding the spirit and philosophy of Hardy's novels. Hereafter no one can read these works understandingly except through the medium of this, perhaps his last, work. No less, of course, do these principles serve to explain the action of the work before us; and through this drama they constitute Hardy's contribution to the philosophy of our time.

There is a certain appropriateness in the fact that Hardy, the descendant of Nelson's flag captain, should have written the drama of the Napoleonic wars. It was in the arms of Captain Hardy that the great Admiral lay when dying, and the names of the two have always been joined. The later Hardy also was personally drawn to the topic through the fact that it was toward his famous Wessex that "Boney" first turned his attention when in the days of his victory

he dreamed of English conquest. Out of the memories of that time, culled from survivors in his youth, one of Hardy's novels, *The Trumpet Major,* and several of his sketches and short stories are derived.

Hardy presents his formal apology for *The Dynasts* in the Preface to the first volume. In this he is chiefly concerned with two points—the question of his supernatural machinery upon which his philosophy depends, and the question of stage production. Hardy encourages the theory of Dramatic Epic above expressed by showing that production was as far as possible from his idea, as indeed it was from Goethe's in the case of the second part of "Faust." Production the work will receive, according to Hardy, but only in the mind of the reader. This theory lies at the basis of the plastic theater, both for stage and reading plays, and is responsible for the freedom that we find in Shakespeare's practical plays, as well as in "Faust" and the "Brand" and "Peer Gynt" of Ibsen, for instance. In the mind of the reader, the stage can be changed as often as necessary. So each act has innumerable scenes. Scenes follow each other as they would before an all-seeing eye, not geographically nor according to the necessities of the scene-shifter. In this way the scene becomes increasingly a part of the action. To gain this effect Hardy makes his exposition of scene-setting very clear and explicit. Some of his best descriptive prose is put into the provision of a setting that elucidates the action, for he would not be Hardy if he were not as much concerned with the Nature from which Man springs as he is in Man himself.

Pushing this point further, Hardy questions whether the reader's imagination is not one of the most important factors of a great play. He would have a play not only appeal to the imagination, but depend upon it. He writes:

> "A panoramic show like the present is a series of historical 'ordinates' (to use a term in Geometry). The subject is familiar to all; and foreknowledge is assumed to fill in the curves required to combine the whole gaunt framework into an artistic unity."

While disclaiming any intention to intrude in problems in which he lays claim to no mastery (though in stagecraft he is a master), Hardy suggests his wonder whether mental performance may not eventually be "the fate of all drama other than that of contemporary or frivolous life."

As *The Dynasts* is not written to be performed, Hardy

casts away entirely the ancient limitations as to act form. Irregular as is the second part of "Faust," Goethe still maintains the five-act division of classical memory. But Hardy is careful only to make his acts dramatic units. So he has six acts in each of the first two parts and seven acts in the third. There is no doubt that he would have been willing to have ten had they been necessary.

It is in the treatment of his supernatural machinery that Hardy most stands upon his own feet; and in this he has made his greatest contribution to this type of art. As has been seen, it was the purpose of earlier writers to vindicate, according to the accepted theology, the ways of the gods to men. It is clearly not Hardy's purpose to vindicate anything, mundane or supramundane. The aerial figures even of "Faust," some of which are Greek and some of Hebrew origin, are presented with the sanction of reverence. But in Hardy's opinion such heavenly figures are not germane to the genius of modern thinking. Our times, thinks Hardy, are too skeptical to permit a highly evolved spiritual machinery. He writes, "The meditative world is older, more invidious, more nervous, more quizzical, than it once was." For this reason he provides a series of ethereal beings who shall be as nearly as possible "the modern expression of a modern outlook." He asks for these not reverence of faith or worship, but simply, in the words of Coleridge, "that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith."

The metaphysical machinery and its cosmogony are further made clear in the words of the Spirits and Choruses in the body of the work. The central essence of the whole scheme of the universe is the Immanent Will, fabric of modern philosophy. The Immanent Will is a blind, unconscious force. "It works unconsciously . . . eternal artistries in circumstance." It is precise and inevitable. There is no way to swerve its destinies—

> "Which thinking on, yet weighing not its thought,
> Unchecks its clock-like laws."

There is no evidence of conscious plan in the universe:

> "Nothing appears of shape to indicate
> That cognizance has marshaled things terrene."

The Will lies outside of time; it is eternal.

> "The Will has woven with an absent heed
> Since life first was; and ever will so weave."

All the events and circumstances of the world's history are

> "—fibrils, veins,
> Will-tissues, nerves, and pulses of the Cause,
> That heave throughout the Earth's compositure."

All men live under the sway of the Will. The great man is he who discerns the workings of the Will and works with it. But even he, like lesser men, has no choice.

Around the Immanent Will, Hardy gathers several "impersonated abstractions, or Intelligences, called Spirits." The importance of these lies in the fact that in them Hardy has catalogued all of the attitudes from which men view the problem of living in the world. These Spirits are spirits of a conventionalized commentary, each Spirit commenting on the action of the play from its particular point of view. The first of these, the Spirit of the Years, lies nearest to the heart of the Immanent Will. It is this Spirit that is "an accessory of Its works Whom chance has rendered conscious. One may suppose that with this Spirit Hardy has most artistic sympathy, for of all the commenting Intelligences this is the one that is least likely to fall into error, as it refuses to judge and is unable to pity or to scorn. "'Tis not in me to feel with or against these flesh-hinged manikins" the Spirit of the Years announces—

> "But only through my centuries to behold
> Their aspects, and their movements, and their mold."

By their nature all the other Spirits are partisan spirits. Of these the Spirit of the Pities represents the attitude that is best known in literature, the spirit of the sympathetic observer of the sorrows of human fate. This Spirit, as Hardy explains, approximates to what Schlegel called "the universal sympathy of human nature—the spectator idealized" of the Greek Chorus. As such the comments of this Spirit are in the temper of the Chorus of Greek plays, concerning themselves with lamenting the cruelty of the Will, or, as Æschylus would have said, "the gods." A typical expression of this attitude of the Pities is given in the form of a quotation from Sophocles placed in the mouth of the Spirit of the Pities at the death of Nelson:

> "Such gross injustice to their own creation
> Burdens the time with mournfulness for us,
> And for themselves with shame."

The other Spirits, the Spirits Sinister and Ironic, represent attitudes that are indicated in their names. They are opposite to the Spirit of the Pities. Where the latter Spirit finds sorrow in broken ties, maladjustments, and discords, these Spirits see only cause for sardonic smiles or open laughter. "Hence we've rare dramas going," the Spirit remarks apropos of the Will's heedlessness. To the Spirit of Pities this drama seems tragedy, but to the Spirit Sinister the drama is comedy. In temper it is the "Iago of the Incorporeal World," but Hardy is careful to show that even this spirit is not responsible for pain. When the Spirit once speaks in glee of its past scourges the Spirit of the Years answers—

> "Thy Lisbon earthquake, thy French Terror. Wait
> Thinking thou will'st, thou dost but indicate."

Next to these Spirits there is the Spirit of Rumors, an earth-bound spirit, that moves among men, unseen and unheralded, spreading that irresponsible thing called *bruit;* and for minor functions there are the Shade of the Earth, Spirit Messengers, and Recording Angels.

One cannot but be struck with the astounding significance for the literature of these days of the metaphysical machinery that Hardy has invented. By this machinery we are for the first time provided with a means whereby a great work of art may be completely presentative and at the same time completely detached. Whatever may be Hardy's theory of the Novel, and he himself has defended it as a "personal impression," he has made this work completely equivocal and completely impersonal. Here we have literature divested of the pitfalls of personal predilection and prejudice. Here we have the logical presentation of poised and objective truth, presented with the fidelity of a monograph in history. And with this all the comments that could come from the various minded men of the world are formulated and catalogued. Successively we are, as we watch the great panoramic drama, the Spirit of the Years, patient and observant, the Spirit of the Pities, thrilled with the injustice of human wrongs, the Spirit Sinister, smiling with the scorn of the nihilist or the malevolent god. And no one of these things is Hardy. He stands apart, sedate—detached, a supreme creator in the dead calm of past historic events.

A striking illustration of the detached attitude it is pos-

sible to take under such a system of balanced commentary is shown in the treatment accorded to those whose lives are known to have deviated from the strict course of morality. For such as these the drama has not a word of censure. Nor is censure or praise given to any one. Interpretation of motives comes, if at all, from the lips of the person concerned, as, for instance, when Nelson half regrets "those dear Naples and Palermo days," or when Josephine repents her early flirting; or it comes frankly from the comments of the Spirit Sinister or the Spirit of the Pities, which of course are partisan and to be taken for what they are worth.

There is another thing that the metaphysical machinery of Hardy's accomplishes. It serves to give in our times, through credible though conventional means, the sense of the supernatural in human affairs. Skeptical as we are, there are limits to our knowledge and much that concerns us lies just beyond the verge in the unexplainable. A large part of our lives is spent very near the verge, peering over into the unknown. Sometimes we plumb the mystery by some finer sense, sometimes in thought we receive messages from regions lost in cloud. This element of the unexplainable, this dependence upon the mysterious forces that can never by any means be seen or felt enters into the lives of all of us, however unwilling we may be to admit it. It is this large dependence that we have in real life upon a life that as humans we cannot fathom that is lamentably lacking in most of our literature to-day. How is the literature of such an age as ours to do justice to its unseen and spiritual forces? This thing Hardy does in quite a credible way by conventionalizing the actions of the Spirits and calling upon us for a temporary cessation of disbelief. By having these Spirits move about among men and speak, all unseen, to the inner ear, the effect of the spiritual is gained without an annoying presumption of the mysterious. So the Spirit of the Pities speaks into Napoleon's ear at the Coronation in Milan and in a ball-room at Paris and he becomes thoughtful in the midst of his splendor. In this way the Spirit of Rumors enters a ball-room or the ranks of an army and spreads unaccountable whisperings. Even the Spirit of the Years warns Nelson that his hours are short, tells Brunswick before Waterloo that he must join his father who had gone before in the same cause, and to Villeneuve whispers when the hour for suicide has come.

It is clear that this is a drama as much of the unseen as of the seen and that it purports to objectify as much the hidden purposes and tendencies of the ages as the actions and motives of men. To this purpose even the scenic accessories of the drama are directed. As it is a play for mental performance on an imaginary stage, it is quite unnecessary to restrict the action to the limits of ordinary stagecraft. For this reason the largest use to which the scenic background is put is to making visible, as upon a map, the great plan of the Immanent Will as it worked itself out over Europe. The first great panorama presents the Continental scene:

"The nether sky opens, and Europe is disclosed as a prone and emaciated figure, the Alps shaping like a backbone, and the branching mountain-chains like ribs, the peninsular plateau of Spain forming a head. Broad and lengthy lowlands stretch from the north of France across Russia like a gray-green garment hemmed by the Ural Mountains and the glistening Arctic Ocean.

"The point of view then sinks downward through space, and draws near to the surface of the perturbed countries, where the peoples, distressed by events which they did not cause, are seen writhing, crawling, heaving, and vibrating in their various cities and nationalities."

At the battle of Austerlitz the Will unfolds itself as if before physical sight:

"At once, as earlier, a preternatural clearness possesses the atmosphere of the battle-field, in which the scene becomes anatomized and the living masses of humanity transparent. The controlling Immanent Will appears therein, as a brain-like network of currents and ejections, twitching, interpenetrating, entangling, and thrusting hither and thither the human forms."

The dumb shows, too, appeal to the inner eye and are quite impossible of action save upon the stage of the mind.

This convention of mental performance secures for the drama some of its most picturesque effects and gives to it the sense of broad sweep and the supernatural that is necessary for the adequacy of its presentment. No curtain of cloth is drawn to obscure the completed action. Instead the author borrows nature's curtains, the descending night, the gathering fog and mist, and for the median effects the monotones of twilight and the silver gauzes of moonshine. Once "a moving stratum of summer cloud covers up the spectacle like an awning." Again "the characters disperse, the fire sinks, and snowflakes and darkness blot out all." A London assembly closes in this way:

"The confused tongues of the assembly waste away into distance, till they are heard but as the ripples of the sea from a high cliff, the scene becoming small and indistinct therewith. This passes into silence, and the whole disappears."

In imagination this is the way the Cathedral at Milan is obscured after the Coronation:

"The scene changes. The exterior of the Cathedral takes the place of the interior, and the point of view recedes, the whole fabric smalling into distance and becoming like a rare, delicately carved alabaster ornament. The city itself sinks into miniature, the Alps show afar as a white corrugation, the Adriatic and the Gulf of Genoa appear on this and that hand, with Italy between them, till clouds cover the panorama."

And sometimes we are made to see a scene that can only be a figment of the fancy of the person of the play:

"Thereupon a vision passes before Napoleon as he lies, comprising hundreds of thousands of skeletons and corpses in various stages of decay. They rise from his various battle-fields, the flesh dropping from them, and gaze reproachfully at him. His intimate officers slain he recognizes among the crowd. In front is the Duke of Enghien as showman."

In this way the spectacle advances, sometimes in crowded assembly halls, sometimes in lonely Wessex, moving by night and day and through all seasons to all the capitals of Europe; now we listen to the baseless rumors of ignorant men, and again to the paraphrased debates of Parliament, the manifestoes of Napoleon, and the decrees of the Powers. The period covered by the action extends from 1805 to the defeat at Waterloo, and the play comprises in its three parts 19 acts, 130 scenes, and upward of 30 dumb shows and utilizes in the first part 80 and in the second and third parts 125 speaking characters.

The action begins with the rumors, among a group of stage-coach passengers in southwest England, that Bonaparte is expected to attempt a landing at Wessex. Then in the office of the Minister of Marine in Paris Napoleon outlines his determination to attack England. Back again we are taken to a session of the House of Commons in London, where Sheridan, Fox, Pitt, and other statesmen debate the bill for national defense. The true course of the historic argument is followed in natural and brilliant blank verse. Flashed to the harbor of Boulogne we see the French Army of Invasion in perspective; and in the next scene are in London again, attending at the House of a Lady of Quality, where the Lords are discussing the impending League of

the Powers of Europe. The act ends with the crowning of Napoleon at Milan.

The following acts take us rapidly over the succeeding scenes of the preparing conflict. At Gibraltar we see Nelson, who, having fathomed the ruse of the French navy, prepares for offense. We are shown the childishness of George, the weariness of Pitt, overburdened and alone, the panic of the English, the failure of Napoleon's plans for the invasion of the islands, and his victory over the Austrians. Now approaches the battle off Trafalgar, the first stand of the English against Napoleon, and the first act in the breaking of his power.

"A bird's-eye view of the sea discloses itself. It is daybreak, and the broad face of the ocean is fringed on its eastern edge by the Cape and the Spanish shore."

Two parallel lines of ships run north and south. They are the combined French and Spanish navies. "On the western horizon two columns of ships appear in full sail, small as moths to the aerial vision. They are bearing down toward the combined squadrons." As the battle begins the scene changes from general to particular. The view is first from the deck of the *Bucentaure,* Villeneuve's flag-ship. Then it changes to the quarter-deck of the *Victory.* Nelson is seen with his officers; Scott is shot dead; Hardy, the flag captain, is wounded. Nelson, full epauletted, walks the deck.

"Gunners, naked to the waist and reeking with sweat, are now in swift action on the several decks, and firemen carry buckets of water hither and thither. The killed and wounded thicken around."

Finally Nelson falls, shot through the left shoulder. He is carried off and then:

"A Lieutenant: Now quick and pick him off who did the deed?
That white-bloused man there in the mizzen-top.
Pollard, a midshipman (shooting): No sooner said than done. A pretty aim!
The Frenchman falls dead upon the poop."

The scene changes to the *Bucentaure* and back again to the cockpit of the *Victory* where Nelson lies. There is a "din of trampling and dragging overhead"; some lie "groaning, some silently dying, some dead." The thoughts of the dying Nelson turn to other days, with one whom he leaves "safe on the nation's honor." "Does love die with our frame's decease, I wonder, or does it live on ever?" he

asks. There is no answer. Soon the Chaplain's words, "He has homed to where there's no more sea," announce the end.

From the quick rattle of dramatic blank verse, Shakespearean in intensity and pathos, we turn to the Guild Hall at London where Pitt speaks his immortal words, thus nobly paraphrased:

> "My lords and gentlemen:—You have toasted me
> As one who has saved England and her cause.
> I thank you, gentlemen, unfeignedly.
> But—no man has saved England, let me say:
> England has saved herself by her exertions:
> She will, I trust, save Europe by her example!"

Then follows quickly the battle of Austerlitz, the preparations for coalition between Francis and Napoleon, and the death of Pitt, worn out under his burdens. So ends the first part.

With the second part begins the diplomatic battle. The contest is now not only one of arms. Wits are pitted against wits. Unbeaten at arms, Napoleon moves on to Jena, routs the Prussians, enters Berlin, and enforces the cession of Magdeburg against the pleadings of the fascinating Queen Louisa. Even the victories of diplomacy seem to be on his side. Josephine pleads nobly for her wifehood:

> "Great Cæsar, you declared,
> Sank sonless to his rest; was greater deemed
> Even for the isolation. Frederick
> Saw, too, no heir. It was the fate of such,
> Often, to be denied the common hope
> As fine for fullness in the rarer gifts
> That Nature yields them.
>
> "Napoleon's offspring in his like must lie:
> The second of his line be he who shows
> Napoleon's soul in later bodiment,
> The household father happening as he may."

But the case runs against her from the first. The divorce is ratified. The negotiations with Austria begin and are pressed to successful conclusion. We are shown the meeting of Napoleon and his girl bride in the rain at Courcelles, the marriage in the grand gallery of the Louvre, and are present at the birth of the heir at the Tuileries at Paris.

Meanwhile the battle of Corunna has been fought in Spain, Sir John Moore has been hurriedly interred under the guns of the French—

> "He'll couch as calmly in this scrabbled hole
> As in a royal vault!"

and Wagram has been lost to the Austrians. Then out of the victory of the English at Talavera in Spain the figure of Wellesley begins to emerge from the shadow, the only man in the great "clash of peoples" who compares with Napoleon in embodying the purposes of the insensate Will. As a foil to the new hopes in Wellington, with which the second part ends, Hardy shows in *chiaroscuro* the mad ravings of the King at Windsor, the revels of the Prince Regent in London, and the whisperings of terror and hope spread by the Spirit of Rumor among the English people.

Part I. ended with Napoleon's supremacy. In Part II. the tides run dubiously. Part III. begins on a sure note of victory for England. The Will begins to work away from Napoleon, but still he retains his regnant imagination. The English invasion thwarted, the Russian alliance violated, he turns his mind toward an attack on India. With the advance on Moscow, fortune turns against him irretrievably. The General who could fight the legions of armed foes could not fight hunger and cold.

"The caterpillar shape still creeps laboriously nearer, but instead of increasing in size by the rules of perspective, it gets more attenuated, and there are left upon the ground behind it minute parts of itself, which are speedily flaked over, and remain as white pimples by the wayside. . . .

"Pines rise mournfully on each side of the nearing object; ravens in flocks advance with it overhead, waiting to pick out the eyes of those who fall. . . . The sky seems to join itself to the land. The marching figures drop rapidly, and almost immediately become white grave-mounds."

The Grand Army is wiped away. On the Peninsula the star of Wellington continues to rise. After Leipzig, Napoleon is without an army. The Allies are supreme. Then follows as swift as fate the Catastrophe the Will had been weaving—two hundred pages that read like an avalanche. Maria Louise is appointed Regent, but upon the advance of the Allies retires from Paris and a Bourbon is again placed on the throne of France. Napoleon is in eclipse. The people of Paris put a rope around the neck of the statue of Napoleon on the Column of the Grand Army and amuse themselves with twitching it and crying, "Strangle the tyrant!" From the swift rattle of abdication to Elba we are given two respites. One comes when Roustan, the Mameluke, true to his heredity, brings Napoleon the sword for suicide. Refusing this as untimely, Napoleon muses on death by another means:

"How gild the sunset sky of majesty
Better than by the act esteemed of yore?
Plutarchian heroes outstayed not their fame,
And what nor Brutus nor Themistocles
Nor Cato nor Mark Antony survived,
Why, why should I?"

He takes poison, but is saved.

The other is in the chamber of Josephine, where she who had been an Empress lies dying. Her thoughts are all upon her absent lord, his late distresses, and those early days when, liking Parisian coquetting best, she refused to join the victorious General in Italy.

"The independent spouse
At that time was myself; but afterward
I grew to be the captive, he the free.
Always 'tis so: the man wins finally!"

Action begins again with Napoleon's dramatic escape from Elba, his building of an army, the desertion of Maria Louisa to the Allies and the arms of her Count, and flight of Louis from Paris. We are in the famous ball-room at Brussels. The news comes that the French have passed the Sambre at Charleroi. Wellington makes call for the rendezvous There echoes through the room the "long-drawn metallic purl of sound" of the call to arms, and the Spirit of the Years sees moving among the dancers one whom none others have seen:

"He was my old friend Death, in rarest trim,
The occasion favoring his husbandry."

Like premonitory events of fate come the battle at Quartre-Bras, the skirmishes on the road to Waterloo and at Nivelle. The battle of Waterloo hangs suspended in the air and finally breaks into detonations as the armies wheel to action. There are a hundred pages of swift, hard, vigorous fighting, now viewed from afar as if from aerial vantage ground, now from the midst of the struggle. Under the lights of the different Spirits the action flashes to scorn, softens to tenderness, or becomes clarified into the picturesque. It is safe to say that our literature has no such battle scenes since Shakespeare, whose scenes these resemble. Before us flash the death of Brunswick, Picton, Ponsonby, the sacrifice of Ney to a worse than death on the battle-field—

"The finest cavalry commander, he
That wears a foreign plume."

There's time for justice to each, though the action moves like a whirlwind.

And then we are taken to scenes such as we have not had before, the horror and sordidness of war. It is in the Women's Camp near Mont Saint Jean.

"WOMAN: There's no sign of my husband any longer. His battalion is half a mile from where it was. He looked back as they wheeled off toward the fighting-line, as much as to say, 'Nancy, if I don't see 'ee again, this is good-by, my dear.' Yes, poor man! . . . Not but what 'a had a temper at times!

"SECOND WOMAN: I'm out of all that. My husband—as I used to call him for form's sake—is quiet enough. He was wownded at Quarter-Brass the day before yesterday, and died the same night. But I didn't know it till I got here, and then says I, 'Widder or no widder, I mean to see this out.'"

The unweeting doom assigned by the Will draws down upon Napoleon. The impatient waiting for Grouchy ends in the certainty that he will not come.

> "Life's curse begins, I see,
> With helplessness,"

muses Napoleon. Then, the Prussians coming up and loss made certain, he cries:

> "Now all is lost! The clocks of the world
> Strike my last empery-hour,"

and with the end, in the words of the Spirit of Rumors, Napoleon "loses his last chance of dying well."

After the battle comes quiet:

"The reds disappear from the sky, and the dusk grows deeper. The action of the battle degenerates to a hunt, and recedes farther and farther into the distance southward. . . . In the vast and dusky shambles black, slouching shapes begin to move, the plunderers of the dead and dying.

"The night grows clear and beautiful, and the moon shines musingly down. But instead of the sweet smell of green herbs and dewy rye as at her last shining upon these fields, there is now the stench of gunpowder and a muddy stew of crushed crops and gore."

In such a study as this one cannot do justice to the remarkable variety of form and effectiveness of poetic diction displayed in *The Dynasts*. Hardy's gift, as he himself suggests in the Preface to one of his volumes of verse, is dramatic rather than lyrical, yet there are three or four songs of great beauty in the work and other passages of a lyrical character that approach pure magic. One finds it necessary to mention the technical versatility displayed in the lyrics of the Intelligences and Choruses, and particularly the ex-

traordinary flexibility of the blank-verse paraphrases of actual prose addresses and public documents, such, for instance, as the Proclamation of the Powers, which Hardy gives both in verse and the original prose. The narrative and dramatic mastery of the diction, both prose and verse, has already been sufficiently indicated. Hardy has enriched English poetry with some lines that will not die; many, indeed, challenge and enjoy comparison with the best in the language. The death of Nelson, Josephine's pleading before the divorce, and Napoleon's colloquy with the Spirit of the Years at the end of the drama are pure gold. In our literature one can go no further than to say a thing is Shakespearean. In *The Dynasts* we see many traits that strengthen the association of the name of Hardy with that of Shakespeare; and yet in the entire work there isn't a line that one can say is reminiscent of Shakespeare. In respect of independence of genius, Hardy is unique in our time. The conclusion must be that here is a work of first magnitude—the first, indeed, of our day to create out of the modern cosmogony an epical structure vigorous with all the meanings of antiquity.

THOMAS H. DICKINSON.

# THE GARDENER OF THE SEA

BY SAMUEL MC COY

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I

As a bird (flying
  While night comes on
And the light, dying,
  Foretells no dawn)
Wearily searches,
  Haven to find,
Seeks, never perches,
  Through terror blind:
So, over surges
  Of all despair,
My soul He scourges
  Till I grasp prayer.

II

At evening, when the sky's rich tapestries
Of Tyrian blue glow thick with golden globes,
The Gardener of the Sea with heavenly shoon
Walks to and fro within its several bounds,
As one with sandals wet by twilight dews
Might move in quiet in his garden paths.
Unquiet garden! that with lifeless life
Doth crawl and lick the Gardener's piercèd feet!
Forever sterile, though forever sown
With seed of ships and stars and crumbling lands;
Forever sterile, yet forever bright
With the white flashing bloom of breaking seas;
Aceldama of nations, that entombs
The nameless legions of antiquity;
Only thy Gardener dare furrow thee,
Thou field as restless as a cagèd beast,
And thee He ploweth with His four great winds,

And harrows thee with whirlpool and with storm.
Evening, her blue-black arras thick with stars
Arching above this garden, and the house
Of Night enclose the garden's heaving floor;
A million stars are drownèd, not too deep
To ride and flash like silver lanterns, there;
And the night breeze sweeps cool, and yet more cool
Across the garden and its dark, swift hills,
And lo! upon the moving waters' face,
The Gardener walking, veiled in majesty!

III

Do you remember that long-vanished night,
Master, upon the lake of Galilee,
When the rude, boist'rous waves did sore affright
Matthieu and Marc and stronger men than me?
Then, in the fourth watch, when all hope was gone,
A radiance and a quiet 'round them grew,
And, like a Gardener on some still, smooth lawn,
A Spirit walked the waves—ah, Lord, 'twas you!
And some there were who cried out at that wraith
(That seemed) that trod the murderous sea,
But Peter (who am I) said in his faith:
"Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee!"
Yea, of that Garden, to keep watch and ward,
Make me your under-gardener, Lord!

SAMUEL MCCOY.

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# MUSIC

BY LOUISE MORGAN SILL

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WHAT strange, dim agitation shakes my soul,
And in what world unknown do I now breathe? . . .
Am I a god that I should feel this glow
Of high-wrought ecstasy? What billows roll
Over my consciousness? What waters seethe
Within the quiet depths of my pale being
And there create such tides of ebb and flow?

. . . . . .

I have uprisen, and life lies far below.

Here is at last the world whereof I dreamed
From my first hour, when earthly life became
My present doom, and I forgot the past—
Save when some blue unearthly dawn-light gleamed
Suddenly right athwart the night—a flame
Of other spheres I did not always see;
But when thou camest, Music, with this power
That opens my blind eyes—the miracle hour!

O hour miraculous! To stand upright
And search beyond the boundaries of life
Into the Holy Secret. . . . That were worth
More than life's value though it blind the sight
Forever: unknown force is born, is rife
Within the soul—all deeds are possible—
The stars are suns, and the familiar sun
Burns wider, fuses, till all worlds are one.

And through that sea of timeless glory swings
In measured cadence man's resistless wave—
Conscious and living to its utmost drop.
In rhythm with all other waves it sings,
And echoes tireless the song it saves.
Onward and irresistible it moves
Nor ever knows the barrier of a shore,
Brave, glad, responsive, free for evermore.

O Music, if thy spell can bring again
The world's dead days that time has sloughed away—
So dead, yet in their essences alive—
If thou again canst give us their old pain
Or their delight, their yea to life or nay,
If thou canst do so much, how more can Death,
Thy master, give us back all we have cost
To God, all we have missed and thought was lost!

LOUISE MORGAN SILL.

# HOW OUR ROMAN TYPE CAME TO US

BY CHARLES UPSON CLARK

THE development of the print and script which we use is a fascinating story. Every one of us who signs his name traces characters whose origin goes back to the eastern Mediterranean and whose evolution is an abstract of the whole intellectual history of western Europe. Nothing else in our daily life shows so clearly our dependence on Greco-Roman civilization. We may boast of our modernity, we may scorn the classics, we may not know a word of any language but our own; but the moment we write "Pay John Smith five dollars" we do homage to that restless little people of the Ægean and to those proud conquerors of the Seven Hills. Even the despised Middle Ages have their share in this result. Our Roman print which faces you on this page is one of Charlemagne's great contributions to modern life. He was himself unable to write; his affectionate biographer, Einhard, tells us that he used to keep a stencil of his name under his pillow and on sleepless nights try manfully to learn how to form the letters. But he had a deep sense of educational responsibility. He commissioned scholars to collect the Frankish poems and himself composed a grammar of his native Low German tongue; and in the great schools he established at Tours and at Trêves, an English monk, Alcuin, reformed along ancient and beautiful lines the degenerate Merovingian writing and fixed the Caroline hand. This developed gradually into the angular Gothic or black letter which our German friends still cling to; but it was revived in a pure form by Italian humanists just before printing superseded copying. The influence of the Roman Church carried it to England as to Poland and Bohemia; and thus we twentieth-century Americans, with all our independence, use print which Alcuin himself could read at once.

The genesis of our alphabet offers a series of interesting problems. We used to be taught that the Iliad could not have been committed to writing for generations after Homer; but the remarkable discoveries of recent years, especially in Crete, show us that long before that day—perhaps by 1800 B.C.—writing was in common use on Greek soil. Possibly the art was lost during those ages which separate that brilliant Mycenæan civilization from the Athens and Sparta of written history. We are here concerned, however, with only one branch of that enterprising Greek race.

Just off the coast of Attica, opposite the battle-field of Marathon, lies Eubœa, an island a trifle smaller than Long Island. Its chief city, Chalcis, sent adventurous colonists over the seas in every direction. Some of these pioneers settled along the Italian coast in very early times at Cumæ, not far from Naples. They carried with them their special form of the Greek alphabet; and the Italian natives adopted the writing of Chalcis just as naturally as they bought Chalcidian exports. In those days people wrote from right to left, as the Hebrews and Arabs do yet; but to some inventive genius it occurred to write lines alternately right to left and then left to right—*boustrophedon,* the Greeks called it, from the turning of an ox at the end of a furrow. Thence it was an easy step to the permanent left-right direction which we use.

Until a short time ago we knew of nothing in Latin written boustrophedon and only a few brief inscriptions from right to left. But in 1899 the quiet young Venetian architect, Commendatore Boni, who was in charge of the excavations in the Roman Forum, came upon a slab of black marble which clearly covered something of importance. Careful work disclosed a battered block of stone with lines of Latin running boustrophedon across it. Though much of the inscription is lost and much unintelligible, enough is left to show that we have here some ritual from three or four centuries before Augustus. The letters are still almost wholly Greek; our Roman type has only just cut loose from its parent.

After the days of Cicero and Cæsar our material is abundant. Then, as to-day, there were capitals and script. The capitals have come down to us almost without change. They meet us not only in inscriptions, but also in the books of that day—papyrus rolls. Not a single one of these rolls has

survived entire and uninjured; but we have plenty of fragments and a very few papyrus MSS. After papyrus rolls were supplanted by parchment books, in the third and fourth centuries of our era, an occasional capital manuscript has outlasted the use and abuse of ages. Three venerable Virgils, at Rome and Florence, still bear witness to the skill of the Roman scribes of 1,400 or 1,500 years ago.

These professional scribes kept rounding their capitals, in the direction of script, till they had evolved a new hand, the uncial. This became the regular book-hand during the troubled days when Visigoth, Ostrogoth, and Lombard descended upon Rome. Our earliest Latin Bibles, together with many legal and medical works, are uncial manuscripts. A beautiful hand, it nevertheless took too much time and too much parchment. So a small-letter hand was developed beside it, largely cursive, but with the letters separate. This is called the semi-uncial. It was of great importance in the evolution of our Roman type. Not only that, but it was the fashionable hand in southern Italy when Pope Gregory sent Augustine to Kent to convert the "angel" Angles; and Augustine's monks perpetuated it on British soil. There it speedily became a well-marked and handsome style of writing, variously known as the Insular, Anglo-Saxon, or Irish. King Alfred, Bede, Cædmon, all the other founders of our literature, wrote like this; the superb Bibles, treasures of Dublin, Durham, Lichfield, the Bodleian, the British Museum, are a noble monument to the skill and pride of our Anglo-Saxon and Celtic forebears. The Irish use this hand even yet to express their Gaelic tongue; one can buy in New York the New Testament in Irish, printed in Irish type.

Meanwhile the great bulk of documents, whose writers could not afford the time and material necessary for such ornate writing, used script even for books. As the Roman Empire split up into separate Germanic kingdoms, each developed a special hand out of this script. These were like our modern script in having the letters connected more or less. A number of their characteristic features have survived —every time you and I write "&" we are using the ligature for the Latin "et" in the Merovingian hand—the national script of northern France. This French hand grew hard to read; and Charlemagne's great reform, under Alcuin, consisted in resurrecting the semi-uncial with some modifications. Every letter stood alone, as in modern print,

with few exceptions. For three centuries this reformed hand held the field, gradually displacing the Lombard or Beneventan script of Italy and the Visigothic hand of Spain. Then it grew stiff and angular, crystallizing in the Gothic black letter which we know best in calling-cards and newspaper name heads, but which was once as familiar in England as it still is in Germany, Denmark, and Norway.

Dante and Petrarch, Valla and Poggio, usher in modern times. To-day's civilization is largely due to their rediscovery of the classics. They recovered also the older and better style of writing. Italian humanists had their manuscripts copied in this revival of Charlemagne's reformed hand. About 1450 Gutenberg invented movable types, and the printed book sprang into being. Since Gutenberg was a German, there was great danger that the new process would perpetuate only the pointed Gothic; but here again the Italian scholars prevailed.

Thus our printed word is the expression of a debt. Our debt is to Greece first of all, as ever; then to Cumæ of the Sybil and practical, business-like Rome; then part of our gratitude goes to Charles the Great, and another share to the Italians of the Renaissance. They have left us a beautiful heritage of which we may well be proud and glad.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

# LITERARY RECOLLECTIONS

BY WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, HENRY JAMES, AND FRANK B. SANBORN

[A dinner was given in New York on March 2d to celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of William Dean Howells. The interesting recollections which are published herewith constituted a part of the proceedings.—THE EDITOR.]

## BY MR. HOWELLS

SOME fifty-two years ago, come next summer, I sat with the great Hawthorne on the hill behind his house in Concord and heard him say several memorable things. The most memorable of these things was to the effect that there was nothing like recognition to make a man modest. At the time I supposed he was speaking of one of his neighbors, perhaps Thoreau, perhaps Alcott, who had not had recognition enough to make him modest. It has since occurred to me that he had the actual occasion in mind and was, with a subtle prescience, insinuating the kindly hope that I might profit by the insurpassable inducement to shrink into the background which has been given me here to-night. This, in fact, is what I propose to do when I have made you believe that I really mean it in putting away the crowns you have offered me on this little Lupercal of mine. I can do this the more easily when I remember that the occasion was no more the effect of my wishing than of my deserving, but was created solely by that genius for hospitality in our host which bends all wills to it when it frees itself in the notion of a seventy-fifth birthday dinner or the like. I can do it still more easily, if possible, when I recall myself to consciousness of the fact that whatever else has brought you here, you are glad and proud to be here supremely because the occasion is honored by the Nation in the presence of the man who honors the high office of Washington and Lincoln.

If you ask me for some further conjecture of mine as to why our host and his chief guest should have united on this occasion so apparently, so evidently inadequate, I will urge in their defense that I do not come seventy-five years of age every day, and that if I should prove altogether unworthy of their kindness the occasion will not repeat itself though I should live to be a hundred. Except as a condition of being still alive, I would not have chosen to have a seventy-fifth birthday. It is something that both practice and precept would have forbidden me. I have never had a seventy-fifth birthday before in my life and I am keenly aware that in now venturing upon one I am transcending the psalmist's limit of threescore years and ten. Yet, with all this, I will not deny that there is some merit in having lived seventy-five years, though there is not so much merit as the man who has done it is apt to think. The very experience of life which has enlightened him on most points rather darkens him on this one and he comes to believe that somehow he has done the things he has witnessed, or, if he has not done them, that they have been done because of him. I should like you to keep this amiable peculiarity of our race in view when I say what great things of our literature I have known and what great things I hope of it.

To the backward glance the light of the past seems one great glow, but it is in fact a group of stellar fires; fixed stars not unaccompanied by wandering comets, not without the gaiety of aimless meteors. Perhaps it is as some incandescent mass that the future will behold this present when it has become the past, and we who sit here to-night shall appear one great glow without distinction of age or sex or any qualitative difference in our several glory. But we who sit here to-night are keenly aware of distinctions and of differences. Such of us as are the fixed stars know very well which are the wandering comets and which are the aimless meteors kindling only in their passage through our atmosphere. It has been so in every period; and if I say that I knew at first hand the luminaries of a bygone period it is not merely to attribute their greatness to my acquaintance with them, but it is also to affirm their consciousness of difference from one another. They differed as the stars differ in glory and always will, though the stars may not know it as those great men did. The list of them is very long, and I may say that if I missed the personal acquaintance of Cooper and

Irving and Poe and Prescott I was personally acquainted with all the others in whom the story of American literature sums itself. I knew Hawthorne and Emerson and Walt Whitman; I knew Longfellow and Holmes and Whittier and Lowell; I knew Bryant and Bancroft and Motley; I knew Harriet Beecher Stowe and Julia Ward Howe; I knew Artemus Ward and Stockton and Mark Twain; I knew Parkman and Fiske. Names refulgent still, however the fire, never to be relumed, seems beginning to die out of some of them; names such as we have hardly the like of.

Hardly the like of? I say this, but I say it askingly and at the worst wistfully in fear of your response to a question which I should myself answer courageously rather than categorically. I should not want to be damped by your doubt or to have my ever-youthful faith dashed by your experience, and so before you can get in a word I make haste to declare, Yes, we have many like them, but of no more identity with them than they felt with one another. As far as they were truly great they must have perceived that they were not so great as they had grown to seem and each must have perceived even more clearly that the others were not so great. But it is not this point that I care to insist upon; it is another; it is that difference in the present from the past which I think is inevitable from what seems the new conditioning of our lives. All of human life has turned more and more to the light of democracy, the light of equality, if you please. Literature, which was once of the cloister, the school, has become more and more of the forum and incidentally of the market-place. But it is actuated now by as high and noble motives as ever it was in the history of the world; and I think that in turning from the vain endeavor of creating beauty and devoting itself to the effort of ascertaining life it is actuated by a clearer motive than before. If we have no single name so sovereign as these names I have cited, we have many talents which do things impossible to the geniuses who wore these names on earth. Let us love them, let us honor them; we cannot worship them too much, but let us remember their limitations and consider the potentiality of the artists who now are and are to be. Let us recognize the fact that in the present vast output of literature the pure gold is not less in quantity because the mass of dirt and dross is so immeasurably greater than in the days of another sort of

mining. I myself believe there is gold greater in quantity and that possibly in a critical analysis the report of the assayer will declare as high a percentage of the genuine metal. I am not dismayed by the numbers who have taken to literature in these days and found a living in it. At first it seems a little odd, a little droll to have a publisher announce a novel as "by a new writer"; but when there are so many new readers, why should not the new writers have their innings? The old ones have had theirs and even the old readers do not want them always. Ought not we old writers, who are confronting a new life elsewhere at such close range, try to be in love with the new literature here? I myself am going to cultivate an affection for it from this on.

The great men I have named could not do just the fine things, the brave things, the true things that are done now by the men I will not name lest I miss some in the long count. In my time I have seen a whole literature grow up and flourish into national proportions. Nearly all the writers I have been naming were New-Englanders, but now our writers are of every sectional origin and constitute an American authorship. They are of the West and the South, as well as of the North and East, and more and more their work tastes of the soil that mothered them. Once we had a New England literature, now we have an American literature, and Indianapolis is, as Boston was, a city in which books are held dear and the art of them is prized above any other. The poets, the best of them, are of or from the West; our ablest living historian is a Western man; our students of the human mind in the past and the human soul in the present—a very stellar group—are of the East; but our novelists and our novelettists are from every part of the country; and each is devoted wittingly or unwittingly to the representation of the America that he knows best because he has lived it most.

A literature as authentic and distinctive as our journalism has grown up in the years since the Civil War; my years, which must seem almost antediluvian to some of you here, and with this literature as truly as with our commerce and our finance the American consciousness has increased. We makers of that literature may not always realize it, and the readers of that literature very seldom knew it, but the fact remains; and its genesis may be intel-

ligibly traced, I think. We began our national career by having no literature of our own; our reading, except in the very noble political writing of the fathers, came from England; and then, as the rift between the two countries deepened and widened, it began to come from the European continent. When I commenced author it was yet coming very little from that continent. We still prayed at the old shrines; and our knees knocked together at the names of the awful gods of English criticism who scarcely even deigned an open contempt for our poor little offerings. Gradually the light which showed us the way dawned upon us, and it dawned from the countenance of that most generous of the nations, from France, from the face of her who befriended us in our struggle to be an independent people; from France whose schools no less of literature than of art and science are freely open to any in the whole world who will learn. Some of you may not know this, but I know it, for I am of the generation that lived it and I would fain help to have it remembered that we studied from the French masters, the continental masters, to imitate nature, and gave American fiction the bent which it still keeps wherever it is vital. You may not know it, or, if you know it, you may not own it, but this is the fact, and though a flood of unreality followed us and swept us under, when that deluge went down there all over the land the seed that we had planted, behold! it had sprouted and stood—

"Fast-rooted in the fruitful soil."

I would have you all, whatever esthetic thinking or feeling you are of, look about you and see whether every plant now bearing good and nourishing fruit is not of that growth.

There are many kinds of art, but there is only one best kind; and while every one ought to be freely suffered and cordially welcomed to do the thing he most likes to do, none of us should forget that there is only one best thing. Look about you, I say, not only in America, but in England, and you will see that what I say is true, for the English, too, have come to the right faith in their latest and greatest work. But we came to this faith first because we had opener minds than the English and because we brought a willingness to learn of those masters who could teach, because we also were somehow instinctively continental. Since then a world of continental art has offered itself to us. Master-

pieces have come to us from everywhere—from Norway, from Russia, from Poland, from Spain, from Italy, from Portugal—and I know no higher joy than to recognize that our best work is a response in form and spirit to that best kind which these masterpieces exemplify. Our fiction so far as it really exists is of the European and not the English make, and the newer English fiction, so far as it really exists, is not of the English, but of the European make, the American make.

If I come now to speak of poetry, I own there are no sources so sweet and pure as the English sources. But I do not willingly yield the primacy in poetry to the English poets contemporary with the American poets I knew. Longfellow and Bryant and Emerson and Whittier and Lowell and Holmes—

"Touched the tender stops of various quills"

to as beautiful effect of truth as the English poets of their time and, perhaps, in even wider range. But they belonged to an idealistic period when men dreamed of human perfectibility through one mighty reform. Their dream was that if the slaves were freed there could hardly be sorrow on the earth which our good-will could not easily assuage. Now long ago the slaves were freed, but through the rift of the poets' broken dream the faces of underwaged women and overworked children stare at us; and it does not seem as if it were a sufficient change that now those faces are white and not black. Has the real frightened the ideal from us? Is poetry so essentially of the ideal that it must go into exile with it? Or is it that our poetry is not equal to the claim which humanity has upon America beyond all other lands and shrinks from a duty which should be her solemn joy? They who dreamed that beautiful dream in other days were each at some moment realists in their lives as they were idealists in their art. Each according to his gift laid his offering on the altar of freedom; but has each of our later poets, according to his gift, laid his offering on the altar of justice? For equality, which is justice "writ large," is now the hope of humanity and its service is the condition which has effected itself even in the mystical sources where the inspirations of art have their rise. Yet I am ready, almost ready, to say that as much good poetry is written in this time as in the time that is past; but it is

not the poetry of the few, it is the poetry of the many. We no longer have supremacies, we no longer have primacies; the gods, the half-gods, the heroes are gone, I hope not to return; and it is the high average which reigns in this as in all American things. Amidst the misgivings of our poetry we may console ourselves with the fact that the average in it is higher than ever before.

This I truly believe, though I could not allege the proofs as easily as I could allege those of our national advance in the art of the stage. Not less wonderful to me than the growth of the American novel in the fifty years which have now passed like a vision of the night is the growth of the American play. Scarcely less astonishing is that mood of ours, for it is only a mood, to which this fact is not apparent. I had greatly admired the modern English drama with hardly a question of its superiority to ours, but last summer, when I was expressing my high sense of it to an Englishman in London, he said, "Yes, but you know you are doing much better things at home," and, though he gave me no instances, he set me thinking, and I thought I perceived that in their very difference from the English things which I had so admired there was that which at least equaled our things with theirs. I thought I saw that while the English dramatists painted manners so wonderfully well, ours painted nature, our every-day American nature, which at the bottom of its heart is always human nature. If they did not paint manners so well it was perhaps because we had none to paint, or perhaps because our customs, which we make do for manners, change so rapidly from day to day, from Boston to Pittsburg, from to-morrow to the day after, and from Pittsburg to Oklahoma, that the kinematograph alone can catch them. Besides, our drama is still very new. Before the great Civil War which fertilized the fields of thought among us, as well as the fields of battle with the blood of its sacrifice, we had no drama which was essentially American except the wretched stage travesty of that most essentially American novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But now already we have a drama which has touched our life at many characteristic points, which has dealt with our moral and material problems and penetrated the psychological regions which it seemed impossible an art so objective should reach. Mainly it has been gay as our prevalent mood is; mainly it has been

honest as our habit is in cases where we believe we can afford it; mainly it has been decent and clean and sweet as our average life is; and now that Ibsen no longer writes new plays, I would rather take my chance of pleasure and profit with a new American play than with any other sort of new play. We are still waiting our Shakespeare, but we can very well wait patiently for him; perhaps one Shakespeare is enough for all time; and in the mean while we may console ourselves in the drama as in poetry with that high or higher average which is the distinctive American thing.

It is this which most consoles me for our bereavement in a region where it seems irreparable. In that American humor which within the half-century of my observation developed itself in such proportion as almost to dwarf any other growth of our air, there was one humorist who when he died might well have given us the sense of Shakespearian loss, though we are not yet aware of a Shakespearian gain. But the soul of Mark Twain which divined and uttered the inmost and most immanent American mood has passed again so lastingly into the American consciousness that it will remain the inspiration of that high or higher average in humor which once again is the distinctively American thing. It will take many forms and offer many aspects to our glad recognition. But hereafter that high or higher average of our humor must always be generous and magnanimous; in its broadest clowning, its wildest grotesquery, it can never forget to be kind, to be kind to the whole world that the touch of nature makes kin, but especially kind to those that the world and the world's law seem to have kept strangers to the rest of the family.

If I had been witness to no other surpassing things of American growth in my fifty years of observation, I should think it glory enough to have lived in the same time and in the same land with the man whose name must always embody American humor to human remembrance. What has been my own influence on that time, in that land, I should like so much to say, so much to say! But the theme is too vast, if not for my powers, then for your patience. Regretfully, very sorrowfully, I turn from the alluring opportunity. I shall never be just seventy-five years old again, and the ripe occasion must go rot in those bins of oblivion where so much occasion has failed of even the sad immortality of cold storage. Yet, in the midst of my

self-denial, in my poignant regret for having said so little about myself in my survey of things, "all which I was and part of which I saw," if I may so construe the Latin, I am very truly grateful for the lenient things that have been said of me here already and for those which I cannot help hoping some of you are still going to say of me. I must spend the rest of my days trying to puzzle out the reason of these things, unless I lay it at once to your compassion for a man who is seventy-five years old and still lives. But in venturing to live on I have the hope of returning those things in kind, for I understand that it is the purpose of our host to give you each a birthday dinner as fast as you become seventy-five years old, and that his most honored guest, still typifying the Nation at its best, will come to them all.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.

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## BY MR. JAMES

### A LETTER TO MR. HOWELLS

IT is made known to me that they are soon to feast in New York the newest and freshest of the splendid birthdays to which you keep treating us, and that your many friends will meet round you to rejoice in it and reaffirm their allegiance. I shall not be there, to my sorrow; and, though this is inevitable, I yet want to be missed, peculiarly and monstrously missed, so that these words shall be a public apology for my absence: read by you, if you like and can stand it, but, better still, read *to* you and, in fact, straight *at* you by whoever will be so kind and so loud and so distinct. For I doubt, you see, whether any of your toasters and acclaimers have anything like my ground and title for being with you at such an hour. There can scarce be one, I think, to-day who has known you from so far back, who has kept so close to you for so long, and who has such fine old reasons—so old, yet so well preserved—to feel your virtue and sound your praise. My debt to you began well-nigh half a century ago in the most personal way possible, and then kept growing and growing with your own admirable growth—but always rooted in the early intimate benefit. This benefit was that you held out your open editorial hand to me at the time I began to write—and I allude especially to the summer of 1866—with a frankness and sweetness of hospitality that was really the making of me, the making

of the confidence that required help and sympathy and that I should otherwise, I think, have strayed and stumbled about a long time without acquiring. You showed me the way and opened me the door; you wrote to me and confessed yourself struck with me—I have never forgotten the beautiful thrill of *that*. You published me at once—and paid me, above all, with a dazzling promptitude; magnificently, I felt, and so that nothing since has ever quite come up to it. More than this even, you cheered me on with a sympathy that was in itself an inspiration. I mean that you talked to me and listened to me—ever so patiently and genially and suggestively conversed and consorted with me. This won me to you irresistibly and made you the most interesting person I knew—lost as I was in the charming sense that my best friend was an editor, and an almost insatiable editor, and that such a delicious being as that was a kind of property of my own. Yet how didn't that interest still quicken and spread when I became aware that—with such attention as you could spare from us, for I recognized my fellow-beneficiaries—you had started to cultivate *your* great garden as well; the tract of virgin soil that, beginning as a cluster of bright, fresh, sunny, and savory patches close about the house, as it were, was to become that vast goodly pleasaunce of art and observation, of appreciation and creation, in which you have labored, without a break or a lapse, to this day, and in which you have grown so grand a show of—well, really of everything. Your liberal visits to *my* plot and your free-handed purchases there were still greater events when I began to see you handle yourself with such ease the key to our rich and inexhaustible mystery. Then the question of what you would make of your own powers began to be even more interesting than the question of what you would make of mine—all the more, I confess, as you had ended by settling this one so happily. My confidence in myself, which you had so helped me to, gave way to a fascinated impression of your own spread and growth, for you broke out so insistently and variously that it was a charm to watch and an excitement to follow you. The only drawback that I remember suffering from was that *I*, your original debtor, couldn't print or publish or pay you—which would have been a sort of ideal of *re*payment and of enhanced credit; you could take care of yourself so beautifully, and I could (unless by some occasional happy chance

or rare favor) scarce so much as glance at your proofs or have a glimpse of your "endings." I could only read you, full-blown and finished, always so beautifully finished—and see, with the rest of the world, how you were doing it again and again.

That, then, was what I had with time to settle down to—the common attitude of seeing you do it again and again; keep on doing it, with your heroic consistency and your noble, genial abundance, during all the years that have seen so many apparitions come and go, so many vain flourishes attempted and achieved, so many little fortunes made and unmade, so many weaker inspirations betrayed and spent. Having myself to practise meaner economies, I have admired from period to period your so ample and liberal flow; wondered at your secret for doing positively a little—what do I say, a little? I mean a magnificent deal!—of Everything. I seem to myself to have faltered and languished, to have missed more occasions than I have grasped, while you have piled up your monument just by remaining at your post. For you have had the advantage, after all, of breathing an air that has suited and nourished you; of sitting up to your neck, as I may say—or at least up to your waist—amid the sources of your inspiration. There and so you were at your post; there and so the spell could ever work for you, there and so your relation to all your material grow closer and stronger, your perception penetrate, your authority accumulate. They make a great array, a literature in themselves, your studies of American life so acute, so direct, so disinterested, so preoccupied but with the fine truth of the case; and the more attaching to me always for their referring themselves to a time and an order when we knew together what American life *was*—or thought we did, deluded though we may have been! I don't pretend to measure the effect or to sound the depths, if they be not the shallows, of the huge wholesale importations and so-called assimilations of this later time; I only feel and speak for those conditions in which, as "quiet observers," as careful painters, as sincere artists, we could still in our native, our human and social element, know more or less where we were and feel more or less what we had hold of. You knew and felt these things better than I; you had learned them earlier and more intimately, and it was impossible, I think, to be in more instinctive and more informed possession of

the general truth of your subject than you happily found yourself. The *real* affair of the American case and character, as it met your view and brushed your sensibility, that was what inspired and attached you, and, heedless of foolish flurries from other quarters, of all wild or weak slashings of the air and wavings in the void, you gave yourself to it with an incorruptible faith. You saw your field with a rare lucidity: you saw all it had to give in the way of the romance of the real and the interest and the thrill and the charm of the common, as one may put it; the character and the comedy, the point, the pathos, the tragedy, the particular home-grown humanity under your eyes and your hand and with which the life all about you was closely interknitted. Your hand reached out to these things with a fondness that was in itself a literary gift and played with them as the artist only and always can play: freely, quaintly, incalculably, with all the assurance of his fancy and his irony, and yet with that fine taste for the truth and the pity and the meaning of the matter which keeps the temper of observation both sharp and sweet. To observe by such an instinct and by such reflection is to find work to one's hands and a challenge in every bush; and as the familiar American scene thus bristled about you, so year by year your vision more and more justly responded and swarmed. You put forth *A Modern Instance,* and *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* and *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* and *The Landlord at Lion's Head,* and *The Kentons* (that perfectly classic illustration of your spirit and your form) after having put forth in perhaps lighter-fingered prelude *A Foregone Conclusion,* and *The Undiscovered Country,* and *The Lady of the Aroostook,* and *The Minister's Charge*—to make of a long list too short a one; with the effect again and again of a feeling for the human relation, as the social climate of our country qualifies, intensifies, generally conditions and colors it, which, married in perfect felicity to the expression you found for its service, constituted the originality that we want to fasten upon you as with silver nails to-night. Stroke by stroke and book by book your work was to become for this exquisite notation of our whole democratic light and shade and give and take in the highest degree *documentary,* so that none other, through all your fine long season, could approach it in value and amplitude. None, let me say, too, was to approach it in essential distinction; for you had grown master,

by insidious practices best known to yourself, of a method so easy and so natural, so marked with the personal element of your humor and the play, not less personal, of your sympathy, that the critic kept coming on its secret connection with the grace of letters much as Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking — so knowing to be able to do it! — comes in the forest on the subtle tracks of Indian braves. However, these things take us far, and what I wished mainly to put on record is my sense of that unfailing, testifying truth in you which will keep you from ever being neglected. The critical intelligence—if any such fitful and discredited light may still be conceived as within our sphere—has not at all begun to render you its tribute. The more inquiringly and perceivingly it shall still be projected upon the American life we used to know, the more it shall be moved by the analytic and historic spirit, the more indispensable, the more a vessel of light, will you be found. It's a great thing to have used one's genius and done one's work with such quiet and robust consistency that they fall by their own weight into that happy service. You may remember perhaps, and I like to recall, how the great and admirable Taine, in one of the fine excursions of his French curiosity, greeted you as a precious painter and a sovereign witness. But his appreciation, I want you to believe with me, will yet be carried much further, and then — though you may have argued yourself happy, in your generous way and with your incurable optimism, even while noting yourself not understood—your really beautiful time will come. Nothing so much as feeling that he may himself perhaps help a little to bring it on can give pleasure to yours all faithfully,

HENRY JAMES.

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## BY MR. SANBORN

### A LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN

CONSISTENTLY with other engagements, I find I cannot be present on the 2d proximo at the banquet in honor of that younger brother of the literary guild whom Mr. Trowbridge and myself, with a few others here in New England, take the liberty of seniority in years to entitle Mr. Howells. He has surpassed us all now living in the popularity, the variety, and the geniality of his books; which are so many that he must shudder a little himself at the long list of them,

and thank Apollo and the Muses if he has not repeated himself in some of them. Had he done so, he would not have offended his myriad of readers, who would only have recognized in that either the emphasis of a missionary of righteousness or the familiar voice of a constant friend.

My own memory of Howells as a poet goes back to the date before the Civil War when our Virginian friend, the late Moncure Conway, was also an Ohio man and had mounted on a sunny Cincinnati wall his ephemeral *Dial,* to which I think Howells, and certainly myself, contributed verses. When Conway returned to Concord (where he had passed agreeable weeks in his college vacations) and took charge of a Boston weekly, half political and half literary, in which I soon succeeded him as editor, he brought with him pleasant memories of the poet-editor in the Western Reserve (which as a spiritual quality Howells did not share), and also admired the stanchness of his free opinions, which had led him to commemorate that hero of the Reserve who had so lately died in Virginia for his Jeffersonian principles. Consequently, Conway printed some of the youthful verses of the Ashtabula poet in that first column of the *Commonwealth,* in which afterward appeared so much of the poetry of the Concord authors—of Alcott, Louisa Alcott, Emerson, Channing, Thoreau, Wasson, Edwin Morton, Daniel Ricketson, and the undersigned.

The first poem of Howells, I remember, was called "Drifting" (December, 1862) and portrayed the emotions with which a youth, going forth upon the voyage of life in a boat of his own (like our ancestor in the Ark), felt himself drifting away from all the old anchorages and landmarks by which he had sailed and moored in the long years of youth. So pathetically did he describe this forlorn automatic sailing that one of our feminine poets replied to him in the *Commonwealth,* consoling and encouraging him to go forward and "paddle his own canoe" (in our beautiful Yankee dialect); so that the tears which had fallen into some distant Ohio canal must have been dried by the muslin kerchief of womanly sympathy. Such is the true function of feminine poets from Sappho and Corinna to Madame d'Houdetot and Madame Maeterlinck; and doubtless our gray-haired novelist has many times received the same consolation in the half-century since intervening. And he has so well managed to avoid *drifting* that

he has marshaled a fleet of forty or fifty sail in the deep Mediterranean waters of romance and adventure and handled them so magnificently that he can now bring them either into action or into port, as did Commodore Perry among the Lake Erie islands of his Ohio Mediterranean.

Meantime the administration of President Lincoln, following the good old-fashioned rule by which Irving was commissioned to Spain, John Howard Payne to Tunis, and Hawthorne to Liverpool, made Mr. Howells consul at Venice; from which city, in 1863, he sent me for the *Commonwealth* some verses for our "Poet's Column." At about the same time I was printing in the same weekly the famous verses of Thoreau on "Inspiration," Miss Alcott's first widely read book, *Hospital Sketches,* Bronson Alcott's rural verses, and some poems of Louisa; thus placing Howells where he naturally belonged, among the votaries of plain living and high thinking who had chosen rural Concord for their abode. Then we had his charming sketches of Venetian life, and soon, from his Massachusetts workshop, those delicious pictures of New England life and character which in due time expanded into novels and parlor dramas, and missionary sallies into social and domestic situations; which make him the Moralist *par excellence* of American society, whether in this country or abroad.

Great as his altruistic service has been in this long-pursued line of authorship, I am inclined to think Mr. Howells shines most and merits the warmest gratitude as editor of magazines and extant authors. By these I mean those indispensable small volumes by gifted writers which are destined to outlive their longer works and carry their wisdom and wit down among the mass of mankind long after the large books which gave them fame have been remanded to back rows and high shelves in libraries. Such are the autobiographies of Gibbon, of Lord Herbert, of Thomas Elwood, the invaluable Quaker, of Alfieri, and the Margravine of Baireuth. It was in editing other poets, and sketching briefly the lives of famous men, that Dr. Johnson won his most lasting fame until Boswell made him immortal by tale-bearing and listening to his conversation. Something of the same editorial merit attaches to Mr. Howells. But I speak more especially of his mildness and generosity as editor toward unwonted or unmanageable contributors. I saw him show much of this virtue as editor of the *Atlantic*

*Monthly*—a difficult post in which he succeeded the rather indolent and opinionated poet Lowell, who, with all his genius and learning, was not a model magazine editor; and the publisher Fields, who had much greater success in that function. I believe it was under the reign of Mr. Howells that I became a rather infrequent contributor to the *Atlantic*—for which every literary person in Massachusetts was expected to have written something. From the aroma of the graces of Howells I think the *Atlantic* became more widely known than before or since; but there are anecdotes that testify to the ease with which it could be ignored, especially in foreign countries, where American authors were not always so popular as Mr. Howells and others have since made them.

Two enthusiastic young maidens, as I have heard the story, from Boston or its suburbs, were at an English watering-place, where two agreeable English gentlewomen, sisters, were also spending some weeks. The two pairs became intimate and attached to each other. One day one of the American sisters came in, flushed and joyful, crying: "Susy, the *Aldriches* are here! The *Aldriches* are in town!" "And who are the Aldriches, dear?" said one of the English sisters. "Why, Mr. Aldrich is one of our best American poets; he writes novels, too, and he is most agreeable into the bargain." No response from the audience. Grasping round in her mind for some hook or jutting point to which the English sister's interest might fasten itself, Miss X. said, "Why, Mr. Aldrich has been for years the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*." With a smile of satisfied conscience and relieved anxiety, the Englishwoman said to her sister, "I suppose, Mary dear, that's the reason why we never heard of him."

Editing, as Lord Napier said of diplomacy, is apt to be "a silent art"; but Howells made himself much heard of in that capacity. Of late he seems to be more distinguished as a traveler or non-resident, for every time his early friends hear of him he is in a new place just going or just returning from somewhere. It cannot be the restlessness of satisfied ambition; it must be rather the glorious pursuit of knowledge which Tennyson's Ulysses manifested:

> "For all experience is an arch whereto
> Gleams that untraveled world, whose margin fades
> Forever and forever when I move;

> And this gray spirit yearning in desire
> To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
> Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

It is a noble fallacy, if fallacy it be. When I last saw him he was dwelling at ease in Kittery-by-the-Sea, where my ancestors used to fish for cod while his were feeding sheep on the mountains of Wales if all tales be true. I thought then—

> "Timon hath made his everlasting mansion
> Upon the beachèd verge of the salt flood,
> Which once a day, with his embossèd froth,
> The turbulent surge shall cover."

But I would invite him to a milder retreat. Let him build anew beside the lonely brink of Walden Pond, where storms are seen but never felt; and where in summer days there is the greenest water, the bluest sky, and the memory of illustrious virtues. At our time of life, as Prospero said, every third thought should be our grave, and the final wish is appropriate—

> "Quiet consummation have,
> And renownèd be thy grave!"

Concord is the place for renowned graves; and there is room in my hillside grave-plot beside brother authors already buried there for his funeral coming from the wooded shore of Walden, and mine from the green bank of Concord River, in some day that cannot be far distant.

Till then honor and praise, well-deserved and peacefully enjoyed, be the lot of William Howells!

F. B. Sanborn.

# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE FRENCH IDEAL. By MADAME DUCLAUX. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1911.

THIS charming book has a far-fetched and unrelated title, for it contains four biographical studies of men certainly not of essentially Gallic temperament. Although so different in themselves, both Pascal, the subject of the first study, and Fénelon, the subject of the second, fall into the category of mystics. Mysticism, a few rare exceptions to the contrary, is not a Gallic turn of mind. Given the title, however, the book is as delightful a volume of literary studies as we have recently seen.

Madame Duclaux, the author, was born A. Mary F. Robinson, both a daughter and sister of writers, and apparently she came into the world a woman of letters. There are women like George Eliot, George Sand, Hortense de Meritens who are born men of letters, but Mary Robinson was not of these. Reared in a literary atmosphere, she published her first volume, *A Handful of Honeysuckle,* while still a girl in her teens. In 1883 she published *The New Arcadia* and dedicated it to Vernon Lee. It showed the struggle going on in the young girl's soul to enter the arena of life; to understand somewhat of its terror and pity and take an active part.

One remembers her in these famous early eighties, when there was so much genius about that one never knew when it might crop out—a radiantly lovely, dark-eyed young creature in very esthetic garments and always with wreaths of real and, it must be confessed, very faded flowers in her hair. Her young attempt to cope with life at first hand was a failure and she soon learned to emphasize her rare and beautiful self and to fill her natural sphere as a woman of letters, a most graceful writer of wistful verse, a distinguished essayist and critic, the charming wife of James Darmsteter, the well-known Orientalist, and later of M. Duclaux, director of the Pasteur Institute. Over and above her many volumes of verse, Madame Duclaux has written in English a life of Emily Brontë and in French lives of Renan, Froissart, La Reine de Navarre, and others. She is a constant contributor in French to the various Parisian reviews and her native language has gained thereby the distinction of a somewhat frail and exotic growth, while it has lost the vigor and idiomatic strength of a writer firmly grounded in the native soil.

The first and most important study in the book is that of Pascal the pragmatist. It was a study which appeared in July, 1911, in the *Edinburgh Review.* There have been since 1908 at least a dozen fine studies of Pascal; his relations to his family, as in Petitot's *Pascal, Sa Vie Religieuse,* and personal studies of import, such as Maurice Barrès's

*L'Angoisse de Pascal,* Just-Navarre's *La Maladie de Pascal,* and various others.

Madame Duclaux does justice both to the character of this great scientific religionist and to the beauty and exactitude of his style—a style which doubtless shall do more than anything else to make his immortality. The abundance and importance of dissociated elements in Pascal's character make him an intricate subject for study. "His state of mind," says Madame Duclaux, "was never at any given moment the sole and stable result of all his moral life; it was the image of one face in a many-imaged soul." His freakishness, his love of paradox, subterfuge, and disguise, his interest in scientific experiment, his amazing mathematical genius, his religious dogmatism, his *amor dominandi* and *libido excellendi,* all these warring in the soul of one man make him at once a subtle and entrancing study. He was not an original thinker.

> "What he thought he might require
> 'E went and took."

But like the Christ-child in the Apochryphal story, who picked up the clay birds the other children were making and breathed the breath of life into them, so Pascal clothed with immortal form the crude thought of other men. His single experience of mystic ecstasy, jotted down on a bit of paper which he wore to the end of his days in a locket on his neck, is uttered in broken, almost sobbing words:

"From about half after ten to about half after midnight in the evening:
Fire!
God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, not of the philosophers and savants.
Certitude, certitude, feeling, sight, joy, peace!
Forgetfulness of the world and of all things outside of God.
Grandeur of the human soul!
Just Father, the world has not known you, but I have known you.
Joy! Joy! Joy! Tears of Joy!

"I have been apart.
May I not be separated forever.
Total and sweet renunciation.
Total submission to Christ and my director.
Eternal joy for a day of temptation on earth.
*Non oblivascar sermones tuos. Amen.*"

However haltingly expressed, this is an account of the great mystic experience. Pascal died, very lonely, in great, self-imposed discomfort, and to the end that one swift interval of vision remained to him the great solace and reason for life.

The study of Fénelon is only second in importance to that of Pascal. Fénelon was not only a great mystic, but he was what does not always go hand in hand with that temperament—a man of extremely fastidious morality. He was one of those to whom the vast and dark unknown that stretches about the little island of life is more present than the small shining reality of this world. In a letter to that unpleasant creature, Madame Guyon, he gives the stages of his spiritual growth: first, recol-

lection and simple prayer; second, passive faith; third, naked faith, stripped of all images, sensations, and perceptions. God is no longer perceptible to reason or feeling; fourth, death, the soul like a dead body, insensible to all things; fifth, resurrection, the stirring of life in the dead soul; sixth, the transfiguration, the soul transformed because the will of God takes the place of the separate will and life. Of the soul's dark night Fénelon has given a wonderful account, and in that long exile of his at Cambrai doubtless the last spark of self expired.

The studies contained in this volume of Buffon, the naturalist in his garden, and of Lamartine, the romantic with his poetic passion for Julie Charles, are much lighter matter than the first two studies. They have, however, the same grave distinction of style, the same conscientious precision. This is a volume of essays at once grave and gay, deep and light, readable and of permanent value.

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A Personal Record. By Joseph Conrad. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912.

"As a general rule," writes the author in his friendly preface, "we do not want much encouragement to talk about ourselves." But that, of course, depends upon whom we are. Joseph Conrad, for example, is a man of the least subjective temperament in the world. He needs every kind of prodding to persuade him to talk of himself and this *Personal Record* is as impersonal as such a thing can possibly be. Unlike M. Anatole France, who assures us that he never writes of anything but himself, his own adventures in the field of thought, Joseph Conrad, as great a master of style in his own kind as the other, writes of everything he sees and hears, but most casually and incidentally of himself. Even in this book of *personalia,* he appears as a mere chance and random observer of cosmic affairs.

The subject which evidently he treats as larger and more significant, his art, recurs constantly. He writes:

"I have tried with an almost filial regard to render the vibration of life in the great world of waters, in the hearts of the simple men who have for ages traversed its solitudes, and also that something sentient which seems to dwell in ships—the creatures of their hands and the objects of their care."

He tells us of the sea until one comes to know how winds and waves, the lights and darkness of it and the methodical, professional response to its demands have entered into his blood and become the really more articulate part of his nature. He tells us of a friend who once kindly suggested to him, "You might tell me something of your life." But Conrad adds, "I do not think I told him much of my life-story then or later." No, Mr. Conrad's life-story is shut in his own bosom and never will it be revealed except by indirection.

Two things emerge from this wonderfully written record: first, that, born an inlander (in the Ukraine in 1857), he demanded at the age of fifteen to become a seaman and secretly he had adopted a foreign fatherland, for he had determined to be an English seaman. This in itself bespeaks the extraordinary mortal by its strange and imaginative power of initiative. How the author afterward became a great master of Eng-

lish prose is merely indicated. He saw Almayer and took a brooding interest in the man's strange psychology. He began to write about him and here and there, line by line, on his travels and in his vacations the story of *Almayer's Folly* took form.

In the *Personal Record* are all the flaws as well as all the splendors and wonders of Conrad's writing. He leads us hither and yon, from his middle-aged life at sea back to his early boyhood; he lingers over old memories and traditions of his ancestral home and describes several generations of his family. And here and there in the woof of the story are those haunting bits of vision, those glowing and gorgeously colored bits that give the distinctive quality to his work—echoes of the sea, the wind's ways, hints of an almost religious literary creed. He says:

"The power of sound has always been greater than the power of sense. I do not say this by way of disparagement. It is better for mankind to be impressionable than reflective. Nothing humanely great—great, I mean, as effecting a whole mass of lives—has come by reflection. On the other hand, you cannot fail to see the power of mere words; such words as glory, for instance, or pity."

This is the utterance of the literary artist. Of the creative artist we may get some idea when he describes an interruption in his study:

"All I know is that for twenty months, neglecting the common joys that fall to the lot of the humblest on this earth, I had, like the prophet of old, 'wrestled with the Lord' for my creation, for the headlands of the coast, for the darkness of the placid gulf, the light on the snows, the clouds in the sky, and for the breath of life that had to be blown into the shapes of men and women, of Latin and Saxon, of Jew and Gentile. These are perhaps strong words, but it is difficult to characterize otherwise the intimacy and the strain of a creative effort in which mind and will and conscience are engaged to the full, hour after hour, day after day, away from the world and all that makes life really lovable and gentle —something for which a material parallel can only be found in the everlasting somber stress of the westward winter passage round Cape Horn. For that, too, is the wrestling of men with the might of their Creator, in a great isolation from the world, without the amenities and consolations of life, a lonely struggle under a sense of overmatched littleness for no reward that could be adequate, but for the mere winning of a longitude."

Whoever has loved *The Nigger of the Narcissus* and *Lord Jim* will read this *Personal Record* for just what he found in the novels; for the dignity and power of words, for the great free sense of the sweeping cosmic forces, and for the penetrating pity, yet stoic and unyielding, with which the evanescent destinies of man are handled.

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THE CENTENARY THACKERAY. Twenty volumes. Illustrated by Harry Furniss, Thackeray, Doyle, Walker, Cruikshank, Leech. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

The new edition of Thackeray's works is well called the Harry Furniss edition. Mr. Furniss is that rare artist, the real illustrator, who not only keeps true to the text, but illuminates it. He has caught the author's spirit so fully that his drawings—and there are more than a hundred of

them—stand uninjured beside the original illustrations which are included and which through long association seem really essential to Thackeray's pages. Mr. Furniss limits Thackeray's own illustrations to *Vanity Fair, Pendennis, The Virginians,* and the work for *Punch.* He maintains that practically all the other drawings, as for the Christmas books, are so altered in the finishing that Thackeray's part amounts only to an original suggestion. In Mr. Furniss's prefaces to each volume are reproduced many of the original designs, and with these before us and the pictures by Doyle and Walker the discussion of Thackeray as an artist and of his contemporary illustrators is vividly interesting. For all his frankly stated dislikes of this and that, and his disagreement on various points with Mr. Melville, his co-laborer, Mr. Furniss has shown an appreciative respect for the work of his forerunners. He has adopted Richard Doyle's Colonel, without whom the pages of *The Newcomes* would surely lose something of their grace. For *Vanity Fair* he uses Thackeray's idea of the puppets, his pictures carrying always the sense that "all the world's a stage." For the *Rose and the Ring* he ventures but a single drawing, one worthily comic indeed, but placed deferentially aside from Thackeray's delightful portraits of the Court of Paphligonia. For the most part, however, he treats his subjects freely and with fine originality. It is hard to fancy anything more characteristic, to take the pictures that chance first to mind, than the wonderful series of single-figure drawings for *Barry Lyndon.*

Mr. Furniss makes whimsical use of the likeness of the author, after the fashion of Thackeray himself. *The Roundabout Papers* are so illustrated and there are many such designs scattered through the volumes as that in *The Virginians,* where the writer, grim-visaged, looks up from his writing to growl at a pleading maiden, "No doubt, my dear young lady, I am calumniating Harry according to my custom." Another is in *Pendennis.* The author holds a tiny footman, a fine Jeames Yellowplush, upon his outstretched palm. Below is the legend: "Nothing is secret. Take it as a rule that John knows everything."

In this edition are gathered various little volumes of stray papers that have been published within the last few years; early books which have been known in complete form only in the rare first editions; and many papers and drawings that have never before been reprinted. Some of these little known papers will doubtless remain little known. They are of value to the student and to the devout for whom Thackeray's every line is of worth. To the general reader many of the early skits once welcomed to the columns of *Punch* will be quite without interest. The literary criticism will be valueless to him, and the labored humor of such papers as "Miss Tickletoby's Lectures on English History" he will pass by. But there is real charm in much of this 'prentice work, and much holds promise of the power that sprang suddenly forth in *Vanity Fair,* while as documents showing the development of a genius these miscellanies are of immense interest.

The political cartoons and satires will be a surprise to those who have looked on Thackeray's wish to represent Oxford as a curious freak. In truth, the young Thackeray was a violent partisan, with opinions ready on most of the events of the political arena. The heat, the bitterness even, of some of these papers but show again how human was his char-

acter, how youthful his faults, how easily his pen ran away with him in early days. It was a phase in which he himself took no pride. He never ceased to look askance at his *Book of Snobs*. He apologized in later days for criticisms that seemed witty enough at their writing, and he regretted heartily the reprinting of some of these fragments in the first American edition of his works. The change wrought by the years in his youthful intolerance is perhaps by nothing better evidenced than by his courtesy to the Appleton firm, before whom he was helpless, and the gracious preface with which he set out their edition. Like friends met unexpectedly beneath one roof, one greets many of these minor works. Here are the *Comic Tales and Sketches,* which nobody noticed in their first brown binding, but which are good reading seventy years later. No one cared for the inimitable designs of *Flore et Zephire,* either, and they mark nearly the close of Thackeray's attempt to devote himself to art. Here is the little essay on "English Landscape Artists," written to sell the engravings of his friend Marvy and good to see just because it stands for the myriad kindly deeds that made Thackeray so loved a man.

The bibliographical notes by Mr. Melville prefixed to each volume are clear and full. They form a complete history of Thackeray's work and, indeed, an excellent biography. Or rather, they might were they arranged according to any plan. Twenty large volumes is an appalling amount of literature to stand upon the shelf unnumbered and unindexed and arranged without reference to chronological order. The miscellaneous papers and drawings, mostly of date before 1848, are placed wherever there is room. Early prefaces are separated from the books to which they belong apparently for no other reason than that they have not for some time been printed with them. One suspects there is no better reason for this mingling of early and late, serious and comic, long and short, than the publisher's desire for books of a uniform thickness. To have the complete work of a writer, in the order in which it was produced, is to see the growth of his mind, the perfecting of his art. Mr. Furniss's art has made this a most delightful edition. Mr. Melville's scholarship makes it authoritative. With such skill as this at command, it is more than a pity that no way was found of reducing order out of what seems at times extraordinarily like chaos.

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THE MADRAS HOUSE. By GRANVILLE BARKER. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

Like all the serious young dramatists of the day, Granville Barker is preoccupied with life and what he puts forth is primarily not art, but propaganda. Thought-inspiring and provocative in the highest degree, one yet resents the young dramatist's giving us a play in which in the opening act six young ladies appear, are all minutely described, and then disappear utterly from the play and are only once referred to in the last scene to point a moral.

Granville Barker retains in this play all his power of pointed and able characterization. He flashes forth a temperament in a phrase with amazing brilliancy. He handles dialogue with consummate grace and is a master of ironic portraiture. But alas! when he has written a play, it is

philosophy of life, it is propaganda, it is dialogue, it is even conversation and portraiture, but there is no play.

Once more Mr. Barker is concerned in this play with the subject of *Waste*. As in the play of that name, the waste of human life by traditions disturbed him, as in *The Marrying of Anne Leete* the waste of life by decadent manners and morals troubled him, and in *The Voysey Inheritance* the waste of money, here he inveighs against the waste of womanhood. Just what remedy he would suggest it would require a very penetrating critic to discover. He resents the six dull, middle-class, unmarried daughters of Mr. Huxtable. He trusts that though they have not the life more abundant, they may yet have dreams, if they be only of adventures with a new carpet-sweeper. One of the Misses Huxtable orders dinner; two are given to religion, with interests veering from district visiting to foreign missions; Julia studied at an art school and was unhappy, Emma took to common sense and ran to coats and skirts, and the youngest was trying to be a little wild. The tragedy of these common-or-garden lives, in Mr. Barker's opinion, seemed to be that, being minus husbands, they also had no children and by the laws of good society seemed to have missed the more thrilling and zestful experiences of life.

If Act I. is taken up with showing the flaws in such lives as those of the Misses Huxtable, Act II. is devoted to showing how harried a young woman may be who decides to indulge in the liberty of having a child and foregoing a husband. Apparently this young woman has her creator's backing, for life and lives, at all costs, is Mr. Barker's creed, and of the difficulties of a single-handed rearing of a human being he knows and says nothing.

Acts III. and IV. cope with the fine-lady problem. The Madras House is a great commercial institution for clothing fine ladies. This particular house is about to change hands from the Huxtables to an entertaining New England transcendentalist with a keen eye for the main chance. It may be said in passing that rarely has Mr. Barker done anything more brilliantly ironic than this Mr. State, who by profession dresses women's figures in silks and by temperament supplies their charms with phrases. His ability to discuss all subjects, missing the essence of life and gloating over the surfaces, his love of tawdry philosophy, and his instinct for material advantage are delightfully done.

Jessica, the fine lady, is Mr. Barker's *pièce de résistance*. She is "dainty in mind and body, gentle in thought and word, charming, delicate, sensitive, graceful, chaste, credulous of all good, shaming the world's ugliness and strife by the very ease and delightsomeness of her existence; fastidious—fastidious—fastidious." Learning and humor have salted her attractions, art and music and beautiful surroundings have made a setting for her, and yet Mr. Barker is no more satisfied with this *édition de luxe* than with the dull Misses Huxtable and not nearly so satisfied as with the daring Miss Yates who is willing to fight life single-handed. In the main, though it would be difficult to extract a philosophy of life from Granville Barker's speculations, he at least serves the purpose of questioning every aspect of life and of setting one's thoughts agog.

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India under Curzon and After. By Lovat Frazer. London: William Heinemann, 1911.

"To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure." These words were spoken by Lord Curzon at Mansion House in 1904. Who enters upon his work with such conviction, who finally receives the crown he has coveted all his life, is likely to do his work in heroic manner, and there is something heroic in all Lord Curzon's Indian experience and something of the hero-worshiper in Lovat Frazer's attitude as chronicler.

Lovat Frazer was in India during the whole time of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty. He saw him land and depart. Most of that time he was the editor of the *Times of India,* with special facilities for acquiring knowledge. Like Lord Curzon himself, the author has the advantage of acquaintance with other Asiatic countries. He has visited most of the places mentioned in his book and knew personally most of those who figure in his pages. His knowledge of India and of India's affairs preceded Lord Curzon's arrival and continued after his departure. He disclaims, however, Lord Curzon's having any part in the volume either by suggestion or by approval. "He has not seen a line of it," writes the author, "and for any inaccuracies I am alone to blame."

Lord Curzon was, with the exception of Lord Dalhousie, the youngest viceroy ever appointed. He was not yet forty when he received the appointment, and he was one of the few viceroys whose previous experiences and studies had prepared him for the position. Oddly enough, the residence of the viceroy in Calcutta was copied, with certain additions, from Lord Curzon's ancestral mansion, Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire. When Lord Curzon was still a very young member of Parliament he made his first visit to Calcutta and lunched at Government House with Lord Dufferin. Afterward, as he was going back to his hotel, he halted outside the great gates, looked back at the building, and said: "The next time I enter these gates it shall be as viceroy." It was characteristic of Lord Curzon that his resolution was accomplished. From that time on he was preoccupied with India, its people, its history, its government, its civilization, and its life. When he entered public life he was conscious of India as "the political pillar of the Asiatic continent," and that the problems of Asia were all indissolubly connected with it. He set himself, therefore, the task of visiting in turn the various Asiatic countries and writing books about them. In 1887 and 1888 he made a journey around the world, going by the way of the United States and Canada to Japan, China, and India, where he remained four or five months wandering from Madura to Darjeeling and from Calcutta to the Khyber and including many places out of range of the average tourist. He wrote books on Persia and Afghanistan, and before he embarked as viceroy he had spent one year at the Indian Office and three at the Foreign Office.

The author of this volume says that if he were asked to name the four principal achievements of Lord Curzon in India he would select the partition of Bengal, the solution of the northwest-frontier problem, the reform of the educational system, and the formulation of a land revenue policy. Of these four problems and Lord Curzon's resolute and effective dealing with them the volume gives a clear and statistical account, as well as a vivid picture of Lord Curzon's personal influence with the native princes, and an admiring glance at his ability to overhaul and simplify the machinery of government. The author is inclined to mitigate the sensational accounts

of the devastation by plague and famine in India and to attribute the appalling death-rate very often to climatic conditions. There is a full account of the English irrigation works and a very technical chapter on fiscal policies.

The book is not only ably written, but it carries conviction as only a book written by one profoundly conversant with a subject can do. There are many passages of eloquent and haunting description. Indeed, after the two or three very light and very slight books of Eastern travel, given us recently by American writers, it is a pleasure to see India through the eyes of one who has no case to prove, but is telling of what he has known and known intimately for many years.

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TANTE. By ANNE DOUGLAS SEDGWICK. New York: The Century Company, 1912.

Some ten or a dozen years ago, the writer was asked in the drawing-room of the famous Oxford Professor of Classics, Arthur Sidgwick, who by general consent was considered the greatest living American novelist, and, once Henry James was disposed of, the question was discussed. The novelist who ranked highest in the English estimation was one of whom the writer, to his discomfiture, had never heard, namely: Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Despite similarity of name, varying by only one letter, she was an American, and unrelated to the distinguished English family of Sidgwicks. Since that time the reviewer has been respectfully aware of the steady, distinguished output of Anne Douglas Sedgwick or Mrs. Basil de Sélincourt as she is now.

*Franklin Winslow Kane*, a study in cosmopolitan tendencies and national traits, *A Fountain Sealed, Amabel Channice, The Shadow of Life, The Confounding of Camelia, The Rescue, Paths of Judgment*, have followed each other in dignified succession. This year gives us *Tante*, a wonderful piece of characterization and dramatic construction.

What shall we say but that, attention once called to this work, there is no question as to who stands second to Henry James as a novelist of our nationality. I do not say in our country, for, like Mr. James, Miss Sedgwick has spent most of her life abroad and is now finally established in Oxford. She is as perfect a craftsman as Mrs. Edith Wharton with a vastly richer vein of true humanity and a keener eye. In the whole range of fiction one meets few finer bits of characterization than the figure of old Mrs. Talcott in *Tante*. With her grotesque looks and her merciful clean heart and straight-seeing eyes, she is a wonderful creation. Here is her first complete appearance in the book:

"Mrs. Talcott raised herself slowly and turned to them, drawing off her gardening gloves. She was a funny-looking old woman, funnier than Karen had prepared him for finding her, and uglier. Her large face, wallet-shaped and sallow, was scattered over with white moles, or rather warts, one of which, on her eyelid, caused it to droop over her eye, and to blink sometimes suddenly. She had a short, indefinite nose and long, large lips firmly folded. With its up-drawn hair and impassivity her face recalled that of a Chinese image; but more than anything else, she gave Gregory the impression vaguely and incongruously tragic, of an old ship-

wrecked piece of oaken timber, washed up finally, out of reach of the waves, on some high, lonely beach; battered, though still so solid; salted through and through; crusted with brine, and with odd, bleached excrescences, like barnacles, adhering to it."

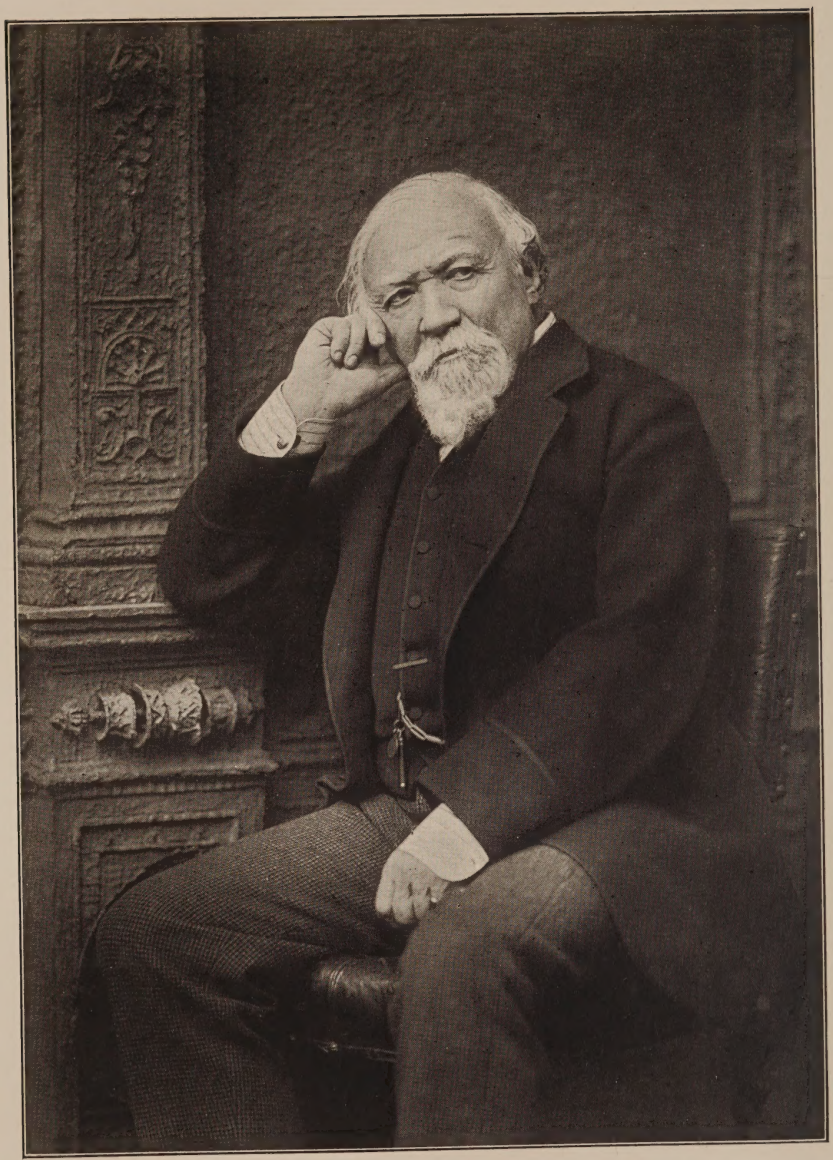
Mrs. Poyser remains the English type of sententious wisdom in fiction, but she is a much smarter, wittier, more up-to-date figure than Mrs. Talcott of Maine. There is a deeper wisdom in Mrs. Talcott and never was a more adorably unself-conscious moralist drawn by pen. Her quiet relinquishing of condemnation, her slow judgments, her tolerant vision never fail; while her non-committal and meager speech, her incomparable New England dialect, and her unspoiled New England heart are treasures for the ages to come.

"Most folks are like that, I guess," she muses; "they don't suffer so powerful over their friends' misfortunes if it gives them a chance of showing what fine fellows they are."

For hitting off a portrait in a line or phrase Miss Sedgwick is unparalleled: Mrs. Harding, for example, who gazed upon the great pianist who is the heroine of the story "with the intent, liquid eye of a pious dog," and who slid into her seat "with the precaution of a reverent sightseer who fears to disturb a congregation at prayer"; or Gregory, who was inclined to think that artists "however admirable in their functions, were undesirable in their persons." Mrs. Hamilton K. Slifer, "her small features indeterminate in form and incoherent in assemblage," is a hilariously humorous introduction. There is Barker, Gregory's manservant, who enters only once or twice, but is thoroughly established as an individuality when we hear that he was "a stone-gray personage who looked like a mid-Victorian, Liberal statesman." The Lovingtons, who were "like their house and park, part of the established order of things," and who "had never been trained to see differences in people, only to accept samenesses." There are delightful American millionaires "earnest and accomplished," "the anxious, thoughtful, virtuous rich, oppressed by their responsibilities, and all studying so hard, poor dears, at stiff, deep books in order to fulfil them worthily."

"I love to hear about their fat, bribed, clean-shaven Senators," says the young English writer of the Americans, "just as I love to read the advertisements of tooth-brushes and breakfast foods and underwear in their magazines, written in the language of persuasive, familiar fraternity."

In few novels are so many types, so many "sets" clearly drawn and set out. It is the intensifying of the general sense of life that so able and so deep-seeing a writer as Miss Sedgwick accomplishes. She is a creator in the real sense of the word, making reality more real and life more graspable by her keen vision and masterly handling. Her work is not ephemeral. It is of the stuff of enduring literature. *Tante* undoubtedly raises Anne Douglas Sedgwick's already high position among women novelists, and what man, the one great exception always made, is there among Americans to equal her?



Robert Browning

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# ROBERT BROWNING

(1812-1912)

BY DARRELL FIGGIS

THE seeming inevitableness with which contemporary criticism has gone astray in its judgments on poets and their poetry is, from one point of view, one of the humors of English literature. Looking over the calm, imperturbable way in which poetry has gone forward, its splendid passage through the years, unmindful of any, unmindful chiefly of the clamorous critics who have stood at byways like showmen, loudly voicing the claims of their byway to be poesy's highway, and hurrying up the highway in the end with more speed than dignity, is, in the main, more a happy than an unhappy spectacle. It is, at any rate, a salutary spectacle, though from the nature of the case it is difficult to see how it can be other than so to the end of days, seeing it is the special business of the poet to bring something that shall increase the vision of men, to which, therefore, the vision of men shall need time to adjust itself. And it is a spectacle that stretches back farther than we are inclined sometimes to think. For example, we imagine Shakespeare as overtopping handsomely the age which he with his sovereign shares in naming; and we trick his contemporaries out in our thought. It is our thought, however, not theirs. It was not for his greatness Shakespeare was praised by his

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own age, not for the amazing and mingled omniscience and exaltation of him, but for his sugary sweetness, his fertility of invention, if not, indeed, his graciousness of person. A careful reading of the literature of the time makes it tolerably clear that to the men of their day it was Ben Jonson and not Shakespeare that overtopped his time. The echo of this can be heard quite clearly in Milton. So, too, when Blake sang, it was Crabbe and not he whom the critics crowned. Not Wordsworth, but Thomas Campbell and Walter Scott, won their plaudit. With that plaudit in his ear Campbell jested on Shelley, who was rejected as a "pestiferous mixture of blasphemy, sedition, and sensuality" by those who acclaimed Byron. Not only so, not only content to choose with unerring wrongness the indifferent of two names both with a claim to memory, Keats, as Shelley shrewdly pointed out at the time, was rejected when the poetical works of Dean Milman were loudly praised.

After so immediate an unhappy memory ringing in their ears, one would have thought that critics, however much they might have desired to laud Tennyson, would have been tender in disparaging Browning. After having dismissed as blasphemous and sensual a poet whom all now see as burning in the white light of purity—singular purity—and holy desire, one would have imagined that critics would not so quickly have rushed to say that Browning's phrasing was obscure and that he was difficult to read, faced by the fact that his phrasing is seldom, if ever, so obscure as Shakespeare's, whereas, apart from Sordello, he is no whit more difficult to read than is Milton. But the trouble sprang from a deep cause. As in the case of Blake and Wordsworth and Shelley, so again in the case of Browning, critics were not willing to accept, they either superciliously rejected or superficially neglected the poet's point of view, whereas it would seem a commonplace that it is not until a poet's point of view has been accepted that his burning vision can be seen. It is for this reason that a poet seldom sings to his own generation. He must, it appears, always wait till at least another layer beneath shall have formed itself. It is chastening to think that a poet, when he sings, sings to an audience that is framing the alphabet in its mind—is taking the first steps of progress toward his song and his vision.

With Browning, however, the interest is heightened by the peculiar nature of the problem he set. Steadily and

firmly he has brushed aside one and another till it is not too much to say that he has emerged, or is like to emerge, in the foremost rank of English poets, with such as Shakespeare, Milton, Blake, Wordsworth, and Shelley for companions; yet it must be admitted that, standing there, there is an oddness about his presence in that company. His own age we know regarded him less as a poet than as a consummate diner-out; it even attributed the partial success he won with the critics in *The Ring and the Book* to the operation of that social advantage. In Lockhart's phrase, he did not at all look "like a damned literary man," whereas Tennyson, with whom he naturally stood in contemporary comparison, looked his part even to the matter of raiment. Nor is it only a matter of personal appearance or habit of life. However much these things may have influenced his contemporaries, they can have little hold on those who have not seen him plain and have not stopped and talked to him; and yet the mind is so clothed with cant meanings of what poetry is that it will turn with distaste from the shallowness and smugness of *The Idylls of the King* and yet think of it as undeniably poetry even while it denies that name to *Men and Women,* which it may read and re-read and again re-read with increasing joy. Comparisons are undesirable; nevertheless, as the poets themselves appeared, so their poetry. Tennyson's poetry answers to the immediate and more obvious meanings of the word poetry even when it is least satisfactory, while Browning's poetry seems always to avoid them.

In his essay on Shelley's poetry Browning divided poets into two main divisions: objective and subjective, the fashioner or maker of beings independent of himself and the seer and diviner of new correspondences between the universe and its Deity. It is, as most distinctions are, more an aid to thinking than a glance into the inner shrine of vision, yet it is serviceable as providing a clew to Browning's own procedure. He himself set the seer above the fashioner; yet, in spite of his sympathy with Shelley's poetry and its marked effect on his early work, it was the fashioner's and not the seer's way of work that was his. The seer sings out of his own personality: what he sings is what he himself has seen. Browning seems ever to need some other personality whom he may fashion to sing for him. He seems never to be able to get at grips with Reality

till he is able to approach it in the guise of another's soul. In *Dramatic Lyrics* he sings:

> "Round the cape of a sudden came the sea,
> And the sun looked over the mountain's rim:
> And straight was the path of gold for him,
> And the need of a world of men for me."

It was in very truth a need. To the seer, to such a seer as Wordsworth, for instance, Nature means much. Nature is the lap where he may stand to look into the burning face of God. Nature is flaming with signs and hints of the correspondence between things that link the universe into an irrefragable unity, so that a metaphor or simile becomes no mere literary exercise, but the startling discovery of some new at-one-ment between things and imagery, such imagery as trails through the "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality," takes rank as authentic vision and not fanciful decoration. To Browning, too, doubtless Nature meant much. There are lines and passages in his poetry that recur to the memory, aspects of her seen and described in such a way as to make it evident that he saw her with far more than merely the painter's eye. Yet she had no direct vision to convey to him. Indeed, he seems almost uncomfortable in her presence, as though irked by the vision he knows here, feels there, but cannot quite see, and anxious to return to his refuge among the world of men to see with their eyes and grope with their hands. Or, as he sang in the roaring "Epilogue" to "Pacchiarotto," in which he smote, so soundly smote, and so lustily smote his inconsistent critics:

> "Man's thoughts and loves and hates!
> Earth is my vineyard, these grew there:
> From grape of the ground, I made and marred
> My vintage; easy the task or hard,
> Who set it—this praise be my reward!
> Earth's yield! Who yearns for the Dark Blue Seas,
> Let them 'lay, pray, bray'—the addle-pates!
> Mine be Man's thoughts, loves, hates!"

"Earth is my vineyard": so he sings. But earth was more than his vineyard; earth was also his refuge. When "the sun looked over the mountain's rim," then and chiefly then, as he looked down the "path of gold," the "need of a world of men" became most urgent. In the "Epilogue" to "Fifine at the Fair" he has a fancy that "he swam out far in the bay" and as he swam there in a manner of flight, heaven above and water beneath,

"Yes! there came floating by
Me, who lay floating too,
Such a strange butterfly!
Creature as dear as new."

The butterfly's is flight indeed in its natural element; his is only a mimicry of flight in an

"uncouth play
Of limbs that slip the fetter,
Pretend as they were not clay."

He fancies them both tasting of flight thus, flight through the heaven that is poetry, the poetry that is heaven, to the Reality of which one is the vision and the other the splendor. Yet—

"And, meantime, yonder streak
Meets the horizon's verge;
That is the land to seek
If we tire or dread the surge:

"Land the solid and safe—
To welcomé again (confess!)
When, high and dry, we chafe
The body, and don the dress.

"Does she look, pity, wonder
At one who mimics flight,
Swims—heaven above, sea under,
Yet always earth in sight?"

But the "world of men" was even yet more than a refuge or a vineyard. "I have, you are to know," he once wrote to a correspondent, "such a love for flowers and leaves that I every now and then in an impatience at being unable to possess them thoroughly, to see them quite, satiate myself with their scent—bite them to bits." It is that very impatience that thwarts him in seeking to pluck the mystery of things for himself. Put a rose into his hand, and what does it mean? It makes him impatient; it, as it has been said, irks him. But put that rose into the hands of one of his world of men: into, say, the hands of John of Halberstadt: what then? Why, then:

"He with a 'look you!' vents a brace of rhymes,
And in there breaks the sudden rose itself,
Over us, under, round us every side,
Nay, in and out the tables and the chairs
And musty volumes, Boehme's book and all,
Buries us with a glory, young once more,
Pouring Heaven into his shut house of life."

It was as if, looking to see what the rose meant to John of Halberstadt, it came on him with a sudden uprush what the rose meant to him. Not only did the attempt to see Reality through the eyes of another give him an intentness and patience that otherwise he might have lacked, but, striking along the lines of his receptivity, it made the world of men his stepping-stone to Reality.

Thus he was no mere maker of men and women in the purely objective sense. He was not the creator of men in their "thoughts, loves, hates," content if he would present them living as Scott or Crabbe did. His creatures became eyes and ears to him wherewith to see and hear things more sharply and intensely than he himself could. They became as so many cloaks to him, clothed in whom he could enter at once through divers doors of the Temple of Truth. Through them all he could see the Much-more that would have escaped a single vision; and in them each he captured the intentness that annulled the irresolution consequent on confusion. For example: is it the coming of Christianity into the world? How shall a man such as he, a man with a strong bent for strange philosophical research, a man instinct with classic culture, and a man, moreover, whose whole soul rose insurgent for a revelation of Love in a world whose being and whose laws made Love a paradox otherwise inconceivable—how shall such a man state his attitude to that? His acceptance he did assert. But how little that expressed him? What worlds remained untold! What said the philosopher there? How spoke the artist whose business it was to make Beauty and who thereby took into his hands the cup of joy forever, stirring unquenchable thirsts in him? Not in his proper affirmation could he utter all that. But take the three poems that celebrate the dawn of Christianity into the world! Cleon as a Greek may reject the teaching of "a mere barbarian Jew," yet it is clear that the teaching of the mere barbarian Jew brings him just the cool cup that his art has set him athirst for. Karshish, the Arab physician, in "An Epistle," and John, in "A Death in the Desert," on one hand and the other show the impact of this new revelation on minds inclined to curious philosophical learning and full of quick personal aspiration.

Or is it the attitude of the artist to his art? We who have all Browning's work before us know that there was

in him the possibility of the artist who could turn away resolutely from vulgar success in the secrecy of his own soul to work the thing that pleased him, that there was also the artist who could happily take all good things, or seeming good things, as they came (the artist who wrote "How We Carried the Good News to Ghent"); and also the artist whose labor consistently was to express the thing just beyond his reach and who knew that to fail to reach forward would be to fall into sterility, perfect or imperfect. He was not one of these, but at one time all three. Each expressed no more than a facet of himself; and he could discover each facet in turn by looking at art through such different temperaments as those of "Pictor Ignotus," "Fra Lippo Lippi," and "Andrea del Sarto" in the unique painting trilogy in *Men and Women*. Nor is it that he merely expressed himself in this way. In expressing himself so he discovered himself so.

In this he is, in the terms of his own distinction, not only a fashioner, but a seer also. He is a seer in the creatures he has fashioned. Indeed, he is only interested in his creatures at those angles of their lives that are full of crises —as though it were then, and then only, he could look through them to the realities beyond that he was interested in, they being opaque to him at all other whiles. It was that one vivid situation in Andrea del Sarto's life, that one crucial moment when his life spread itself before him like a drama, that Browning was interested in: and only in Andrea del Sarto for the sake of that moment. In the picture from which Browning drew his conception the situation is so vivid that with the poem before us it is not difficult to see him looking through it to the interest beyond. A variety of things may help create such a situation and such a moment: a chance meeting in "Dîs aliter Visum," an indiscreet discovery in "Fra Lippo Lippi," the fullness of achievement in "Abt Vogler"; but it is the situation that matters, for it is then that his characters become illumined with new meaning. It is only at such moments that the creatures can lend the creator eyes and ears to see and hear withal.

A "fashioner," or objective poet, is usually in the habit of seeking a dramatic guise for his workmanship; and it is not surprising to see that the majority of Browning's early works are all dramatic. Yet a dramatic poet is inter-

ested in his characters for their own sakes and not merely for what they may mean to him at one moment of their lives. He may be, and according to the greatness of his genius he will be, interested in the Destiny they may suggest; but this will be suggested in the tragic or comic dénouement they between them will achieve. In other words, however deeply he may see into them, he sees them from without: he is not so much concerned with any portion of them that is not employed in the dramatic field, but he is vitally concerned with every whit of them that is so employed. With Browning it is different. He is concerned from within outwards. In his dramas there are some portions of his characters employed in the dramatic field that interest him but little. They are of little consequence to him. On the other hand, there are whole phases of character that have no dramatic employment that concern him greatly, for they are of spiritual importance to himself. In other words, his interest is not with the character in his deed, but with the character before the deed, with the possibility ripe in him for an interesting diversity of deed. It is not the action that fascinates his mind, but the burning seed plot of action, for it is there the dreadful meanings of man's life shift and shape themselves like portents on a stormy sky. As his Luria says to Domizia:

> "To the motive, the endeavor, the heart's self,
> Your quick sense looks: you crown and call aright
> The soul o' the purpose, ere 'tis shaped as act,
> Takes flesh i' the world, and clothes itself a king."

It is with this clue that the Pope in *The Ring and the Book* dissevers the tangled webs of the story before him, seeking to judge justly and fearlessly, saying:

> "For I am ware it is the seed of act,
> God holds appraising in His hollow palm,
> Not act grown great thence on the world below,
> Leafage and branchage vulgar eyes admire."

In his first of dramas, in what indeed is his first notable poem, "Paracelsus," he is so much aware of the bent of his own mind that he declared his intention clearly. In the original preface he wrote:

"Instead of having recourse to an external machinery of incidents to create and evolve the crisis I desire to produce, I have ventured to display somewhat minutely the mood itself in its rise and progress, and

have suffered the agency by which it is influenced and determined to be generally discernible in its effects alone, and subordinate throughout, if not altogether excluded; and for this reason—I have endeavored to write a poem, not a drama."

And it is clear he has written a poem, not a drama, although he has couched his poem in the dialogue framework inevitably associated with drama. A careful comparison will show that there is not so wide a difference between "Paracelsus" and "Sordello," the poem he next engaged on, although one be called a dramatic poem and the other a narrative poem. The machinery of one is dialogue, even as the machinery of the other is narration, but the chief business of each poem is enacted in the monologues of each character. It is there we see unwind and unfold the raveled possibilities of action, of success or failure, and of all that is fateful in the eternal destinies of men. In these monologues we are taken behind the scenes. We leave the footlights without, where the character rings down the coin that he will elect to barter with, the deed that shall give his soul shape whatever be the consequence, and we see the soul with a variety of coinage, true coin and false counter, before him with a diversity of possible deeds into which he may be content to shape himself, but as yet unsold and unshaped. There is nothing unimportant there: there is no shadow of a possibility there that ranks not equal with all other possibilities. Or as Pippa sang:

> "Say not 'a small event!' Why 'small'?
> Costs it more pain that this, ye call
> A 'great event,' should come to pass
> Than that? Untwine me from the mass
> Of deeds which make up life, one deed
> Power may fall short in or succeed!"

A curiosity of mood such as this is essentially dramatic and yet its very nature is to preclude it from achievement of drama. Being concerned with souls before the decision of action, it is obviously concerned with men and women before the moment when their general destinies cross and sway one another; and it is this moment that makes drama. It might be said that drama is the result of a number of anterior dramatic decisions. The dramatist assumes such decisions as the basis of his workmanship: Browning is concerned with the achievement of such decisions. Had

Browning had the telling of the tragedy of Othello, we should have had a monologue from Iago giving us the story from his point of view in order that thereby we might be enabled to see the resolution of decision taking shape in his mind; another from Othello and another from Desdemona, who would have both survived long enough to that end; and it would have left to Cassio to give us the tragic loading of the bed. Each decision would have been dramatic, but it is the sum total of the decisions that would have made drama.

It is in this sense that Browning is dramatic, and therefore it is that "Pippa Passes" is so characteristic a piece of work of his. In each of the four chosen situations, situations that Pippa conceives as full of happiness, a fateful decision is pending in the balance. In each case the characters of the situation have their hands irresolutely wandering over a bed of flowers, not knowing which bloom to pluck and wear for shame or glory on his soul. It is this situation that fascinates Browning's interest, because it is this situation that reveals to him with vivid and startling illumination the value of the realities beyond that would else have eluded him; and hence the final influence that sends the hand swiftly down to the blossom of its choice becomes momentous and tragic. It is no matter how slight it may otherwise seem to be, its value becomes of the highest. Pippa's wandering songs on her one annual holiday are no great matter, it would seem; no more than an idle jest turned against a comrade over wine. But one, as the other, may make or mar a soul for all time.

It is so more or less in all his plays. In his historical plays there may of necessity be less of this; in his later plays it may so overburden the dialogue as to threaten its final disruption in the monologues of *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personæ*. But all the while we feel that he is waiting till his characters achieve that particular angle when they shall scintillate with their hidden and inner illumination. It is this vivid moment he celebrates in his puzzling lyric "My Star":

> "All that I know
> Of a certain star
> Is, it can throw
> (Like the angled spar)
> Now a dart of red,

Now a dart of blue;
Till my friends have said
They would fain see, too,
My star that dartles the red and the blue!
Then it stops like a bird; like a flower hangs furled:
They must solace themselves with the Saturn above it.
What matter to me if their star is a world?
Mine has opened its soul to me; therefore I love it."

In one instance, indeed, destructive of all dramatic intention, this "dartling" even continues beyond the limits of the play. In his last play, "In a Balcony," perhaps notably his last play, at its moment of conclusion the Queen does not seem even yet to have taken her final decision. It is in her that the play pivots; and when her tragic moment comes she sees life snatched from her very hand and "goes out." What her decision with regard to the lovers is we are not told. Constance hears the "measured heavy tread" of the guard, and the hint is that they are coming to take the lovers to their doom. But we know that much later in life Browning himself earnestly discussed the possibility that the guard is not heard coming to take away the lovers, but to bear away the dead body of the Queen, she slain by her own hand. The Queen's resolve is never taken. The cloudy portents are still to be seen shifting and shaping on the sky.

Thus it is not surprising to see, in course of time, the unnecessary and cumbersome business of dialogue or narration drop away to leave the self-revealing monologue standing in its naked strength. In the third volume of "Bells and Pomegranates," entitled *Dramatic Lyrics,* Browning had already been looking at life through the vision of men and women, creatures of his. Only there, though the lyrics were dramatic in the sense that they expressed the mood and emotions of creatures of Browning, and not of Browning, they were not dramatic in the sense that some vital shaping of character was implicit in them. In a sense, all lyrics are dramatic; and the critic who affixes to the lyric the sense of subjective emotion is only arbitrarily insisting on calling a passing moment eternity. Every true work of art was lived, and lived intensely, as it was wrought. Thereafter it took a detached and separate existence. Shakespeare lived Othello when he made him, even as Wordsworth lived "Tintern Abbey" when he made it. Then they were

subjective; once finished, they became objective, for the soul of man lives on and passes on and changes. It is only a question of phraseology. There is no lyric surely that expresses all of a man or even all of him at that one moment of utterance. A lyric can only express a phase of him; and if he choose to place that phase in circumstances other than his own in order to see it the better, it does not at all mean that that phase is not his own.

Yet it was necessary, if dialogue and narrative were to drop away, that the explanations they offered as to the situation implicit in the dramatic resolve or aspiration should be contained in the monologue; and the suspense of lyric emotion, however long the poem might be in which it is caught and crystallized, is too acute to permit of such an explanation. When "Kentish Sir Byng stood for his King, bidding the crop-headed Parliament swing," it was but a great, gay, rollicking hatred of crop-heads and a breezy love of bright attire and wine-cups, as all good Parliamentarians must feel sometimes at the heart of them or remain but lean-souled men for the lack of it. There was no better ship-money man than Browning, and yet he lived every moment of that lyric. But though it was no more than that, it lent itself very easily to development. It needed but little development to express by implication all the various sides of a dramatic situation if its author were only happy in his choice of the one promontory peak from which the whole country could be viewed with one slow turn of the eye. And it was not likely that the man who sang

> "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp.
> Or what's a heaven for?"—

the man who sang boldly

> "Stake your counter as boldly every whit,
> Venture as warily, use the same skill,
> Do your best, whether winning or losing it,
>
> "If you chose to play!—is my principle.
> Let a man contend to the uttermost
> For his life's set prize, be it what it will!
>
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
>
> "And the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost

Is—the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin,
Though the end in sight were a vice, I say"—

the man who held that the only soul to be held in contempt was he who did not strive loftily and ambitiously, with failure and success as irrelevancies apart—such a man was little likely to choose a wrong promontory peak. For his attention was on that which is the secret of all earth's interest.

So there came about that great sequence of monologues in *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personæ*. It seems inconceivable that the two volumes in which *Men and Women* made their appearance should have met with so slight an attention. One would have conceived that critics, seeing a writer with such a diversity of riches in his fee, would, if only from curiosity, have endeavored to assume Browning's point of view in order to discover what his vision was. Instead of which they vamped inconsequentialities as to the difficulties of understanding him, whereas the only difficulty was that of discovering and assuming his point of view, of searching to see exactly what the monologue meant to him, and why he expressed himself through the lips of fifty others in this way. To deny that Browning has his vices of style would be foolish. Relative pronouns are readily dropped, small words are clipped and chipped mercilessly at times, words are taken across his knee and their quantity broken in order to fit them into some position in a line that they have rebelled at, strange words are used not because of their beauty, but because of his erudition. But these make him aggravating to read, not difficult to understand. Once the point of view of a poem is seen, its difficulties are gone. Even the aggravations often take a new meaning, for it would be clearly foolish to expect the same stately beauty of line from Fra Lippo Lippi as we are to receive from Cleon.

Whether such a development was or was not conscious and deliberate matters little, the result was amazing enough for all the critic's neglect. Probably with a man of Browning's faculty of mind, probing, searching, introspective, it was conscious. If it were so it would explain the shout of joy with which he came upon *The Old Yellow Book* and the story that lay hidden in it in a perplexed series of legal pleadings and cross-pleading:

> "Small-quarto size, part print, part manuscript:
> A book in shape but, really, pure crude fact
> Secreted from man's life when hearts beat hard,
> And brains, high-blooded, ticked two centuries since."

It also explains the story of his at once, on reading the "square old yellow book," taking twelve pebbles from the road and arranging them at equal distances on the parapet bordering it in representation of the twelve books of the poem; and the fact that he penned in the book in Greek the line, "But for me the muse in her strength prepares her mightiest arrow." His art was awaiting such a consummation. His use of the monologue, as it had developed in his hand, only needed some such occasion. His previous book had been called *Dramatis Personæ;* but then the *dramatis personæ* were each of them concerned with his or her own separate drama. Their several monologues did not center round a common story. But the conception of nine *dramatis personæ* (or, rather, six *dramatis personæ* and three onlookers), each of them in a lengthy monologue telling a single story from his or her own promontory peak, each seeing the circumambient countryside differently, each occupied with the history of a soul through the various crises that take the seed of act and develop it into leafage and branchage, giving it shape thereby for all time—such was a conception that might well thrill any artist; but coming, as it did, at a particular moment in the development of Browning's art, how much more it meant to him cannot easily be said.

And how wonderful the result is! Its gifts are so various that it is difficult not to be tempted into language that loses sight of its origin and cause. Apart altogether from portraiture, for example, let one read in due order the tale told by the three chief participants—Count Guido Franceschini, Giuseppe Caponsacchi, and Pompilia. Each tale passes over the same incidents of the story; and each carries sympathy and conviction, a sympathy and conviction so complete that it is not easy to remember that there is another tale to be told. In itself this is no inconsiderable feat. It is itself sufficient to show that the monologue was to Browning, in itself and in its implications, the discovery that should vindicate his art. But there is the portraiture also; and here, it is necessary to say, Browning has not alone added to, but enriched the creations of the world's literature. The

portraits of *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personæ* were but sketches beside the human knowledge that went to the creation of such men as Count Guido and Giuseppe Caponsacchi. They touch all sides of human life. They nod at all points of the compass. The husband, pleading for his life on the indictment of murdering his wife, who, when charged with cruelty toward her, does not deny it, but boldly embarks on the attempt to subdue the charge by frank casuistry, and succeeds; and it is not merely arguing, but expressing himself, is not a less masterly achievement than the "young frank personable priest" who, while serving his church daintily in ladies' service, "a fribble and a coxcomb," yet preserves a pure manliness that at a glance from a lovely souled woman in distress can stand erect in its challenging strength, never doubting the loveliness of her soul in spite of seeming letters to the contrary, finally throwing aside all chance of worldly success for the privilege of merely serving and saving her, in it all to declare, proudly, that purely he loves her.

These two portraits in themselves were a distinction to any artist. But what of Pompilia? There is no doubt that she meant more to Browning than we imagine. There is an aloofness about her loveliness, a simple frankness withal, that suggests it. It would have been enough in most women to have been, on the one hand, the touchstone to Caponsacchi's true greatness, and, on the other, to have awakened from the old Pope so very beautiful and humble a tribute. But her loveliness and purity are not only a rumor. That were an easy thing, perhaps, for a poet to have achieved. But she has to maintain them and make them real in a monologue of nearly two thousand lines; and she succeeds. Join to these Dominus Hyacinthus de Archangelus, counsel for Guido:

> "The jolly learned man of middle age,
> Cheek and jowl all in laps with fat and law,
> . . . . . .
> Ovidian quip and Ciceronian crank,
> A bubble in the larynx while he laughs,
> As he had fritters deep down frying there,"

Juris Dr. Johannes-Baptista Bottinus the Fisc, who, in his zeal for having something to prove, assumes Pompilia's guilt in order to minimize the importance of it, and the old

Pope, seeking to judge justly in the light of heaven that is almost falling at his feet, and a gallery of portraits faces us that it is not easy to do justice to, save than to say that the poem they help to make is one of the very great things of our literature.

In his later work, Browning went on to put the monologue to newer uses yet. Instead of merely declaring and defining the implicit drama, instead only of depicting the raveled possibilities of action to which the crucial moment of decision came, the character chosen undertook, moreover, to defend in a wonder of casuistry, that puzzles the wit the action it had decided upon. More than a hint of this was heard in " Bishop Blougram's Apology " and " Sludge the Medium," but it was left to " Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society " and " Fifine at the Fair " to carry out the process in fullness of detail. Here, too, not less than in the simple use of the monologue, it is not difficult to see Browning using his characters as agents in order to see things that he might have a difficulty in focusing in his own person. In the two later poems quoted their very difficulty is just this. Time and time again the casuistry breaks and Browning through the eyes of his character is seen looking on reality beyond. Then the clouds roll on again; and it is not easy to say how far or how thoroughly we may trust the vision he seems to have seen.

It is singular and yet but fitting that when he had to see his vision with his own eyes and declare what he found to say in his own proper person he lost rather than gained in distinctness. Toward the end of his days a great private loss helped him to make one of his loveliest, if not the loveliest, of the later poems in *La Saisaiz.* In his earlier days in *Christmas Eve and Easter Day* he made a poem where he told his own story, a poem that his own generation understood where it found in the rest of his work only mystification. The shock of grief and the seeking for wisdom in grief give a quiet sunset beauty to *La Saisaiz* that is searching, whereas the earlier poem jolts and jars against this and that would-be exponent of Christianity; but in neither one nor the other do we seem to hear the authentic tones of Browning as we hear them when he gazes through this artist when he struggles to express beauty, or that musician whose music kindles in him a passion for the moment when his broken aspiring harmonies shall be completed, uplifted, and

made eternal. In his last supreme words he declared himself as

> "One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fell to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake."

It is this man we may hear best in the creatures of his making, the world of men who helped him to his vision, who expressed him as he expressed them; and if to help us to stand equipped in manliness and womanliness, loving Beauty and serving Truth, ripe in understanding, be any measure of greatness, then even apart from all personal achievement we must echo Landor and say, "Browning, a great poet, a very great poet indeed."

DARRELL FIGGIS.

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# PORTRAIT OF A LADY

BY GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.

THE brilliant salons which have made so conspicuous a figure in French social life have had few counterparts in England. Englishwomen have, perhaps, influenced politics and public affairs quite as powerfully as have their French sisters. But in England the work has been done through husbands or fathers or brothers domestically, not in an open social circle where wit glitters and ideas clash.

One of the most notable exceptions to this rule was the Holland House society during the first half of the nineteenth century. Politically Holland House was a Whig center, but its hospitable doors were open to all who talked or thought. Fox, Canning, Brougham, Grey, Melbourne, John Russell unbent there and discussed great themes and little. Rogers mocked, Sydney Smith laughed, Moore sang, Macaulay unwound his memory, and Greville listened and recorded. Wordsworth dropped a thought there, Talleyrand a witticism. Irving brought over the America of the eighteenth century, Ticknor of the nineteenth.

Greville says:

"It is the house of all Europe. All like it more or less, and whenever . . it shall come to an end, a vacuum will be made in society which nothing can supply. The world will suffer by the loss; and it may be said with truth that it will 'eclipse the gaiety of nations.'"

Macaulay adorned the theme with his ample eloquence: Former guests

"will recollect how many men who have guided the politics of Europe, who have moved great assemblies by reason and eloquence, who have put life into bronze or canvas, or who have left to posterity things so written that it shall not willingly let them die, were there mixed with all that was loveliest and gayest in the society of the most splendid of capitals. They will remember the peculiar character which belonged to that circle, in which every talent and accomplishment, every art and

science, had its place. . . . They will remember, above all, the grace, and the kindness, far more admirable than grace, with which the princely hospitality of the ancient mansion was dispensed. They will remember the venerable and benignant countenance and the cordial voice of him who bade them welcome. . . . They will remember, too, that he whose name they hold in reverence was not less distinguished by the inflexible uprightness of his political conduct than by his loving disposition and his winning manners. They will remember that, in the last lines which he traced, he expressed his joy that he had done nothing unworthy of the friend of Fox and Grey; and they will have reason to feel similar joy if, in looking back on many troubled years, they cannot accuse themselves of having done anything unworthy of men who were distinguished by the friendship of Lord Holland."

You will observe that little is said here of the mistress of the house. As regards Lord Holland, it is instructive to turn from Macaulay's swelling periods to the cool comment of Greville, who was neither a rhetorician nor a cynic: "I doubt from all I see whether anybody (except his own family, including Allen) had really a very warm affection for Lord Holland, and the reason probably is that he had none for anybody."

There was a mistress of the house, and Macaulay elsewhere has enough to say about her. It is quite astonishing, the unanimity with which her guests combine to slight her character and emphasize her defects. Macaulay asserts, in the passage quoted above, that "all that was loveliest and gayest" met at Holland House. This is quite false, for few women went there. Those who did had little good to say of their hostess. In the early years, before she married Lord Holland, Miss Holroyd wrote of her:

"If anybody ever offends you so grievously that you do not recollect any punishment bad enough for them, only wish them on a party of pleasure with Lady Webster! . . . Everything that was proposed she decidedly determined on a contrary scheme, and as regularly altered her mind in a few hours."

Long after, Fanny Kemble expresses herself quite as bitterly:

"The impression she made upon me was so disagreeable that for a time it involved every member of that dinner-party in a halo of undistinguishable dislike in my mind."

When the women condemn, one expects the men to praise. In this case they do not. One and all, in milder or harsher terms, they record her acts that crushed, her speeches that stung. The gentle Moore takes Irving to visit her. "Lady

H—— said, 'What an uncouth hour to come at,' which alarmed me a little, but she was very civil to him." Rogers told Dyce that "when she wanted to get rid of a fop she would beg his pardon and ask him to sit a little further off, adding, 'There is something on your handkerchief I do not quite like.'" She observed to Rogers himself: "Your poetry is bad enough, so pray be sparing of your prose." And to Lord Porchester: "I am sorry to hear you are going to publish a poem. Can't you suppress it?"

Also they paid her back in kind, with a vim which in gentlemen, as they all were, seems to imply immense provocation. "My lady . . . asked me how I could write those vulgar verses the other day about Hunt," writes Moore. "Asked her, in turn, why she should take it for granted, if they were so vulgar, that it was I who wrote them." Croker records: "Lady Holland was saying yesterday to her assembled coterie: 'Why should not Lord Holland be Secretary for Foreign Affairs—why not as well as Lord Lansdowne for the Home Department?' Little Lord John Russell is said to have replied, in his quiet way: 'Why, they say, ma'am, that you open all Lord Holland's letters, and the Foreign Ministers might not like *that*.'" Rogers was talking of beautiful hair. "Why, Rogers, only a few years ago I had such a head of hair that I could hide myself in it and I've lost it all." Rogers merely answered, "'What a pity! But with such a look and tone an exultant giggle ran round the table at her expense." And the table was her own! To Ticknor she said "that she believed New England was originally colonized by convicts sent over from the mother-country." Mr. Ticknor replied that he was not aware of it, but said he knew that some of the Vassal family —ancestors of Lady Holland—had settled early in Massachusetts. Finally there is the almost incredible incident so vividly narrated by Macaulay:

"Lady Holland is in a most extraordinary state. She came to Rogers's, with Allen, in so bad a humor that we were all forced to rally and make common cause against her. There was not a person at table to whom she was not rude; and none of us were inclined to submit. Rogers sneered; Sydney made merciless sport of her; Tom Moore looked excessively impertinent; Bobus put her down with simple, straightforward rudeness; and I treated her with what I meant to be the coldest civility. Allen flew into a rage with us all, and especially with Sydney, whose guffaws, as the Scotch say, were indeed tremendous."

One and all, they felt that the lady wished to domineer,

to rule over everything and everybody, and they did not like it. "Now, Macaulay," she would say, "we have had enough of this. Give us something else." At a crowded table, when a late guest came: "Luttrell, make room." "It must be made," murmured Luttrell, "for it does not exist." "The centurion did not keep his soldiers in better order than she kept her guests," Macaulay writes. "It is to one, 'Go' and he goeth; and to another, 'Do this' and it is done." Some one asked Lord Dudley why he did not go to Holland House. He said that he did not choose to be tyrannized over while he was eating his dinner.

Her friends thought she wished to regulate their lives, especially to regulate them in the way that suited her comfort and convenience. What could be more remarkable than the scene Macaulay describes, when she implored, ordered him to refuse his high appointment in India?

"I had a most extraordinary scene with Lady Holland. If she had been as young and handsome as she was thirty years ago, she would have turned my head. She was quite hysterical about my going; paid me such compliments as I cannot repeat; cried; raved; called me 'dear, dear Macaulay.' 'You are sacrificed to your family. I see it all. You are too good to them. They are always making a tool of you; last session about the slaves; and now sending you to India.' I always do my best to keep my temper with Lady Holland for three reasons: because she is a woman; because she is very unhappy in her health, and in the circumstances of her position; and because she has a real kindness for me. But at last she said something about you. This was too much, and I was beginning to answer her in a voice trembling with anger, when she broke out again: 'I beg your pardon. Pray, forgive me, dear Macaulay. I was very impertinent. I know you will forgive me. Nobody has such a temper as you. I said so to Allen only this morning. I am sure you will bear with my weakness. I shall never see you again'; and she cried, and I cooled; for it would have been to very little purpose to be angry with her. I hear that it is not to me alone that she runs on in this way. She storms at the ministers for letting me go."

And she was supposed to tyrannize over her household as well as over her guests. The Allen referred to in the above passage is a curious figure. Originally recommended to Lord Holland as a traveling physician, he entered the family and remained in it. He was an immense reader, a careful student, and supplied many a Holland House politician with the stuff of oratory. He had opinions of his own, was a violent enemy of all religion, and was gibingly known as "Lady Holland's atheist." He did not hesitate to con-

tradict his patroness and some even assert that she was a little afraid of him. At any rate, he was deeply attached to her, remained with her after Lord Holland's death, and suffered himself in practical matters to be ordered about like a domestic poodle. Moore records an interesting bit of mutual self-confession, when Allen, after years of intimate contact with the deepest thought and brightest wit in Europe, admitted that to keep up conversation during these evenings was "frequently a most heavy task, and that if he had followed his own taste and wishes he would long since have given up that mode of life." And Moore himself adds "that the Holland House sort of existence, though by far the best specimen of its kind going, would appear to me for any continuance the most wearisome of all forms of slavery."

Even Lord Holland himself seemed to his observant visitors to be subject to a domination at times somewhat irksome. "A little after twelve my lady retired and intimated that he ought to do so too," writes Moore, "but he begged hard for a few minutes more." Greville says that when some revivalists called on Lord Holland, Lady Holland was with great difficulty persuaded to allow him to go and receive them. "At last she let him be wheeled in, but ordered Edgar and Harold, the two pages, to post themselves outside the door and rush in if they heard Lord Holland scream." On the great occasion of Macaulay's going to India, it is recorded that the good-natured husband was goaded into a disciplinary outburst:

> "Don't talk such nonsense, my lady. What the devil! Can we tell a gentleman who has a claim upon us that he must lose his only chance for getting an independence in order that he may come and talk to you in an evening?"

I repeat, it is a most curious thing to observe this mob of illustrious and kindly gentlemen handing down to posterity such unanimous abuse of a lady, who, whatever her defects, had done them infinite courtesies. And she is dead and cannot defend herself!

She left a Journal, however, which Lord Ilchester has lately edited. And few things can be more delightful than to turn from the picture painted of her by her friends (?) to her intimate and faithful likeness of herself. The tart, even the boisterous tongue is indeed not concealed, as when she told a political friend that "I regretted he had not

lived in the Middle Ages and given his faith to orthodox points, as he would have made one of the firmest pillars of the church instead of being a milk-and-water politician now." But there are many other things besides tartness and boisterousness.

Unfortunately the Journal stops before the great days of Holland House began. What would we not give for the lady's account of those conversations with Moore and Ticknor and Macaulay? What for portraits of them and of others such as she well knew how to draw? For her pen was no mean one. It could bite and sting, could emphasize lights and shadows quite as strongly as some of those that etched the figures at her table and the scenes in her drawing-room.

You may meet such a type as the following any day in Italy, but only an artist could so render it.

"The old Marchesa was also delightful, not to the eye, for she was hideous, nor to the ear, for she squalled, nor to the nose, for she was an Italian; yet, from her unbounded desire of pleasing, the *tout ensemble* created more agreeable sensations than many more accomplished could have inspired."

Or match this with an English married couple:

"The first thing she did was to live apart from him, and keep up a love-correspondence with him; hence to the world they appeared enamoured of one another. She is a little mad, and parsimony is her chief turn. She is good-natured and a little clever. Trevor has no judgment and slender talents. His foibles are very harmless, and his whole life has been insipidly good. His *ridicules* are a love of dress-coats, *volantes,* and always speaking French. *Au reste,* he is very like other people, only better."

And, as will appear from these two, her portraits, though satirical, are not all unkindly, or at least she sweetens the bitterest of them with a touch of human charity.

Just a few sketches she has of the great men who afterward became so widely identified with her, enough to increase our ardent desire for more. Thus the following of Wordsworth, interesting in every word for the artist and also for the poet, if somewhat astounding:

"Sent an invitation to Wordsworth, one of the Lake poets, to come and dine, or visit us in the evening. He came. He is much superior to his writings, and his conversation is even beyond his abilities. I should almost fear he is disposed to apply his talents more toward making himself a vigorous conversationalist, in the style of our friend Sharp, than to improve his style of composition. . . . He holds some opinions

on picturesque subjects with which I completely differ, especially as to the effect produced by white houses on the sides of the hills; to my taste they produce a cheerful effect. He, on the contrary, would brown or even black-work them; he maintained his opinion with a considerable degree of ingenuity."

With which compare the snub administered by Henry Taylor when she sneered at Wordsworth's poetry:

"Let me beg you to believe, Lady Holland, that this has not been the sort of thing to say about Wordsworth's poetry for the last ten years."

But the Journal is far less interesting for its portraits of others than for that of the lady herself, who is seen there complete and human and not unlovely.

When she was young she was beautiful. "I observed a portrait of Lady Holland, painted some thirty years ago," says Macaulay. "I could have cried to see the change. She must have been a most beautiful woman."

A mere child, she was married to a man she detested, who, perhaps, deserved it. "At fifteen, through caprice and folly, I was thrown into the power of one who was a pompous coxcomb, with youth, beauty, and a good disposition, all to be so squandered!" I imagine that Sir Godfrey Webster was a rough English squire of the Western type, fond of beef, beer, hunting, and rural politics, fond also of his wife after his fashion, but believing that wives should bake, brew, and breed, and utterly intolerant of my lady's whims and fancies, of her social ambitions and her sentimental vagaries. To her he appeared a simple brute. When he "in a paroxysm threw the book I was reading at my head, after having first torn it out of my hands," I can divine something of how he felt. So, perhaps, could she; but the incident gave her all the gratification of martyrdom.

"Ah, me!" she writes, "what can please or cheer one who has no hope of happiness in life. Solitude and amusement from external objects is all I hope for; home is an abyss of misery!" Condemned to the exile of a country house, I am sorry to say that she revenged herself by devising cruel tricks against her husband's aunt, who, however, was most apt at paying back. Later her despair drove her nearly to suicide.

"Oftentimes in the gloom of midnight I feel a desire to curtail my grief, and but for an unaccountable shudder that creeps over me, ere this the deed of rashness would be executed. I shall leave nothing behind that I can regret. My children are yet too young to attach me to

existence, and Heaven knows I have no close, no tender ties besides. Oh, pardon the audacity of the thought."

Then Lord Holland appeared and her whole life was altered. With such an early career and with a temper so erratic one would hardly expect that an irregular connection, even though legalized as soon as possible by divorce and marriage, would turn out well. It did. When she first meets her lover he is "quite delightful." A number of years later she recognizes that life with him has transformed her character. Every hour she continues

"to wonder and admire the most wonderful union of benevolence, sense, and integrity in the character of the excellent being whose faith is pledged with mine. Either he has imparted some of his goodness to me, or the example of his excellence has drawn out the latent good I had—as certainly I am a better person and a more useful member of society than I was in my years of misery."

Although she was still young and very beautiful, the ardent suit of other lovers makes no impression on her. She gets rid of them as best she can and consults her husband as to the most effectual manner of doing it.

Formerly life was hateful and she longed to be rid of it.

"In the bitterness of sorrow I prayed for death. . . . Now I am a coward indeed; a spasm terrifies me, and every memento of the fragile tenor of my bliss strikes a panic through my frame. Oh, my beloved friend, how hast thou by becoming mine endeared the every-day occurrences of life! I shrink from nothing but the dread of leaving or of losing thee."

In the lot of an acquaintance who has lost her husband she bewails the most terrible of future possibilities for herself.

"How fortunate for her should she never awaken to her wretchedness, but die in the agonies of delirium! Oh, in mercy let such be my close if I am doomed to the—oh, I cannot with coolness suppose the case!"

It is in no cynical spirit, nor with any question of the genuineness of these feelings, but simply as a comment on the ways of this world, that I turn to a passage of Greville written three months after Lord Holland's death:

"I dined with Lady Holland yesterday. Everything there is exactly the same as it used to be, excepting only the person of Lord Holland, who seems to be pretty well forgotten. The same talk went merrily round, the laugh rang loudly and frequently, and but for the black and the mob-cap of the lady one might have fancied he had never lived or had died half a century ago."

There has been some question as to whether Lady Holland cared very much for her children by either marriage. Cer-

tainly at her death she left her son only two thousand pounds and a large income to a comparative stranger. Yet at the time of her separation from her first husband she sought passionately to retain her daughter, even resorting to the strange and characteristic device of pretending that the child was dead and burying a kid in a coffin in her place.

The Journal, too, is full of passages that come straight from the heart and absolutely prove a sincere, if somewhat erratic, maternal affection. I hardly know a stranger mixture of passionate grief and curious self-analysis than the following passage, written on occasion of a child's death:

"There is a sensation in a mother's breast at the loss of an infant that partakes of the feeling of instinct. It is a species of savage despair. Alas! to lose my pretty infant, just beginning to prattle his little innocent wishes, and imagination so busily aids my grief by tracing what he might have been. In those dreary nights whilst I sat watching his disturbed sleep I knelt down and poured out to God a fervent prayer for his recovery, and swore that if he were spared me the remainder of my life should be devoted to the exercise of religious duties; that I should believe in the mercy of a God who could listen to and alleviate my woe. Had he lived I should have been a pious enthusiast. I have no superstition in my nature, but from what I then felt it is obvious how the mind may be worked upon when weakened and perplexed by contending passions of fear, hope, and terror."

It is admitted that Lady Holland was an able housekeeper, and Mr. Ellis Roberts even thinks that the success of her salon was largely owing to the excellence of her table. "It is true the parties were overcrowded, but . . . men do not much care how they eat if what they eat is to their liking." It is admitted also that she was most generous, kind, and thoughtful for her servants. Yet the inveterate prejudice against her manifests itself even here. Greville says:

"In this probably selfish considerations principally moved her; it was essential to her comfort to be diligently and zealously served, and she secured by her conduct to them their devoted attachment. It used often to be said in joke that they were very much better off than her guests."

Nevertheless, perhaps there are worst tests of character than the devoted attachment of servants.

On Lady Holland's intellectual and spiritual life much curious light is thrown by her Journal when taken in connection with the comments of her friends. Her wayward childhood, her early marriage, her utter lack of systematic education must not be forgotten.

"I should be *bien autre chose* if I had been regularly taught. I never

had any method in my pursuits, and I was always too greedy to follow a thing with any *suite*. Till lately [age twenty-six] I did not know the common principles of grammar, and still a boy of ten years old would outdo me."

Yet she was a wide, curious, and intelligent reader and remembered what she read, as when she located one of Moore's innumerable stories in an old volume of Fabliaux.

She had her strong opinions on most general subjects. In art she was distinctly of the eighteenth century, as in her view of Wordsworth's poetry and her admiration for Guido and the Bolognese painters: "'St. Peter Weeping,' by Guido, reckoned the first of his works and the most faultless picture in Italy."

Nature sometimes moved her deeply, however, as became a contemporary of Byron and Chateaubriand:

"The weather was delicious, truly Italian, the night serene, with just enough air to waft the fragrance of the orange-flower, then in blossom. Through the leaves of the trees we caught glimpses of the trembling moonbeams on the glassy surface of the bay; all objects conspired to soothe my mind, and the sensations I felt were those of ecstatic rapture. I was so happy that when I reached my bedroom I dismissed my maid, and sat up the whole night looking from my window upon the sea."

In religion she was more than liberal; in fact, had no positive beliefs. "O God, chance, nature, or whatever thou art!" is the best she can do in the way of a prayer, though she never encouraged skeptical talk at her table and sometimes snubbed Allen sharply for it. With irreligion, in spite of her disclaimer above quoted, went a strong touch of superstition, as so often.

"She would not set out on a journey upon a Friday for any consideration; dreadfully afraid of thunder, etc. Was frightened out of her wits by hearing a dog howl. She was sure that this portended her death or my lord's."

According to her critical guests, she was pitifully afraid of death always. Macaulay writes:

"She was in a terrible taking about the cholera; talked of nothing else; refused to eat any ice, because somebody said that ice was bad for the cholera. Lady Holland apparently considers the case so serious that she has taken her conscience out of Allen's keeping and put it into the hands of Charles Grant."

At any rate, she was morbidly, almost ludicrously anxious about her health; and she herself records that in Spain she selfishly refused to let Allen leave her when very ill to attend another invalid friend who greatly needed him. Yet, in

view of many other passages in her Journal, I cannot think that she really lacked courage in the face of death, or of anything else. With her it is never possible to tell what is serious and what is whim. Certain it is that her parting scene was dignified if not even noble. "She evinced during her illness a very philosophical calmness and resolution and perfect good-humor, aware that she was dying and not afraid of death."

In her main interests, she was pre-eminently a social being. Greville says that she dreaded solitude above everything, that she "could not live alone for a single minute; she never was alone, and even in her moments of greatest grief it was not in solitude, but in society, that she sought her consolation." Her Journal is, I think, sufficient to prove that this is exaggerated. She read and loved to read, and no true lover of books hates solitude. Still, she was social, loved men and women and their talk and laughter, loved the sparkle of wit, the snap of repartee, the long interchange of solid argument. Nor was she too particular in the choice of her associates. "There was no person of any position in the world, no matter how frivolous and foolish, whose acquaintance she was not eager to cultivate," says Greville again. Here, too, her Journal supplies a needed corrective, or at least sets things in a fairer and more agreeable light. "A long acquaintance is with me a passport to affection. This does not operate to exclusion of new acquaintances, as I seek them with avidity." The "passport to affection" is generally recognized. She was loyal in her affections and in her admirations, though sometimes carrying them, like everything else, to the point of oddity, as in her strange worship of Napoleon.

That a person so fond of society should have shown so little tact in it is one of the curious features of her case. But some things throw an interesting light on her brusqueness, her downright rudeness. Here is one brief passage about a woman she met and liked:

> "If I were to see much of her she might perhaps be benefited, for as nobody can do more mischief to a woman than a woman, so perhaps might one reverse the maxim and say nobody can do more good. A little mild reproof and disapprobation of some of her doctrines might possibly rescue her from the gulf."

Does not that explain a host of oddities, and pleasantly?

Who of us likes to be rescued from the gulf by a little mild reproof?

And the woman was nervous, sensitive, imaginative. Society irritates such people even when it fascinates them. Of one guest she writes: "His loud voice and disgusting vanity displeased me so much that I fled for refuge speedily into my own room." And another bit of most delicate analysis shows how easily the social disillusionment of a sensitive organization might manifest itself in tactless ill-humor.

"There is some perverse quality in the mind that seems to take an active pleasure in destroying the amusement it promises to itself. It never fails to baffle my expectation; so sure as I propose to my imagination an agreeable conversation with a person where past experience warrants the hope, so sure am I disappointed. I feel it perpetually, for example, with Dumont; with him I have passed very many cheerful hours. This knowledge tempts me to renew our walks; the consequence is we both yawn."

So clear, so sure is it, that in all human relations the true road to happiness and enjoyment is not to seek them directly for oneself.

The sense of power, of guiding and controlling others, was doubtless a large element of Lady Holland's social instinct. "Her love and habit of domination were both unbounded," writes Greville. To achieve this, to govern the sort of men that gathered about her, she knew that she must study their interests. Hence she devoted herself to the details of politics almost as sedulously as Greville himself. The minuteness of her Spanish journals, personally of little interest, in this respect, is really remarkable. Yet I know of few things more delightfully feminine than her brief comment on English ministerial changes. Her friends go out of power and she observes, "The loss of all interest in public affairs was the natural effect of the change of administration to me."

It is, I hope, by this time evident that, whatever her virtues or defects, Lady Holland was an extraordinarily interesting character. I have quoted from her guests and friends much that was bitter. But a careful search brings out also testimony all the more favorable when we consider the extent of the abuse. Thus Greville admits that, "though often capricious and impertinent, she was never out of temper and bore with good-humor and calmness the in-

dignant and resentful outbreaks which she sometimes provoked in others." And while asserting that "she was always intensely selfish," he adds in the next sentence that "to those who were ill and suffering, to whom she could show any personal kindness and attention among her intimate friends, she never failed to do so." Sydney Smith writes to her with a tenderness, an obviously genuine affection, which would prove fine qualities in any woman:

"I am not always confident of your friendship for me at particular times; but I have great confidence in it from one end of the year to the other; above all, I am confident that I have a great affection for you."

"I have heard five hundred people assert that there is no such agreeable house in Europe as Holland House: why should you be the last person to be convinced of this and the first to make it true?"

"I love the Hollands so much that I would go to them in any spot, however innocent, sequestered, and rural."

Finally, the most sympathetic, as well as one of the shrewdest, judgments comes from Sir Henry Holland, the physician, who knew Lady Holland in all her aspects, perhaps, as well as any one:

"In my long and intimate knowledge of Lady Holland I never knew her to desert an old friend, whatever his condition might be. Many things, seemingly wilful and incongruous in her, might be explained through this happier quality of mind blended with that love of power which, fostered by various circumstances, pervaded every part of her life. . . . Her manner of conversation at the dinner-table—sometimes arbitrary and in rude arrest of others, sometimes courteously inviting the subject—furnished a study in itself. Every guest felt her presence, and generally more or less succumbed to it. She was acute in distinguishing between real and false merit, and merciless in her treatment of the latter. Not a woman of wit in words, she had what might well be called consummate wit in all her relations to society. Once only, and that very late in life, she spoke to me of the labor she underwent in maintaining the position thus acquired."

May we not accept Greville's dictum that she was a very strange woman, adding that, after all, she played her rôle of a great lady in not unseemly fashion? And perhaps it was with some justice that on her death-bed she spoke—most characteristically—of her life "with considerable satisfaction, asserting that she had done as much good and as little harm as she could during her existence."

GAMALIEL BRADFORD, JR.

# A PAIR OF PAGEANTS

BY W. D. HOWELLS

PERHAPS it is my love of alliteration which tempts me to put together under the same head two events so different in scope and character as the pageant at Chester in 1910 and the pageant at Stroud last summer. Their equal claim upon me is that they were both pageants, for which I have a passion that does not very willingly distinguish in its objects; to my impartial affection it is enough that a pageant is a pageant. Even when I came to London soon after seeing the magnificent historic show at Chester, and saw a "Potted Pageant" at the Apollo playhouse under the direction of Mr. Palissier, my pleasure in the kind was not spoiled by a bouffe William the Conqueror, a burlesque Queen Elizabeth, and a comic Queen Anne taking hands and romping in a ring together with other princes; or by a local mayor who grabbed the whole glory of the affair in an autobiographical opening address: I merely found myself wishing that the potted pageant was as long as the pageant I had just come from.

They had been having pageants before that pretty well all over England—at Bath, at Oxford, at Stratford-on-Avon, and I do not remember just where else—and we had bespoken our joy in that at Chester in some fear that we might miss the last of its sort. We made sure of it by committing ourselves to the purchase of expensive seats at the spectacle, which were the last left at the agency of the good Thomas Cook & Son. I was dismayed to find them, on the plan, next the band, but I was assured that the band would not annoy even so great an enemy of music as I professed myself; in the event we really found it very quiet; there were times when I forgot it was there.

Our train from London brought us to Chester at the

very moment of lunch, and experience had taught us to take it at the Boland Restaurant in one of those Rows, which make two stories of the street; not in a Row of the second story, but of the ground floor. It is at this institution that the royal family, after trying all the other makes in Great Britain, have decided to have its wedding-cakes made (there are terrible effigies of such cakes in the window); but even if you are not a member of that family and do not want to be married you can get perhaps the best, or at least the butteriest, tea-cakes in England at Boland's. You can also get a very good lunch, in the company of other lunchers who crowd every table, up-stairs and down. But if you are served by a quiet little Welsh maid, whose native hills robe themselves in the azure which distance lends as the eye looks westward from Chester, do not permit yourself, in your expansion from the good cheer, to express the hope that she has seen the pageant. She may answer, with her professional smile clouded by personal feeling, that they have been so busy at Boland's she has had no time and will not have even this last day. Beware, then, of asking about the dance which you have seen advertised for that evening; if you do you must go farther and learn that she could get time for that; then nothing remains for you but to supply the four shillings for the ticket and bring the light back to the young face. It is no great sum, to be sure; but I would have you reflect upon the enormity of encouraging frivolity in the lower classes and raising the vain hope in the hearts of quiet little Welsh maids that every American traveler will be as weak as yourself.

Chester was, however, so full of the holiday emotions of the pageant that the pocket opens almost of itself. Their play encountered the eye wherever it turned, in the ancient Britons of both sexes clad in the sheepskins or wolfskins so much worn at one period among them; Roman soldiery of the rank and file, sometimes wearing and sometimes carrying their helmets; early Saxons, secular and clerical; early Normans and early English in their several habits, with tributary Welshmen in theirs; crusaders, prelates, monks and nuns, subjects of Richard II. and James I., and Roundheads and Cavaliers. Besides the historical personages, public or private, there were allegorical figures, old and young, on their way to help in the representation of the City, the River Dee, and the like. If some of these did not

actually ride down to the grounds on the same tram-top with us, we passed them on their walk thither in pleasant emulation of the tram's effort to arrive first with us. When we were on foot within the grounds the allegory and history easily outwalked us.

The characters were in a hurry, doubtless, to find their places in the order of the pageant and we could loiter on with no care but to arrive at the vast wooden auditorium and get our seats. The mid-July day was one of the best that any summer could do in England, and it was one of the best that the actual summer could do anywhere, though the season was of great cold and wet. Large spaces in the sky were blue and there were acceptable masses of white clouds in the blue, white clouds with their edges and bulks roughed here and there to a fine rustiness; clouds such as Constable liked to paint in his English landscapes, with trees tossing under them. The air was delicious, growing a little fresher as the afternoon wore away and deciding in the evening to be so cold that in the abiding indoors chill we judged it best to have a fire in the grate at our hotel.

The grounds for the pageant were lent by the Duke of Westminster, who could spare them for the week of the show without greatly missing them from the eight thousand acres attached to his seat there. They were generously ample and were perfectly fitted to be the scene of the magnificent spectacle by their shape and their simple and effective features. They spread before the spectator in a rounded square of nearly a mile in length and breadth, and where the green plain sloped gently away on every side, beautiful groves rose densely and formed the setting of the incomparable scene. Through those dark arras the actors in the pageant came and went by thousands on foot and horseback, or, emerging, fluttered over the grass as if their wings of gauze and silk helped them in a real flight.

We had the company of some fairies of tender and mature years as well as of the scattering allegorical and historical types in our rather long way from where the tram left us to our seats next the unjustly dreaded orchestra. But then the usual wait ensued before we confronted them in action, and we had time to become aware of that smell of the trodden weed and of the fresh pine planking which is so temperamental of circuses and county fairs, and of those hasty

shelters for the purveyance of cold victuals and hot drinks (tea, only, at Chester and not our more national coffee), but there the parallel ended. There is no place in America with memories half or a tenth or a twentieth as long as Chester's. Her record beggars history and must be imagined in its earliest details, for there is nothing really very reliable known of the Druidic civilization. We had to take the Druids and the Druidesses on trust, but we did so gladly; they looked so attractive. The ancient Britons more acceptably vouched for themselves, and when, after an entirely allegorical introductory act, with the goddess River Dee and the god Chester City (and persons "presenting walls" and gates and towers) we came to the good Roman general Agricola and the attempt of an indignant Briton, whose wife has been insulted by a centurion, to assassinate the general, we were on the firm ground of imaginable history. In these circumstances it was very satisfactory to have the Briton pardoned and the centurion condemned to death within the hour, though with my weak-hearted reluctance from capital punishment I could not help hoping his sentence would be commuted to banishment from the British Isles; the summer there was then so wet and cold he would not have minded that much.

The English like their patriotism good and thick (as I suppose we like ours), and a main business of the pageants, which have covered a large part of their country in these last years, has been to flatter their local and national pride. Of course they have a good deal to be proud of as well as sorry for in their history, and their history has touched significantly almost every place in the country. At Chester, as I need not tell the well-guide-booked American, history has touched significantly very often and even made important pauses. It was to these touches and pauses that the beautiful pageant was now devoted. There was that opening allegory and the assertion of British manhood and the sanctity of the British home in that passage with Agricola at no exact date, and then there was King Edgar receiving in 973 the homage of tributary princes, which, as the princes were Welsh and of my own blood, went somewhat against my grain; then in 1093 there was Hugh Lupus (whose lineage still survives at Chester in the reigning nobleman, the Duke of Westminster) helping St. Anselm found the Abbey of St. Warburg; then, a century later, that

delightful author, Giraldus Cambrensis, helping Archbishop Baldwin preach the Crusade at Chester; then, another century later, Prince Edward, the first royal earl, visiting the city; in yet another poor Richard II., brought captive there by proud Bolingbroke; then, after a great jump of three centuries, James I. visiting Chester, and presently his son Charles I. besieged there by Cromwell in 1645 and driven out of the place, which surrendered itself to Parliament. I will not be sure which of the last two events was graced by the morris dancing of the little girls and the young girls, with their mates, or in which the clowns capered about and wrestled and threw somersaults; but we will say the merrymen helped receive James I. (he was something of a buffoon himself), and that it was the prettier revels which the Roundheads broke up when they rushed upon the scene after much musketry in the distance and the flight of Charles I. To end all, there was a résumé of the events in a tableau before the grand-stand.

It will have been imagined from the detail of these events what motive there was for gorgeous costuming and brilliant action. The literature of the pageant was necessarily an "easy thing to understand," but it was so in no slighting sense, and the art in the color scheme was, if not the last word, at least the next to the last. It had strongly the support of nature in that beauty of the English race which I think grows upon the observer. In former visits I had been, in my modest American way, impressed by the handsomeness of the men, and I still think them the handsomest men in Europe, if somewhat unnecessarily long-legged and narrow-shouldered; but at present I am lost in a far readier and more unenvious wonder at the women's and children's loveliness, especially the children's. It does not always follow that a lovely little girl will grow up a lovely young girl; the angelic features sometimes turn out humanly lumpy, but generally they do not; the young girls are mostly more beautiful than the little girls, if not more delicately beautiful, and the women keep their beauty of face and figure longer; there are not so many lean ones, nor so many fat ones among the matrons as with us. In them all—little girls, young girls, and wives and mothers—the beauty is not beauty of coloring alone, but beauty of feature and a universal kindness of expression. In England everybody seems kind; and they perhaps must be kind or, packed

so densely together as they are, they would kill one another. Another characteristic of the race which especially lent itself to the effect of such a thing as the Chester pageant is its all but universal single-mindedness. The children not more than the women, the women not more than the men, had given themselves to the work of their play with a seriousness unbroken by the ironical self-consciousness which with us would have forced them to treat it as a huge joke, however well they did it.

The Chester pageant, it must be understood, was the voluntary dedication of time and person by the performers to the public event. That was no mean sacrifice, for the pageant lasted a whole week, day after day; the rehearsals must have lasted twice as long, and the preparation of the costumes and properties must have taken months. Everything was done by the actors themselves, though of course under esthetic direction. Every class and almost every calling was represented among the performers; the Countess of Grosvenor, who marched past the grandstand, was not more superb or less sincere in her stately beauty than the magnificent girl studying for the stage who represented the River Dee throughout the allegory and the events where a river might fitly intervene. The men and the women took their parts as simple-heartedly as the children, but of course the children were the most charming, whether they were boys or girls. It was a gallant sight when the kingly or princely horsemen broke in a gallop from those distant groves and spread over that mighty meadow with their retinues following on foot; it was fine to see the queens and their gentlewomen in the dress of their different epochs; it was richly satisfying to look on James the First and Charles the First and Cromwell in the flesh, with earlier and less familiar sovereigns dating back from Richard the Second; but that nameless multitude of little ones flashing from the woods and flying down the grass was best. It was in these endearing creatures that the color scheme of the pageant had its supreme effect, and if many colds and coughs and countless aches and pains must ensue from their high joys the joys were worth them.

How long the spectacle lasted I would not like to say; only it came to an end too soon for me in that heartbreak which the last act of one's earliest (or latest) circus brings. The pageant was, in fact, very like a circus in the emotions it

roused; and at times I was aware of the band going on at my elbow like a circus band, but perhaps sweetlier and never molestively. At times there was singing, very good singing, from a choir at my elbow, such as they have in England; and at one high moment there was an intermission when everybody broke away and thronged the sheds behind the grand-stand for tea. The crowd outnumbered the placid maidens pouring the tea perhaps a thousand to one; and the maidens served with fine impartiality the comeliest of the youth who pressed upon them. When one who was neither a youth nor comely soliloquized his despair of tea from them in the cry, "Well, I give it up," a comely youth had compassion on him in the reply, "Oh, don't lose heart!" and won a general applause, while the object of his pity moved off to another shed where a plain, middle-aged matron sold him a cup of tea instantly.

In the delaying perfection of photography, which still halts short of the hues of life in its endeavor for reality, there is no manner of imparting an adequate notion of the beauty and splendor of the Chester pageant. Not having been a contemporary of the different events, I could not be sure whether they were accurately clothed or not, but I imagine all that had been most intelligently looked to. What I was sure of was my pleasure in the ever-streaming, ever-fleeting color. Of course the women were more beautifully clad than the men, though these had occasionally the superior splendor which our sex has now mostly left to peacocks and turkey-gobblers and major-generals; but it was the children, those lovely English children, who supremely took the eye in their silken blues and reds and yellows. They came pouring over the scene literally in thousands; they danced, they seemed to fly; nothing more exquisite, more innocently dear was ever seen. Whatever the historic incident was, they were appropriate to it; they graced, they hallowed it. I dare say they were sometimes naughty in every-day life and had to be cuffed, or at least snubbed, and sent prematurely to bed, but there was no hint of this in the pageant, or of the stomach-aches which must follow their prolonged exposure and exertion. After the pageant, when we began to see them straying homeward through the streets, they were still angels; tired angels who were somewhat languidly doing Morris Off when they had been so vigorously doing Morris On.

Fragments of the spectacle, dispersed and returning for the time to private life, showed themselves to our well-contented eyes; young fellows in their prehistoric skins and furs, consorting impartially with Druidesses and court ladies, and Puritan maidens coquetting with Cavaliers off duty, were to be seen on the way to our hotel and disappearing down the different side streets where they possibly dwelt. If I had my choice, I think I should prefer to have kept for longest companionship a Roman soldier on a bicycle, with his helmet hanging at his saddle-bow for his greater convenience in smoking a cigarette. But I should like to have kept them all, and my only sorrow is that the Chester pageant should not have lasted till now, that it should so soon have followed the circuses of my boyhood into the irrevocable past.

It seemed extremely probable that we should have to walk the whole way back to town, but if you will have patience you can nearly always get some sort of carriage to take you home in England, and there really proved a superfluity of conveyances from the pageant grounds; in the persisting excitement everybody else seemed to prefer going on foot. When we reached our hotel we found it as cold as if the day had not been fine, and that question which so often besets you in England, "Shall we have a fire or sha'n't we?" perplexed us till in our desperation we spent the one-and-six which a fire costs and had a fire. We did not regret it; but if I had saved the one-and-six and gone shuddering to sleep the suffering would since have been made up to me by the suffering from the heat which I underwent on my way to the pageant at Stroud last summer. That season will live long in the memories of people who lived through it, for the drought and the heat were unparalleled. To suggest the excess of both one must beg the American reader to draw upon his associations with our torridest Fourths of July, and imagine these terrible anniversaries repeating themselves uninterruptedly for a month. My journey to Stroud was through what are usually the loveliest of the English levels, but now on both sides the burned fields stretched away in a dry brown for which our favorite figure of a door-mat is inexpressive. They were not only dry and brown, they were often dry and gray; ashen deserts which had abandoned any notion of verdure. The dusty hedges ran backward and outward

from the train, sere, stiff, lifeless; the trees which are so plump and full in the English landscape stood lean and listless in circles of their fallen leaves. Stroud is a pretty town, mostly manufacturing, with tall chimneys " hearsed with plumes of smoke," but also streets and streets of pleasant small dwellings stretching along the slopes of the Cotswold Hills. As we neared the place and began to mount these slopes the scenery began to cheer up a little; when we reached Stroud, it was as if the pageant had arranged with the elements and had really provided itself with something like the wonted English green for its entourage. It had not rained apparently, and the stage, though not comparable in size with the stage at Chester, could not have been lawn-hosed, yet it was green and it comforted the eyes after that vision of a burned-out world.

The scene of the Stroud pageant, though it was no such vast expanse as the scene of the pageant at Chester, was still ample, and it held the slighter performance in an embrace which was not too strict for it and yet not too lax for its details. Some rows of trees formed the *coulisses,* and behind them one could see the actors in the events gathering before they came upon the scene. On the turfy slopes to left and right the spectators thronged in the white or the bright dresses that contrasted with the green where they stood or lounged in large or little groups. The English sun, that often seems so fierce, does not mean murder like ours; the heat was strong, but no one would suffer exhaustion from it, and those pretty colors did not shriek as they would have shrieked in our thin air. Even at two o'clock a delicate haze veiled the gentle hills forming the amphitheater, and as the afternoon waned they grew dimmer and dimmer under it.

The grass of those hills has been immemorially cropped by sheep whose wool has locally been more desired than their mutton, and the thread of industrial interest which ran through the incidents of the pageant was the fiber which successive improvements have refined and woven into richer and softer cloths at Stroud. Another thread, but this of humanitary interest, which helped hold the scenes together, was the notion of advancing civilization which the poet of the play boldly declared in the title of a " Mid-Gloucestershire Pageant of Progress." He had meant to " moralize his song " and his difficulty was to let it not " perhaps turn

out a sermon." He had succeeded in this as well as in keeping his text simple and plain without allowing it to drop to the level of commonplace. It kept the level of the common people, which is not that of commonplace, and it expressed the things that might have been felt and thought about the facts by the actors. For these men, women, and children were work-folk, Stroud factory operatives and Stroud farmers, who had given the leisure won from their work to learning and dressing and staging the poet's intention. Of course there was an artistic scheme for the pageant, as there was a literary scheme, and the work-folk conformed to the one as they conformed to the other. But that they should love both so much as to give their time and their money to both formed the charm of the affair which began drawing me irresistibly to Stroud as soon as I read of the promised pageant.

Naturally, perhaps inevitably, the pageant opened with a scene between the Druidic Britons and the humane Roman soldiers who released some captives about to be offered up in worship by the Druids, and erected "an altar to Terminus, the god of roads," to whose cult we doubtless owe at this day our pleasure in traveling about England. A more historical incident followed in the Lady Gytha's forcing Earl Godwin, by refusing to eat any food from the lands he had robbed the Nuns of Berkeley of, to make them due reparation with other lands for their convent. Next the King's commissioners, coming to value the lands for the Domesday Book, liberate a coffle of child slaves on their way to be sold in Bristol; next Edward III. teaches the people of the Cotswold Hills to tolerate the Flemish weavers he has brought among them that they may learn how to weave their own wool and not send it away to be woven; next Queen Elizabeth reads them a like toleration of the Huguenot refugees who have come among them and whom the singers and dancers round the maypole have turned from their merry-making to kick and cuff. Another episode brings Puritans and Cavaliers together in hailing, for peace' sake, the return of King Charles II.; he has not yet had time to show himself the ungrateful blackguard he was, and one could forgive the limping logic of his people's reconciliation to him. Mrs. Siddons, in the succeeding event, instructs the good, kind, dull George III. to think better of the theater than he has done hitherto, and the King con-

gratulates Robert Raikes on the institution of Sunday-schools. After this there are Corn Law Riots in 1846, which are appeased by the news of the repeal of the Corn Laws; and the pageant closes with a vision of Present Day Progress. Fortunately, the great railway strike had just ended, and the incongruities could not make themselves felt so keenly as they might have done ten days earlier.

If I have insisted too wholly on the part taken by the work-folk in the pageant, this seems the place to say that some of the gentle as well as the simple shared in it. Lady Gytha was done by the wife of the poet, and Mrs. Siddons by a young lady of a chief local family, who both gave artistic as well as social distinction to the affair, though for me it had its supreme appeal as the affair of the common people. I believe it was the poet's notion that it should be so; and I might easily praise more than I have praised his sympathetic conception of progress as the advance which they had made. They were humorously as well as pathetically characterized in his drama, which touched the extinct conditions with the life of passion and prejudice and painted the picture while it told the story of the past. Now and then, as in the portraiture of our own last king, that poor George III., with his "What, what, what?" and his "Eh? Eh?" there was a bit of refreshing comedy.

The pageant was throughout a series of escapes from the didactic for the poet, but these were so triumphant that I found myself forgetting at times the ethical import of this scene or that in the beauty of it. I feel now as if I had rather rubbed the moral in on my reader; but the trouble is that I could bring the moral away with me and I had to leave the loveliness behind in that cup of the Cotswold Hills; the singing and the dancing, the brave dressing, the good, stout declamation of some, the delicate sense and expression of others. I had to leave even the Boy Scouts, who helped operate the pageant and were evident throughout, as they are so often in England now. They did not, perhaps, operate the pageant so distinctly as their early presence on the scene seemed to promise, but they became remarkably useful before it ended in bringing round tea. With their bare arms and legs and sandal-shoon, and staves with which they help their activities in scouting throughout Britain, they were as picturesque as any integral actors in the drama.

W. D. Howells.

# THE "OPEN" SHOP

BY ELBRIDGE H. NEAL

So little comes from the ranks of labor and so much from the employing side in the way of writing on its "closed shop" question, which is frequently described as one of the most vital industrial problems of the day, that the general public is likely to form an opinion that labor is here seeking more than it should. It may be premised that under present industrial conditions we have a constant warfare where the betterment of one class is only achieved by coercion. There has been a general advance in the ranks of organized labor in which, with the menace of "strike," it has secured better wages and shorter hours, checked, however, here and there, by employers' "lockouts" and "blacklists." But in this forward movement it has come to many citadels which cannot be carried by the assault of "strike." These are the "open" shops. Parleying with those within has failed. New weapons must be brought into play and a siege begun.

But why should union labor interfere with these citadels? The workmen within may be satisfied with the conditions under which they labor. This may be because they do not know that better terms can be had. Fear may keep them in their place, because the expression of any unionizing sentiments, especially in small towns, may lead to discrimination against them or their discharge by the baron of the citadel. The rule is almost invariable that the hours and wages in the union or "closed shops," as the employers prefer to term them, are better for the men than in the non-union or "open shops." Herein lies the most potent reason which union labor has for attacking these citadels.

In the competition of trade the existence of the many union shops is threatened by the cheaper-made products of the non-union shops. They are a continuing menace to the

union movement. The positions of union men in union mills require outside support from the union ranks as against the underselling of the non-union shops. Labor has two methods which it employs in these sieges. Where the products of the non-union shop are such that other mechanics have to work upon or install them, such as mill work, union labor may refuse to do so; where the products come from the non-union shops ready for the market, union men may refuse to buy them and ask their friends not to buy them in the cause of labor. Yes, not only in the cause of labor, but many times in the cause of humanity. The conditions in many non-union mills are such that women and children are employed for long hours on dangerous occupations. For instance, in a litigation in which the labor organization to which the writer belongs is involved, the proprietors of two wood-working mills of the West testified that they each had four women working at circular saws, more commonly known as buzz-saws. It has been estimated that one-quarter of the men who work at these saws lose one or more fingers, and in St. Louis it is said that about half of these men in the mills have been so maimed. The Labor law of New York prohibits the employment of women about dangerous machinery, and especially refers to circular saws. Yet, except for the activities of union labor, these products of the women of the West would sell freely in a State where women could not work upon them. There are many instances of the extreme youth of boys and girls employed at other functions in these two mills.

We hear much of the right of individual contract, of the sovereign right of every man to work for whom he pleases and for what he pleases, but behind that beautiful sentiment lies the sovereign right to grind up the bodies and souls of girls and boys into American dollars with which anti-union combinations can smash organized labor, which stands for the sovereign right of every man to support his own family and not be obliged to put his boy and his girl in these great wood-working factories to help him eke out a bare existence.

In this economic warfare we would naturally think that capital could protect itself. Employers are combined in almost every trade and from city organizations to national. Several years ago the Master Carpenters of the city of New York combined and "locked out" the union carpenters and

kept them out for nine months, with disastrous effect to both sides. Trade conditions in turn adjust themselves, and the results of industrial fights give each side a new understanding of the power of the other. They come to terms which show concessions on each side. To seek to overreach the other is tantamount to another declaration of war. In the conflict among the great business interests there is seldom resort to the courts. They keep fighting until one after another falls. No concern in the fierce competition halloos, "I'm hurt!" and flies to the courts for injunction relief.

Not so in labor disputes, especially those arising over the "open shop." Here many of the employers want the aid of the courts in the warfare. Many of them are combined in associations which carry on litigation for their members. The assessments of each are small, and expensive litigations are in this way carried on against labor where the plaintiffs only pay nominal sums of money. This sort of combination, though in violation of the penal law of this State, has not so far been condemned by any court decision, while labor combinations in many of their endeavors have been. It is because the "lockout" and the "blacklist" of the employer cannot be employed in the attack on the "open shop" that he sets up the cry of injury and flies to the courts. The storm-center of these litigations over the "open shop" is now the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the largest of labor organizations. It is defending at the present time two of these injunction actions in the Federal courts and three in the Supreme courts of New York.

Fortified by the principles which early grew up in the law to protect the rights of individuals, the employer feels that the position in which he is necessarily placed by industrial competition commends itself to his conscience. The law, as it has been developing for ages, has been throwing out its tentacles around property to protect it. Individual liberty is concerned in perhaps not one in two hundred cases before the courts. The individual has had less difficulty to protect himself in his person than to keep other hands off his property.

An early principle of the law which is covered by countless moss-grown decisions is that the good-will of a man's business must not be interfered with. As corollaries to this we have the principles just as often declared that a work-

man's right to labor where he pleases must be respected, as likewise the right of the employer to choose his own workmen. Nor must there be any abridgment of the right of employer and employee to make what contract they may agree to with regard to compensation.

With the expansion of the world of trade and industry, men began to move in masses as they do to-day. From passing on individual rights the courts have now to consider and declare the rights of masses of men surging together, one mass seeking to overreach or overpower the other in this industrial warfare, not of individuals, as before, but of bodies of men in the struggle for existence. The individual, with his fundamental rights still existent but practically useless in a large part of the field of warfare, is overwhelmed. Everywhere there are combinations. With individual employers at the start we find now immense corporations employing many hundreds, even thousands, of men. Further, we have combination of all the combinations of employers in allied trades, as in the case of the Employers' Association of New York, which is a combination of the different associations of employers in the forty or so branches of the building trades. We need hardly speak of the combinations more distinctively known as trusts, which control the prices of almost everything necessary to existence. In this mass of combinations we find labor in the different trades seeking to obtain, in combination, a better plane of living than the members could individually attain in competition with one another. The competitive value of almost every marked article has been swept away, and those who have eliminated it hark back to the old principles of individual right in the employment of men and want to pay them wages and work them hours fixed on a competitive basis.

It would seem that the courts should keep their hands out of this economic warfare, except where malice or violence is shown in labor's acts. During nine months of lockout experienced a few years since, when carpenters were doing their best to hold their organization intact, meeting in a great hall day after day to discuss the situation and hear reports from the committee in charge, then going quietly to their homes—during all that time not one act of violence was charged up to the carpenters' union of New York City. The main weapon of the workman is the strike, and its efficacy is wholly dependent on the number of men who will

cease working at the same time. The main weapon of the employer is the lockout, and its success depends on the number of employers who will unite in locking out until they starve out the members of a particular labor organization.

It took years to get a declaration from the courts that union men may refuse to work with non-union men, unless they are actuated by malice and do not use violence. In many jurisdictions there are decisions to the contrary. The courts of the State of New York seem to be more advanced in their treatment of the rights of men in masses. The statutes of many States have removed the competitive rule from all public works by providing for eight hours a day and payment of the prevailing rate of wages.

In the " closed shop " issue, so far as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is concerned, we have the question, not of the right of union men to decline to work with a non-union man, but the right of union men to refuse to work on non-union-made material. This question is being thrashed out in five litigations previously referred to. Four of these litigations are brought by that other combination of employers which derives its revenues from contributions of non-union employers all over the country to carry on litigations against labor unions. The plaintiffs are the owners of non-union mills, mostly of the West.

The 200,000 members of the Brotherhood of Carpenters in the United States and Canada are divided into 40,000 men who work in shops and mills fashioning wood products to be used in buildings, and the other members, who are engaged in the construction of buildings, as part of their work install the products of the mills. The non-union mills exceed in number the union mills of this country, and there are many thousand non-union carpenters engaged in the construction of buildings, but there is no way to ascertain their number. The siege of the union carpenters against these non-union mill citadels to prevent them from overcoming and putting out of work their 40,000 fellow-members in mills is wholly conducted by the refusal of the 160,000 " outside " carpenters to install in buildings mill products not made by their " inside " members in mills. In these appeals to the courts the non-union mill-owners do not flatly say that they want mandatory injunctions to compel union carpenters to work on their non-union mill products. That would raise the issue of involuntary servitude

prohibited by the Federal Constitution. The theory of the cases is that enough union carpenters will be found who will ignore their own rules and work on non-union mill products if their officers do not interfere, so injunction is asked against the officers of the organization to prevent them from ordering strikes. It is a subtle way to seek to disorganize a union by giving court succor to the rebels in an organization.

In view of the fact that many of the articles regarding the " open shop " are really directed against the carpenters, and the importance of the litigations in which they are involved, it may be well to give some details about this great organization, particularly the New York District Council, whose officers are defendants in the present litigation.

The Brotherhood of Carpenters of New York City have for many years been carefully considering their laws, first trying one method after another that they thought would benefit the greatest number, rescinding one law, adopting another, or amending another. They now believe they have a law pertaining to apprentices that is as near the ideal as a body of approximately 20,000 local men of all nationalities and creeds is capable of devising. One apprentice to eight mechanics in mills, or one to ten mechanics, as obtains in building construction, has proven satisfactory to all of our employers except that rare individual who desires to employ none but apprentices or to employ ten apprentices to one mechanic.

A man's eligibility to membership depends entirely upon whether he can qualify as a skilled mechanic. If in the opinion of the Examining Board an applicant has demonstrated his ability to command the prevailing rate of wages, his admission to membership is certain even though the local union to which he applied rejects him. This often occurs, as, for instance, a machine-hand local would not desire an " outside man " to affiliate with them, or a German local might refuse to admit a Scandinavian. This, however, does not signify that the applicant, being once rejected, is denied admission to any local. Many locals make no distinction, and any skilled man, regardless of his race, creed, or color, is admitted. (There is a local of colored men in the Greater New York District, and one or two other locals have two or more colored members.)

The organization gives every encouragement to boys desiring to learn the trade and are consistent in safeguarding

their welfare, and one boy to ten men is not a restrictive measure when the great size of the organization is considered and the uncertainty of employment. There are at present three thousand idle carpenters in New York City, many of them young, able-bodied men and skilled mechanics. Many times carpenters are compelled to wait a week or more after securing a job before they are permitted to "start in"; then the job may last a week, a month, or six months, as the case may be. Any new job just starting will find many men waiting all day long for an opportunity to "ask the boss" for a job. Many times the men secure but a few hours' or a few days' work and then comes the weary tramp from place to place, seeking another chance. This condition of affairs is truly a pleasant one for a bright, ambitious boy learning a trade to look forward to, is it not? Bear in mind that these men are not receiving five dollars nor five cents per day while going their weary rounds, but their rent goes on just the same and the kiddies' shoes wear out just as fast when dad is not working as when he is. It seems to us that this is a phase of the situation that is studiously avoided by the public press and by those who delight to discourse upon the "menace of organized labor."

Another matter worthy of consideration is the fact that very few carpenters will permit their boys to "learn the trade."

We do not believe in the open shop, because we do not believe there are any good open shops; all are bad and some are worse. The union carpenters, by united effort, established a working-day consistent with our present-day civilization and established a minimum wage; any man not capable of earning that minimum wage in the carpenter trade has missed his calling, and perhaps a good lawyer or a good policeman has been spoiled by having his talents misdirected; he should choose some other walk in life more in keeping with his qualifications.

Any member of the carpenters' union who has demonstrated to his employer that he is worth more than the minimum rate is at liberty to accept remuneration commensurate to the value of his services and no protest will be forthcoming, unless perchance, from a jealous fellow-workman.

The open shop that pays its employees anywhere near the minimum established by the union does so because it knows that its employees can join the union and secure employment

in union shops or jobs. This condition is taken advantage of by the employees, and they secure the approximate equivalent of the union rate without being obliged to contribute dues or assessments to a trade-union that through its efforts has benefited the non-union man as well as members of the organization. This is what we might term keen business acumen, but questionable principle.

This kind of an open shop gives encouragement to the proprietors of others not so well situated, and the union man finds himself confronted with open-shop products manufactured by women and girls who work ten hours per day and receive from eight to ten cents per hour, as is the case at the present time. Naturally the members of the carpenters' union are fighting desperately to prevent the one hundred and eighty mills and factories in and around New York which employ union men from becoming storage warehouses for wood-trim and doors manufactured under non-union conditions, and at an average wage oftentimes less than one-half the minimum established by the unions and for a week of sixty hours or more.

The alleged unlawful acts of the carpenter, consisting of striking, are committed for the purpose of keeping a roof over their heads and keeping their children in school. Most of us are men of common education, and the law as expounded in the legal verbiage of to-day is Greek to most of us, but we believe we know right from wrong, and we are fighting our battles through the courts along clean and conservative lines. We have had many bitter struggles, many within our own ranks that the public knows nothing of, but right has prevailed in the end.

An employer will not deal with the representative of a union, he will not deal with a committee of his employees, he will deal only with the individual, because he believes in the sacredness of individual contract. Here is a case: "John, you have been with us a long time now and are getting along in years; hereafter we will pay you twelve dollars per week. You can take it, or pack up your tools and get out of the shop." This man, with the aid of a boy, had made much more than this on piece-work, but, having made nothing but ice-boxes all his life and knowing how impossible it was to earn his living in any other way, was obliged to accept the terms offered or starve.

Another illustration of the beauties of individual contract

and "the sacred right to work for whom you please and for what you please" is set forth on page 94 of Jacob A. Riis's *The Making of an American:*

"In a planing-mill in which I had found employment I contracted with the boss to plane doors, sandpaper them, and plug knot-holes at fifteen cents a door. It was his own offer, and I did the work well, better than it had been done before, so he said himself. But when he found at the end of the week that I had made fifteen dollars where my slow-coach predecessor had made only ten, he cut the price down to twelve cents. I objected, but in the end swallowed my anger, and by putting on extra steam and working overtime made sixteen dollars the next week. The boss examined the work very carefully, said it was good, paid my wages, and cut down the price to ten cents. He did not want his men to make over ten dollars a week, he said; it was not good for them."

This is an ideal illustration of open-shop methods and the sacredness of individual contract. The above is the rule and not the exception in open-shop methods.

Is it any wonder that a feeling of bitterness is engendered in the hearts of union men when an association with unlimited financial backing is seeking to re-establish conditions as cited above? Is it any wonder that 6,000 voters of Greater New York changed their political faith at the last election? Is it any wonder that the Brotherhood of Carpenters are spending thousands of their hard-earned dollars in combat with this gigantic lumber trust and their union-hating representatives who masquerade behind such patriotic phrases as "the inalienable right of every American citizen to work for whom he pleases and for what he pleases"? Not one word of the sacred right of the girls and women employed in the western wood-working factories.

We are restrained by the courts from telling our fellow-trade-unionists that certain wood-trim and doors are made by women and girls or under conditions that will eliminate every clean-living, right-living machine-hand or wood-worker from factories doing this class of work.

We claim the right to strike. The law gives us that right, for cause or no cause we can cease working, and when we find that we are erecting wood material in buildings—material manufactured under conditions such as to make it impossible for us to live as civilized human beings should live, were we compelled to accept them—that would reduce four thousand rent-payers in Greater New York to abject poverty, we ask if that is not sufficient cause to strike?

We are restrained by the courts from telling our fellow-

workmen, verbally or in writing, that they, by erecting this material, are giving valuable assistance to wage-reducing, labor-crushing machinery of the lumber trust; but they are not restrained as yet from thinking and voting.

It is said that the unions are able to enforce their wicked policies because they are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, composed of nearly two millions of members, who are enjoined by their officers to refuse to deal with those who do not employ union men. This idea is worked up with all the skill which a strong but unreliable imagination can give it, so that one can picture the whole body of organized labor in the country, with long-distance telephones, telegraphs, agents, etc., as quick and ready means, enabling them to swoop down on some one to compel him to do something which he cannot lawfully be compelled to do. This is ridiculous in the extreme. But they do take place, it is asserted, and they are unlawful; they are boycotts. The courts enjoin boycotts, and the friends and advocates of the open shop are strong for the injunction. In this land there is an organization known as the Consumers' League, which is composed of thoughtful women who refuse to purchase the wares of employers who do not provide suitable conditions and living wages to their employees. Are we soon to see the injunction used against them to compel them to buy from such employers and not to discriminate against them? Recently, when the high cost of meats was attracting universal attention, it will be recalled that hundreds of thousands of people in Cleveland and other large cities refused to purchase the products of the members of the supposed combine which was fixing the exorbitant prices. Should not the injunction have been used against them to compel them not to discriminate against these persons? If not, then these masses of people thus discriminating, like the unions, are taking the law into their own hands; of what avail against the hard facts of life are arguments based upon the narrow, mean principles of technical legal rules and decisions handed down by the courts, who ignore the realities of existence going on before their very eyes for the musty precedents of centuries gone by. There is no permanent strength in misrepresentation. Truth alone is eternal.

The principle of the closed shop is railed against by misrepresentation, not struck at by facts. Trade-unions fight for the closed shop to unite all men of the different crafts

in efforts to better their condition. The individual member of the union, when he loses his employment in a strike, does not do so because he alone benefits thereby. On the contrary, he makes a sacrifice; he is heroic because he is acting in behalf of his fellows to benefit them as a whole. Yet it is said that he does it to prevent a non-union man from getting employment.

Then, too, the employer, so anxious, forsooth, for the welfare of the non-union man, points to the horrible fate of the man who cannot get into the union or who, having been in, has been expelled. He must starve, they cry with terror. They speak only of what may be. They refer to no facts. Many have been sacrificed in all wars for their principles; doubtless cruel suffering may sometimes be inflicted upon a man who has been expelled from a union because he cannot get employment. Until mankind becomes ideal in conduct, we may look for such things to happen to some unfortunate and isolated victim as we may look to see other unjust suffering.

"The right to strike!" The word "strike" is obnoxious to every business agent and every officer of the Brotherhood of Carpenters in Greater New York. It is their business to keep the members employed, keep them employed under living conditions. When a business agent finds a boss "scamping" his job, he is reasonably certain that wages are being "scamped" also, and if the men employed are true union men they give the facts, and if a talk—and sometimes a little bluster—does not put the employer in a humor to pay the prevailing rate of wages, a strike follows and the job is at a standstill, unless the employer can secure a few advocates of "the right of every American citizen to work for whom he pleases and for what he pleases" to man his job.

Organized labor, and the Brotherhood of Carpenters in particular, advocate the elimination of the open shop. They say so frankly, as years of experience have shown every thinking man or woman that the open shop stands for low wages, non-progressive methods, entire disregard for the safety of the employees, entire disregard for proper sanitation. Human life is the cheapest thing in an open shop. The establishment of the closed shop compelled the elimination of child labor in eastern factories, compelled the safeguarding of human life, reduced accidents to a minimum, refused

to tolerate criminal carelessness upon the part of manager and owner, and from actual shame the owners of open shops have in some instances fallen in line and are at least making some pretense of caring for the interests of their employees.

Therefore, the writer contends that the closed shop is a boon to civilization, it is a factor in bringing about humane conditions, it is a factor in eliminating cut-throat competition, placing employers upon an equal commercial basis, eliminating entirely the brutal methods as cited by Mr. Riis in his book.

We sit in silence while the public press vilifies and vents its spleen upon us. We read its inspired editorials and we know from what source they come. We read the venomous attacks upon us, and, knowing we are right, we wonder if our detractors know that they are sowing the seed of discontent, of unrest, of resentment, of bitterness in the hearts of working-men. Organized labor stands for clean living, right thinking, conservative action, and conservatism within the ranks of organized labor will prevail—if our detractors will permit it.

ELBRIDGE H. NEAL.

# THE DANGERS OF STATE INSURANCE

BY HUGH HASTINGS

As a student for years of labor the writer recognizes the tendency of the times to compel the master by law to compensate an injured employee for loss of time and to pay an adequate sum to those dependent upon such employee whose death has been caused through accident, whether by negligence chargeable to his employer or not.

Until within a few years it has been an almost universal custom among employers to do what each one considered equitable in such cases, with preference shown to employees long in service over those of more recent date. In fact, each accident was adjudged by the employer according to surrounding conditions and to the individual idea of what was proper and just.

The comparatively small number of legal actions brought by injured employees against employers to recover damages, as shown by court records of twenty years ago, speaks well for the employer of those days. But times and methods have changed. Business enterprises have grown so vast that no longer the employer can maintain the personal relationship with all his employees that was practicable forty or even twenty years ago, nor can he by any possibility, because of the constant shifting requirements of business, find it feasible to undertake that direct personal interest in every man and woman that is injured in his employ. It was, therefore, eminently proper and right that the law should step in and define the relationship between master and servant. No fair-minded employer objects to a negligence law that is just to both parties. The employee naturally demands the law that contains provisions most favorable to his interests. The employer, however, must sedulously consider the law from another standpoint. It is he who must arrange that the burden of compensation or damage paid to employees

for injuries sustained shall not exceed the profits of the business, but still leave a fair remuneration for either stockholder or individual whose money is invested.

From the moment the employer is inspired to investigate the subject in order to determine for himself what law, either past, present, or contemplated, is the best suited for his particular kind of employment and undertakes to absorb all the literature and bibliography accessible, he is hopelessly lost. He finds that to attempt to interpret the Sherman anti-trust law and to instruct the United States Supreme Court to define that simple document is child's play compared with trying to construct in his own mind a compensation law that is equitable and fair and will give satisfaction to all parties concerned.

Let us take one look at what has already been accomplished in the way of law-making on this subject and examine the laws that the following countries are now enforcing, called in general terms beneficial laws for occupational injuries: England, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Finland, Holland, Sweden, and New Zealand.

In the United States very recent legislation on the subject has been adopted in New York, New Jersey, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kansas, and Washington. Between foreign countries and the enactments in our own States it is presumptive that every form of law may be found, good, bad, and indifferent, that the human mind is capable of framing, no two of them alike, each containing merit or demerit equally, each appealing one moment and repelling the next, until the task of separating the wheat from the chaff and formulating a law that will partially solve the problem seems almost hopeless. The best that can be done will hardly pass muster, but if with the material at hand an expedient can be arranged temporarily to bridge the gulf between employer and employee with a minimum of harm to both, until time has elapsed to perfect a completed experience over a five years' period basis, a long step toward solving this intricate problem will have been accomplished.

The laws governing compensation to injured employees in foreign countries may be separated into two classes: "simple compensation," the English form, and "compulsory insurance" either by State or mutual associations.

Careful study and mature deliberation eliminate comment upon foreign laws with the exception of those in force in England, Germany, and Norway, which are considered by profound students as the best of their kind in force.

More has been written of the German method than that of any other country, and it is the general impression of employers of labor and of thorough students of this subject that the German method has proved an unqualified success and would work equally well if transplanted to our shores. But a literal analysis of that law and exhaustive study of the statistics prepared by the Government by no means justify the contention of its success in or adaptability for this country. The main objection to the system is based upon the fact that it is compulsory insurance in mutual associations composed of all the employers in any given line of trade and vested with power to regulate and control their members. Through this system of control it is possible in Germany to make a flat rate of premium applicable to all employers in any given line of trade, for it must not be forgotten that this compulsory insurance serves two objects: first, to prevent accidents, and, second, to compensate for accidents that are inevitable.

The control of manufacturing plants by trade associations has brought about a high level of safety in all establishments. But while trade regulations and the laws providing safety for employees are rigidly enforced, fines were imposed and collected by trades associations in 1908 amounting to 412,608.51 marks to compel delinquent members to perform their legal duties. In spite of this regulation and inspection, the statistical details prepared by Actuary Miles M. Dawson show that between 1886 and 1908 it was found necessary to raise the rates of premium in certain cases five hundred per cent. over the rate for 1886. And the end is not yet, according to the testimony of Actuary Dawson before the Congressional Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Commission. It is quite likely, Mr. Dawson declares, rates would continue to be increased for a period of fifty years from 1886, when the law first went into effect, before a level would be established. In other words, a new enterprise started in Germany during the year 1911 would be forced to pay its pro rata share in the class to which it belonged for all accidents happening between 1886 and 1912 that remained to be adjusted or upon

which payments are still to be made over a period of years for those dependent on employees killed in service and those totally incapacitated who are pensioners of this fund until death. As an example of increase in rates: the rate on machine and repair shops was thirty-two cents per $100 of pay-roll in 1886 and $1.69 per $100 of pay-roll in 1908. Steel castings from forty cents to $2.03, and blast-furnaces from forty cents to $2.64, and so on through the list. We must also bear in mind that these rates only provide for serious accidents, as minor accidents, when loss of time does not exceed thirteen weeks, are taken care of from a sick fund.

In this country there are no trade associations that possess the power to enforce safety regulations throughout any given trade, nor to my knowledge is there any State in the Union where the laws that provide safety appliances for workmen are rigidly enforced, for the reason that the State has failed to provide the machinery to enforce its laws. Admitting that this is so, the baneful hand of the politician would soon appear in evidence for the comfort and profit of the man with a pull who would be relieved of the responsibility that would be imposed upon the man without a pull. A flat rate of premium through any given line of industry could only result in monetary punishment to the well-ordered establishment and a bonus allowed to the run-down, obsolete, and badly managed establishment. No less an authority than Privy-Councilor Ferdinand Friedensburg, late president of the senate of the German Imperial Insurance Office that enforces the law, declares the system is a "costly, inefficient, and demoralizing failure."

Another grave defect in the law is that no provision is made by the Trades Association for taking from the insured a pension obtained fraudulently or unjustly granted, although a rehearing is conceded when the claimant becomes dissatisfied. In consequence, such rehearings are increasing and frequently result in an inflated pension.

A system of insurance regulated not only by the Government, but by the trades themselves, that has proved a hotbed of corruption, malingering, and fraud requiring a tremendous and expensive organization to handle, involving an increase in rates in some instances of five hundred per cent. in twenty years, would not, from the standpoint of an American manufacturer, be considered a success or meet with the endorsement of either workmen or employers.

Therefore, the German system should be dismissed without further consideration.

Let us now consider briefly compulsory State insurance as illustrated by Norway and the State of Washington in the United States, the latter operating under a law largely copied from that of Norway.

It is generally conceded that the management of the Norwegian Insurance Office is exceptionally good and that the experience under the Norwegian system, so far as known, has been generally favorable. It must be borne in mind, however, that the conditions in Norway may justify a trial of State insurance because of the peculiar advantages offered. Only a small percentage of Norway's two million two hundred thousand persons are engaged in industries covered by this insurance, and most of these are of the same nationality, while the changes of employees in the different establishments represent a very small percentage of the number employed.

Unrest and dissatisfaction with conditions of employment result not only in accidents, but in strikes. But no more remarkable illustration of the Norwegian's apparent contentment and satisfaction can be cited than the strike of the iron and metal workers in 1903, the greatest labor conflict on record till 1910, and yet this strike involved only 1,052 employees. Politics appear to have little or no influence over the conduct of the Insurance Office. Even with these ideal conditions surrounding this scheme of insurance and under efficient, capable, and experienced management, with rates approximately the same as those charged in England, a few years' experience has shown that they had not reserved sufficiently to cover accrued liabilities and were obliged to make good a deficiency of $100,000 that had to be paid as a general tax upon the Government. If New York State were operating under the laws of Norway this deficiency would have been not $100,000, but several millions of dollars, owing to the greater population and the increased number of employees insured, and this additional burden of several millions of dollars would have to be paid by a direct tax upon the State of New York as a whole.

In order to be successful, compulsory State insurance must be a monopoly—that is, all insurance of this nature must be transacted through one source. The State of Washington has cleverly recognized this feature, and consequently

monopolizes workmen's compensation insurance to itself. The authors of the Washington law delight to call it compensation, but it is far from that. Because of its meager benefits it appears more in the light of an amplified poor law with its object to prevent absolute pauperism. It is impossible to believe the labor unions of the State of Washington approved this law, unless they contemplated to enlist political influence in order to magnify the benefits. As a matter of fact, it is unfair to consider the Washington law as a compensation law. The law fails to provide for accruing liabilities, for the proper machinery to enforce it, or for a prompt and efficient means of compelling a recalcitrant employer to insure his men. The method of establishing rates is crude in the extreme, and their method of apportioning the pay-roll through a given class at a flat rate is still worse.

The absurdity of the whole scheme is exemplified by the statement of Mr. George A. Lee, Chairman of the Industrial Commission of the State of Washington, relative to the claims for the death of eight girls in a powder-mill explosion at Chehalis, Washington. Chairman Lee states that the amount of claims for these eight girls must, under the law, be paid by assessment levied on the powder manufacturers of the State. It seems there are but three powder manufacturers in Washington. Of these, two paid the assessment levied upon them by the Insurance Commission in accordance with their estimated pay-roll and turned over to the State the sum of $270 as their insurance premium for one year. The third manufacturer refused to pay, maintaining that the rate charged was excessive and that the conditions safeguarding his plant were so far superior that it was unfair to assess him the same rate charged against the other two. The maximum amount which should be collected from the State for this accident, according to law, is $32,000, but the Attorney-General has raised the question that the law does not require the payment of $4,000 for the death of a minor, and it is now for the Attorney-General to prove, if he can, the economic value of a minor as compared with an adult. Before the law had been in effect sixty days the Washington State Insurance Commission found itself face to face with the extraordinary problem of paying a maximum loss of $32,000 out of the sum of $270 on hand. Litigation between the Insurance Commission and the Attorney-General, with

the sum of $270 premiums already collected to draw upon, will doubtless ensue to determine the economic value of a child. A careful perusal of the published rates for this insurance, with the grouping of trades without any relation one to the other into classes subject to a flat rate of premium, discloses such a lack of knowledge of the difficulties, embarrassment, and expense necessary to operate a law of this kind as to make the system open to ridicule.

Until the litigation is settled and the damages resulting from the Chehalis explosion are paid the State of Washington certainly can offer no attractions to capital desirous of settling within its boundaries, with the prospect of contributing pro rata into the insurance fund for payment of claims arising out of a powder-mill explosion before it entered the State to transact business. In view of all these facts, it would seem as if it were only a question of time when the State of Washington's insurance law must be radically amended or abandoned.

Germany complains that in the last year 800,000 marks were taken to Italy by injured Italian workmen, never to return, and that German workmen injured in Italy brought back to the Fatherland only what was left of themselves to become an added burden to the State. How would the German law work out in the United States regarding Italians? Not marks, but dollars — not marks by the thousand, but dollars by the million — in exchange for toes, arms, legs, and eyes—to pension the transient Italian workman at the expense of the Federal or State governments?

The English law or Simple Compensation, which, according to Mr. Hugh H. Lusk, former Premier of New Zealand, was taken almost bodily from the New Zealand statute after it had been in force in that country for five years, must next be considered.

With the changes and additions required to meet constitutional questions the English law is more adaptable to industrial conditions in the United States than any other law now in effect.

Actuary Dawson, who unquestionably has spent more time boring into the question of the various kinds of workmen's compensation laws, with more or less prejudice assails the English law because it was started on what he calls a maximum rate rather than a minimum rate as was the law of Germany. No one will question Germany's credit for

starting at a minimum rate. Even Actuary Dawson acknowledges that after a quarter of a century the German rates have not yet reached a maximum. Employers in England generally carry their workmen's compensation insurance in stock insurance companies, and while Mr. Dawson's remarks would give the impression that the insurance companies have bled the poor, trusting English manufacturer to the last drop of his financial blood, and that the companies had feasted and grown plethoric with the great excess of financial blood unnecessarily squeezed from the innocent employer, insurance statistics and the record of companies forced into the hands of receivers, on account of underestimating the premiums required to carry the hazard of workmen's compensation, utterly fail to bear out the impressions of Mr. Dawson. He decries the great evil of commuting the amount to become due to permanently injured employees, on the ground that the payment of a lump sum rather than payment at stated intervals over a protracted period of time quickly results in the beneficiary soon squandering or badly investing his money to find himself in a short time in a position of absolute pauperism instead of maintaining an income, no matter how small, that is permament. Such a result is, of course, unfortunate, but the law that allows commutation has nothing to do with it, for annuities can be purchased and the courts that allow commutation can easily direct a way in which the lump sum should be protected. Prodigals have existed certainly since Biblical times, and no law has yet been devised by man, civil or criminal, that could absolutely obliterate prodigality.

The employer's side to this question of commutation is overlooked by Mr. Dawson; the obligation that compels all business men to conduct their affairs upon the basis of giving and taking credit, and with a large number of small manufacturers good credit is their principal asset. It is not only quite possible, but quite probable, that in the course of a few years an employer might be overwhelmed with a number of uncommuted indeterminate claims from injured employees as seriously to imperil his credit with an unknown liability existing that certainly would be remorselessly scrutinized at his bank when application was made for the necessary credit and funds to continue his business operations. Therefore, as a business necessity and for personal protection, it is obligatory upon the employer to

clear his books and settle his accounts with injured employees at the earliest possible moment.

Speaking of the German law, the same authority asserts that the physical condition of the German workmen has been immensely improved by the operations of the workmen's compensation law, that the Germans have grown taller and stronger during the period in which this law has been in effect, and that during the same period the English have grown shorter and weaker. Is it possible that Mr. Dawson has not been informed of the improved physical condition of the German male through enforced military service?

It is also claimed by several writers that the German compensation system has brought with it peace and contentment in industrial conditions as against unrest in England, but as there were in 1907, 2,266 strikes in Germany affecting 13,092 establishments and 445,165 employees, as against 601 strikes and 100,728 strikers and locked-out employees in England for the same year, this claim cannot be allowed.*

For the State of New York or any other State in the United States the only law that seems applicable for the moment is one of simple compensation as a substitute for all other remedies except the common-law right to recover, through the civil courts, just damages for the consequences of wilful and unpardonable negligence. To make this law a compulsory one is as repugnant to the idea of the free-born American citizen as Federal ownership of the railroads; therefore, while this law should be compulsory in effect, it should be elective in fact, and each employer, while required to insure, should be given the choice of doing it in the way most adaptable to his surroundings. He should be allowed to insure in either a stock or mutual insurance company duly qualified by the State Insurance Department to do business in his State, or to put into effect within his own organization a workmen's compensation plan that should be not less beneficial to injured claimants than the law provides, or he should be allowed to carry his own insurance if he so elects. The law, however, should provide that, if an employer should elect either of the two last-mentioned plans, he be compelled to furnish either to the Insurance

* From *Bulletin Bureau of Labor,* Vol. 20, 1910. Department of Commerce and Labor.

Department of his State or to some other department or designated officer of the State a bond sufficient in amount to cover the obligations imposed upon him by law as regards injured employees.

It has become a habit apparently of those writing about the rates charged for employers' liability and workmen's compensation insurance by stock companies to denounce the companies from start to finish and to hold them up before the public for not only robbing the employer on rates charged, but for cheating the injured workmen out of their just dues by every known means, driving him through intricate tangles of litigation until he is willing to accept little or nothing for his release. Even Professor Henry R. Seager, of Columbia University, according to the daily press, stated at a recent lecture "that under the present system there is a lot of unnecessary litigation and that fifty per cent. of the money received is expended by the employers' liability companies in efforts to keep from paying claims." Professor Seager is correct in stating that there is an unnecessary amount of litigation, but so long as shyster lawyers and ambulance-chasers are allowed to charge fifty per cent. of the amount of every recovery made through such litigation for their fee, just so long will it continue.* Professor Seager's statement that the companies spend fifty per cent. of their money to resist just payments is not borne out by the facts. Superintendent Hotchkiss of the Insurance Department of the State of New York states that, while the liability companies have made no money in the past three or four years, they have been guilty of unnecessary expense owing to the severe competition for business among themselves; that it is quite doubtful if the present Reserve Law of fifty per cent. of the premiums is sufficient, as the Insurance Department figures show that the loss ratio on completed experience is nearly, if not quite, sixty per cent. of the amount of the premiums, and he further calls attention to the extravagant rate of commission paid to those who bring the business to the companies' counters. From an

* One of the salient points of the report to Congress by the Committee on Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation reads as follows: "Of the $10,000,000 annually paid by the railroads of the country presumably to workmen and their beneficiaries in death and injury claims, $5,000,000, or one-half, has been stolen by personal-injury lawyers."

absolutely authentic source the writer can vouch for the statement that the fifty per cent. referred to by Professor Seager is made up approximately as follows: ten per cent. legal expenses, ten per cent. home and branch office expenses, five per cent. pay-roll audit and inspection departments, and the balance of twenty-five per cent. to brokers placing the business.

With a workmen's compensation law restricting the fees of attorneys, thus cutting out seventy-five per cent. of the litigation, every one of the above-mentioned percentages should be scaled down materially by the liability companies themselves. Legal, home office, and miscellaneous expenses should be cut seven and one-half per cent., and with every employer carrying workmen's compensation insurance in one form or another twelve and one-half per cent. commission is fully enough to pay to brokers or agents placing the business. This twenty per cent. saving can well be used by the employer to help him to carry the additional burden of workmen's compensation insurance that provides for weekly payments whether the employer is guilty of negligence or not.

HUGH HASTINGS.

# THE FUTURE OF THE PAPACY

BY ISIDOR SINGER

THERE seems not to be the slightest doubt about the fact that all positive religions within the limits of Western civilization are, as never before, face to face with an acute crisis. But while Judaism, even in its most diluted form, has a national and racial support to lean upon in the eventuality of extreme stress; while Protestantism, in principle at least, accepts the results of modern research in science, history, and Biblical philology, thus identifying its creed and ethics with the contemporary philosophy and morals of the succeeding ages and in this way remaining a living force; while Greek orthodoxy, owing to the power of the Tsar-Pope and the stupidity of the moujik, can yet in all probability count upon a relatively long lease of life—Roman Catholicism on account of its intellectual aloofness from the spirit of the age and its dogged clinging to the obsolete dogmatism of bygone times, appears to be hovering between life and death. That the *caveant consules* should be this time uttered in the city of New York a short time after the princely reception tendered to Cardinal Farley, and uttered by a Jewish writer, will, no doubt, cause amazement and collateral feelings with the majority of readers. But if the writer may venture to refer to a previous essay, published in the REVIEW January, 1910, on "The Jews and Jesus," in which he sought to deal with the delicate subject in a truly philo-Christian spirit, he feels that fact will cause those who read that article to suspend judgment on this to its conclusion, and he invokes the good-will of his new readers to follow patiently to the end the argumentation here presented that he may not be condemned unheard.

Since the French Revolution and, intenser yet, since Darwin, Europe and America have been looking for a new God, searching the horizon for a new Gospel suiting the spiritual

needs of the educated modern man and woman. We have still the same Bible and Prayer-book before us as our parents had when we go to church or synagogue, but we do not believe in their words as our fathers and mothers did: they have become for most of us dead letters; for priest, pastor, and rabbi texts for more or less eloquent sermons; and for the choir sacred material for elevating church music. That is all. The orthodox Jew still wraps himself in his *Talith* and intently closes his eyes to the religious skepticism surrounding the very citadels of the ancient faith. The believing Catholic yet suffers himself to be benumbed by the clouds of the Oriental incense which his priests, wrapped in the gorgeous pontifical dresses of the Hebrew-Egyptian-Persian Kohanim of old, are swinging through the lethargic air, and he fails to see that what is offered to him is not the noble democratic teaching of the Jewish carpenter son of Nazareth who came to save His people and humanity at large through the application to contemporary evils of the soul-stirring gospel of the Hebrew prophets. He is never reminded by his spiritual guides that Jesus, the Jesus of history, had not intended to accept a sweeping paternity for all the intolerant encyclicals and actions of Petri's successors, for Charlamagne's barbarous "conversion" of the Saxons, for the seven-centuries-lasting Inquisition, for the Thirty Years' War, for the hypocritical "Christian" war lords of Europe who are keeping ready millions of Christian gladiators to throw them into the bloody arena at a sign.

All of us, Jew and Gentile alike—and the enlightened Orient will soon second the motion—we are tired of the cruel blasphemy which is offered to humanity instead of that great and true Religion (and there can be only *one* religion) which has been outlined by Moses, Isaiah, Amos, and Malachi, and accepted in its entirety by Jesus, and which contains the life-bringing serum for our present and all generations to come.

And can we deny, if we study the undercurrents of our vast philanthropic institutions, our broad-minded educational and philosophical systems, that mankind unknowingly ascends toward the source which originated in the mountains of Judah, toward the misunderstood real Church Fathers of Christianity? However,

"in thus turning toward the Hebrew prophets, humanity is not

retrograding twenty-six centuries; it is they who were twenty-six centuries in advance. Humanity was too young to read them. But they could wait without fear, sure of the eternity of their creed, and sure that humanity in its march toward the future would be forced to retrace its steps to the mountain, and pass back from Golgotha to Zion. . . .

"And on the day when the Vatican will dare the bold stroke and place in the mouth of Christ the words of these prophets of old—the new age has not yet found, either among its philosophers, its moralists, its poets, words with a magic power equal to theirs—on that day will the Catholic Church take a new lease of life, and be able to assume once more the supreme direction of human society. Although its life appears to be ebbing, the Catholic Church is still the sole organized force of the Occident, the heart whose throbs, if vivified by young blood, could make themselves felt to the ends of the earth. Even to-day, in a disabused and hostile society, the moment a word of good-will emanates from this central seat of authority, a thrill of filial expectation passes through the whole civilized world—Catholic, Protestant, and infidel. Since there is no longer a Pope-King, the Papacy, stripped and become in a more striking degree the ideal and immaterial center, the intangible Rome of the great Catholic empire, seems to feel that humanity expects an arbiter in the struggle of nations and classes. The necessary revolution which would change the spirit of Christianity would also restore to the civilized world a center, an arbiter, a guide; would make of the Catholic Church a living force again. It may be that a disastrous schism is necessary to bring this about: perhaps the genius of a Monk Hildebrand will suffice. . . .

"Christianity has received its formulas from the Hebrew prophets, but it has dissipated them into metaphors. Will it be able to recover their meaning? Thou art come to fulfil the prophets: fulfil them. . . .

"If the Catholic Church misses its opportunity; if, in the name of an immutability which is simply a fiction of dogma contradicted by its history from the very beginning, it opposes the summons of the future with a *Non possumus,* the necessary work will be done otherwise, and with greater difficulty. The gain which the spirit of the future could extract from this admirable instrument of unity and of propaganda will be lost for the world, and the scientific sect will be called upon to assume sole charge of the world."

And who is the man addressing this fervent appeal to Rome again to assume the supreme spiritual government of the world? Is he a pious modernist of the *Nuova Italia?* Is he an ultra-conservative member of the Church of England yearning for the re-establishment of Christian unity? No. He who has penned these lines was a Jew, an Alsatian Jew, the son of an orthodox Jewish father and of a pious Jewish mother. In one word, James Darmesteter (1849-1894), the famous French Orientalist, pupil, and friend of and successor to Ernest Renan in his chair at the Collège de France.

How many Catholics are familiar with these splendid

words just quoted, which are part of the magnificent Introduction to Darmesteter's *Les Prophètes d'Israël?* Each and every one of them, however, will, I am sure, be thankful to me for calling the attention not only of the American Catholic world, but of the entire religious commonwealth of this continent, to the passionate cry for spiritual help addressed to the Papacy by one of the deepest thinkers of the nineteenth century, a man who has gone to the very rock bottom of the religious thought of mankind and who even had the moral courage to forget the cruel treatment to which, with very sporadic relaxations, the Catholic Church had submitted his brethren for fully fifteen centuries, thinking only of the general spiritual welfare of humanity at large. A monk Hildebrand in the twentieth century? And why not?

More than one critic within and without the Catholic Church, here as well as in Europe, makes Pius X. personally responsible for the growth of Modernism in Italy and the gradual decay of the influence of Catholicism in its ancient strongholds, France, Spain, Portugal, and quite recently in Belgium and Bavaria, where the anti-Christian Socialists routed the clerical parties. Whether they be right or wrong in their accusation, so much is sure, viewed from the standpoint of the philosopher of history: the present occupant of the Vatican has made ample atonement for possible errors in the past by preparing the transfer of the center of gravitation of the Roman Catholic Church from the Old to the New World. And because the American people, and above all its Catholic element, has instinctively grasped this to be the real significance of the simultaneous elevation to the cardinalate of three church dignitaries of the United States, Cardinals Farley and O'Connell have been received with royal honors by their own co-religionists and respectfully welcomed by the entire cosmopolitan population of the American metropolis and the capital of New England. Pius X. has, then, with constructive statesmanship, continued and crowned the policy of Leo XIII. with regard to the so-called "American danger" (Encyclical of January 22, 1899).

Now the great and paramount question is this: will the Roman Catholic Church have the firmness to face the religious situation of the present age with the unique purpose of remedying the evil at whatever cost? Is it really true that the Papacy even of the twentieth century can breathe freely in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages only, being

unable to adapt itself to the climate of modern times? Or, will Pius X. and his advisers have the courage to go back, as the scholar Darmesteter advises them, to the source of the Gospel, to the sublime message of the great teachers of Jesus?

The time has come when Church and Synagogue have clearly and definitely to distinguish between theology and religion, between man-made dogma, ceremony, and tradition, on the one hand, and divine faith, deep and genuine love of suffering humanity, scientific insight into the mechanism of the universe on the other. The Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy—they all wail over the indifference of their flocks and cover their faces not to see the growing devastation in the vineyards of the Lord. But they, and they alone, are responsible for the misdeeds of the religious phylloxera.

When Pius X. became Pope one of his old friends, a rich Jew from Venice, went to Rome and had a long audience with him. The Pope asked for news of all his friends, and when he heard that a certain priest was seriously ill he asked the Jew to give him his blessing when he returned to Venice. The Jew was taken back at the Pope's request, and he hinted that, not being a Christian, he was not a fit person to convey the apostolic blessing.

"You need not worry about that," the Pope said, "it does not matter in the least, provided the goods are all right, whether the wrapper is bad." "You are merely the wrapper," he added, smiling, and the Jew conveyed the apostolic blessing to the dying priest.

Has Pius X. the intention of applying the principle underlying this anecdote to his general religious policy? Have the three American Cardinals and the one hundred Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of the United States the ambition to be instrumental in the elaboration, with the Prophetic Gospel as foundation, of a common religion for entire mankind, or will they and their European colleagues suffer to be impassive witnesses of the downward march of the Christian religion? All of us know, or ought to know by this time, that everything which ceases to grow gradually decays and dies off finally. There was a time when there was no Judaism, no Christianity, no Mohammedanism, and there will, no doubt, come a time when these three religious systems, at least in their present shapes, will be part of the history of

the religious evolution of mankind, unless their leaders and followers adapt the eternal truths they contain to the changing exigencies of the succeeding ages.

It is hard for a fervent Jew to think of the day when the last synagogue will have to close its doors; it must be still more painful, one would suppose, for a pious Roman Catholic to think of the possibility of a last conclave. But has he ever given serious thought to the curve of evolution which leads up from Linus (cir. 64—76 A.D.), the semi-legendary first bishop of Rome—*i. e.*, the insignificant presbyter of a tiny Christian congregation recruited among the lowest classes of the metropolis of the world—to Gregory VII. and Innocent III., the mighty rulers of all the kings and nations of the earth, and has he studied the curve leading down again to Leo XIII. and the present Pope, lifelong prisoners of the Vatican?

Why should we close our eyes to reality, harsh as it may seem? Is it true or is it not that the Papacy has been deprived of the slightest vestige of temporal power by a Catholic nation, and that not one of the other great Catholic powers has raised a finger since 1870 to reinstate the "king of kings" of yore to one single acre of their former dominions? It is not the writer's purpose to plead a restitution of the temporal power of the Popes, sharing Darmesteter's view as to the greater potency of spiritual dominion. But unless some young and strenuous American Cardinal seizes in the near future the reins of the government of the Roman Catholic Church, Linus II., the last Pope, will share his exile with the last royal prince of the European continent.

And at that crucial point in mankind's spiritual development Darmesteter's prophecy of science's taking the place of religion may prove true. As the Gnostics of the first and second centuries had prepared the way for Christianity's becoming the heir to the Orientalized Greco-Roman civilization, in an analogous way the Agnostics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, brothers of the old Gnostics, in spite of their negative eponym, may unwittingly have laid the foundation to some form of philosophical faith to which our distant descendants will cling with the same fervor as our ancestors have clung to the tenets of Pentateuch, Gospel, and Koran.

This is not only the view of the infidel and of the progressive Jew, but also of the liberal wing of Protestantism.

Witness the great German historian of the Rome of the Middle Ages, Ferdinand Gregorovius (1821-1891), whom certainly nobody will accuse of prejudice against the Papacy, to whose glorious past he devotes, in the Introduction to his *Tombs of the Popes,* a stirring panegyric whose sublime eloquence and pregnancy equals, if it does not surpass, the pathetic appeal to the Vatican, to lead or to die, by the Jew Darmesteter. But while the latter wishes to make of Petri's Chair a living force again, Gregorovious contents himself with writing a splendid epitaph on the graves of the Vicars of Christ:

"There will be no longer any Popes. Religion will have expressed itself in a new form, a form as yet unknown to us; and to mankind under the new dispensation the long line of the historic Papacy will, beyond all doubt, appear a far more marvelous creation than to us who behold it in close perspective. Men will marvel at these graybeards of St. Peter's as wondrous beings of the past. Some of their monuments will have withstood the onslaughts of time, and before these old men in their stern majesty of dominion—crowned with the triple tiara and clad in stately, flowing robes, with long beards and countenances mild or forbidding, attractive or fanatical, and hands raised on high to bless men or to curse—men will pause in astonishment and exclaim: 'These were the Popes, spiritual overlords of the world of their day! How senile and gloomy must that world have been!'"

After setting forth, in glowing terms, the almost divine power of the great Popes of the Middle Ages, the German historian sums up the pathological cause of the downward march of the stupendous Papal institution which had not and probably will never have again its equal in the evolution of mankind.

"They [the Popes] set limits to the development of human thought, or permitted progress as to them seemed good. Knowledge they measured out with sparing hand, and freedom yet more grudgingly—thwarting the intellect's rapid expansion by the artificial barriers of a poetic mystery, by playing upon the love and fear of man. With these three chains they girt mankind and brought them to kiss their rod of chastisement.

"They were masters of the world's conscience. Their power, incorporal and weaponless, rested solely upon belief and superstition.

"What was the origin of this enigmatic power of a group of weak and old men, most of them of humble origin, many mounting the throne of the earth in the cowl of the beggar or the hermit?

"*It is rooted in Monotheism* and in the Christian theocracy, which has conceived of mankind as one single Christian republic. In its central point the Pope has placed himself. The nations of Christendom have recognized and honored him as the Salvation-bearing Father of mankind, as *Head of the Church Universal, which shall gather all races and all*

*peoples into one family of God.* But the Papacy's mighty mission seems now to be fulfilled. Its power has long fallen to decay. The old ideal of a Catholic world-policy received its death-blow at the Reformation, and the Papacy, deprived of its political basis also amid the catastrophes of the present age, preserves but the ruins of its former greatness." . . .

Pius X. and his College of Cardinals and their immediate successors have and will have it in their power to decide whether posterity will intone the Protestant Gregorovius's *Requiescat in pace* or the Jew Darmesteter's *Resurrexit.*

If they can make up their minds to pray and to make humanity pray to the Father to whom Jesus and the Apostles and the Christians of the first two centuries prayed, brushing aside the outworn dogmatic structures of the theologians from the first Council of Nicæa (325), where the pagan Pontifex Maximus Constantin dared play a miserable comedy with the 318 bishops and 1,200 prelates, to the last Council of the Vatican (1870), which marked the final downfall of episcopal power and at the same time was a challenge to the modern spirit of the age, then there is hope that the day will come when Jew and Gentile and Mohammedan, and even the "heathen" of the Chinese republic, of Japan, and of India, will join in the only dogma which Jesus and His apostles took over from their ancestral faith: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God."

ISIDOR SINGER.

# ASPECTS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

## VI.

In the last article it was shown, by specific reference to the backwardness of telephone development in Europe under State control as compared with its unrivaled progress in the United States under private direction, that Public Ownership is apt to stifle initiative and hinder technical improvement, and that, under the plea of safeguarding the public interests, it sometimes operates in fact to deprive the public of a much-needed utility or to furnish it in an exasperatingly inadequate form. It was shown, too, that the advantages inherent in corporate management are so great that no public authority, influenced, as every public authority must be, by considerations that have nothing to do with sound commercial policy, can hope to compete with it on anything like equal terms; and it was further established that, whatever may be said for or against the public ownership and operation of enterprises that are natural monopolies and assured successes, and that have reached something approaching technical finality, the State is singularly unfitted to conduct a competitive undertaking which is still in the experimental stage.

These are conclusions that may easily be reinforced by examples drawn from governmental and municipal dealings with other industries. There cannot, for instance, be much doubt that the policy pursued in Great Britain in regard to street-cars and tramways has done much to retard the growth of urban, and especially of interurban, transportation. The Tramway Act of 1870 allowed private corporations to obtain street-car franchises for twenty-one years on condition that the local authority had (1) the right of vetoing any scheme in its district and (2) the right of purchasing the undertaking at the end of the twenty-one years

at its mere structural value. At that time, while it was recognized as legitimate that municipalities might desire to construct and own street-car services of their own, it was not anticipated that they would want to operate them. Up to about 1896 the general rule was that local authorities were not permitted to work their systems unless they had failed to find a lessee; and it is a curious fact that municipal operation of this particular utility has crept into the British economic structure by a side wind and without any general Parliamentary discussion of its pros and cons. Once the principle was accepted, however, the attitude of the local authorities toward the corporations insensibly changed from that of supervisors or lessors to that of expectant heirs and competitors; franchises ceased to be renewed; restrictions multiplied; and there was initiated a more or less deliberate and not wholly scrupulous campaign with a view to depreciating the value of the companies' undertakings against the day of their expropriation by the municipality. About the time, moreover, when a large number of street-car franchises were expiring—that is to say, in the early nineties —electric traction was found to be a commercial possibility; and the companies, faced with the certainty of being bought out by the local authorities at the bare working value of their plant and with no compensation for good-will, were able neither to adopt the new system nor extend and develop their existing services. In his volume on *The Dangers of Municipal Trading,* Mr. Robert P. Porter has justly remarked that "the unhappy effect of the limited tenure arrangement was to force tramway undertakings into a premature condition of senile decay." Their transfer to the municipalities was hailed by the public with relief as the only visible means of escape from conditions that had become intolerable. To-day in the United Kingdom the local authorities own and operate some 1,600 miles of track, and the companies over 1,100. Roughly speaking, it is found that the municipalities charge a slightly lower fare than the companies and work their undertakings at a slightly higher ratio of expenses to income and that their contributions in relief of the rates amount to over $1,500,000 a year. But these results have to be construed, among other things, in the light of the fact that in general all the most profitable areas are in possession of the municipalities, while private enterprise has been restricted to the more speculative and

precarious districts. There is nothing to show that corporate management, controlled but not trammeled in the public interests, would not have resulted both in a far more extensive system and in a considerably greater return to the local treasuries; while the failure of municipal ownership to grapple with the problems of suburban, and especially of interurban, communications has been palpable and profound. The jealousies of neighboring authorities that can rarely be induced to co-operate except for the sake of obstructing and blackmailing a corporation that wishes to run its street-car service through areas controlled by more than one municipality; the fear of reducing the ratable value of a city by offering its citizens facilities for living outside the municipal boundaries; and an intense reluctance to benefit the owners of real estate by laying a track in sparsely settled districts—these influences and many others have prevented the building up of any comprehensive system of interurban connections, have helped to perpetuate the congestion of the towns, and have resulted in the city population of the United Kingdom being furnished with less than one-quarter of the street-car facilities that have been brought to the urban population of the United States by private enterprise operating under liberal charters.

There is a very similar tale to record in connection with the electric-lighting industry. The British municipalities, being already for the most part the owners and operators of the local gas-works, dreaded the competition of the new illuminant and did all that they could to restrain its growth. Their efforts were seconded by the short-sightedness of Parliament, which in 1882 not only decreed that no electric-lighting company could establish itself in any locality without the sanction of the municipality, but also fixed twenty-one years as the maximum period for which a concession might be granted. The local authorities, moreover, were empowered, if they chose, to build and operate electric-lighting plants of their own, and each concession obtained by a private company included a severe expropriation clause. Under these conditions the industry could make no headway; it was practically strangled at its birth. Capital would not embark on an enterprise the hazards of which had been enormously and gratuitously multiplied by the action of the State, and at the end of 1888 in the whole of the United Kingdom there were only 12 central electric stations in

operation as against 574 in the United States. It was not until an Act was passed raising the life of an electric-lighting concession from twenty-one to forty-two years that the industry began to revive. Even then it continued to be hampered by legislative discrimination in favor of the municipalities and by the action of the local authorities either in insisting on unnecessarily onerous terms being attached to a franchise or in securing a concession themselves and then allowing it to lie dormant—that is to say, neither starting an electric-lighting station as a municipal undertaking nor permitting private enterprise to do so. As with the street-cars, so with the electric supply, a niggling parochialism has frustrated the developments demanded by the public interests. It was only very gradually realized that electricity was a source not only of light, but of power, and that the future of the industry lies less in lighting streets and houses than in furnishing energy and motive power to innumerable other industries. The electric station of to-morrow will be a huge plant dealing not with hundreds or thousands, but with millions of consumers and supplying cheap motive power in bulk over areas that will be reckoned in thousands of square miles. But directly Parliamentary authority is sought for establishing any such station, all the municipalities and vestries and borough councils affected combine in resisting it, and in many cases successfully. These local bodies, being restricted to their own areas, cannot produce electric energy as cheaply as an outside concern, working on a vaster scale and knowing no artificial boundaries; jealousy prevents them from co-operating in an attempt to start on their own account a plant of the scope called for by modern industrial conditions; but what they can do and do do is to oppose, under the plea of fighting against a monopoly, the efforts of private enterprise to fill this great and disastrous void in Great Britain's industrial economy. It has been calculated that if it were equipped in the same ratio as the United States the United Kingdom would possess three times as many central electric stations as actually exist; and when to this is added its backwardness in the development of electric traction and telephones, and consequently in the manufacture of electrical machinery and apparatus and in the application of cheap electric current to industrial processes, it must be admitted that as a factor both in depressing the average of competitive capacity

and in increasing the volume of unemployment the price of public ownership comes high.

I pass to another and even more conspicuous instance of the State's irruption into the field of trade. Of the leading industrial countries Great Britain and the United States are the only ones in which the railroads have not been wholly or partially nationalized. The material, therefore, is ample for forming an opinion on the results of governmental control of this vital utility. M. Marcel Peschaud, for example, a few years ago made a masterly and exhaustive analysis of the workings of the State railways in Belgium—a country which, being flat, compact, densely populated, and in a high state of industrial and agricultural development, ought to possess one of the finest railway systems in the world. M. Peschaud found that State management had brought with it excessive centralization and red tape, an abnormally large and ill-disciplined staff whose salaries accounted for sixty per cent. of the total expenditure, and a lack both of initiative and responsibility among the heads of the various departments. In rolling-stock, train services, station-building, and the study of the convenience of travelers the Belgian State system, being virtually free from the pressure of competition, is far behind the British railways. Rates are fixed by the arbitrary will of the administration, with little or no consultation with the traders, and on a principle of uniformity that makes adjustment to particular conditions and requirements impossible. This is a feature of State railroad policy that recurs wherever nationalization is in force; and its importance can hardly be exaggerated. The essence of sound and progressive administration in the matter of rates is flexibility. The State, however, is more or less bound to hold that its Railway Department, like its Post-Office Department, should treat all customers alike, should make no exceptions to meet the needs of this or that locality or interest, and should draw up its tariff schedule on a stereotyped mathematical basis. I do not believe there is a railway economist or administrator anywhere who would not declare this principle to be fundamentally fallacious and who would not hold that special rates, fixed by special agreements between the trader and the railroad, are the life-blood of commercial mobility and traffic development. In Germany, where every ton of goods, of whatever character, was originally made to pay a rate composed of a fixed charge

for terminals and an equal charge per mile, even the power of the most bureaucratic State in Europe was unable to hold out against the outcry that burst from the traders or to ignore the industrial stagnation that followed its attempt to treat railroad rates as a simple sum in arithmetic. It remains, however, the fact that wherever nationalization obtains commerce is compressed into rigid schedules and that only those railroads that are administered by private companies and under the spur of competition display the elasticity that can alone satisfy the infinitely varied and complex requirements of modern trade.

In two other ways traders appear to be considerably worse off when the State owns and operates the railroads. In the first place, they are not provided with such rapid and dependable transport as is furnished by private enterprise in Great Britain and in a somewhat smaller degree in the United States; and in the second place, they are unable to obtain such prompt and adequate compensation for lost, damaged, or delayed goods. Many State-managed railways refuse to admit any responsibility whatever for delayed merchandise, and on others responsibility only begins after a fixed and spacious interval; while in the matter of all claims for damages the State stands immovably on the bare letter of the law and exhausts all the resources of procedure before indemnifying its clients. It is commonly said that, under a system of nationalization, the profits derived from the railroads are returned in one form or another to the community instead of finding their way into the pockets of private individuals. But these profits are found in practice to be either inconsiderable, as in Belgium, where they have been almost eaten up by a prodigious enhancement of the ratio of expenditure to receipts, or else, as in Germany, they are only obtained at the cost of the efficiency of the service. That nationalization of the railways leads to their more economical working seems to be everywhere a delusion. In Belgium on the lines worked by private companies the proportion of expenditure to receipts is forty-five per cent., while on the State-owned lines it is sixty-two per cent.; and in Germany, where the railroads are regarded as the milch-cow of the treasury and where their nationalization was effected mainly in order to secure a large source of income independently of Parliamentary votes, the profits are maintained by limiting capital expenditure on improvements and

extensions and by cutting down rolling-stock with a severity that no British company would tolerate or even contemplate. It is said, again, that the position of the employees is much better under State than under corporation management of the railways. That is sometimes, but by no means always or even usually, the case. The State-owned railways of Belgium, for instance, do not allow their employees to form labor unions or to go out on strike; nor do they provide them with anything like the privileges and supplementary benefits furnished by the British companies as a matter both of generosity and of justice. They deal far more grudgingly and unsympathetically with questions of compensation for accident, and the free and open field for promotion by merit and as the reward for individual character and ability is virtually closed by the routine methods of all Government service. Its place, however, is not left empty; it is occupied, and occupied disastrously, by the influence of politics. In England and America the career is thrown fully open to talent; it depends mainly on himself alone whether the humblest porter does or does not rise to the top. But in Belgium—and Belgium in this respect is by no means unique—advancement in the State railways is often determined by political "pull," and the whole administration of the roads and the whole course of railway policy are saturated with politics. The employees, who are also electors, bombard the deputies with their grievances and their demands for higher wages and shorter hours, and the time of Parliament is frittered away in debates on the details of railroad management. Neither the legislature nor the railways gain by this intermingling of politics and business. Parliament prejudices the efficiency of the railways; the railways partly debauch and partly terrorize Parliament. More or less this is the experience of all countries that have experimented with nationalization. Even in Germany, admirably administered as are all its State departments, political pressure powerfully and always detrimentally affects the details of railway management. Even in India, where the Government has an unusually free hand, the conviction has steadily grown that new and vigorous life can only be introduced into the State-owned railways by a root-and-branch reform involving the gradual and eventually the complete abandonment of official administration, and that State operation has resulted not only in an inefficient, expensive, and unenter-

prising system, but also in checking the flow of capital into the country. The presumption is established that if a line would pay the Government would build it, and that therefore only the less remunerative enterprises are left over for companies and private investors. In this way the attention of capitalists is withdrawn from India and directed to other lands where the shadow of Government ownership has not yet fallen. Both Australia and New Zealand have suffered from the same causes. The disadvantages of railway nationalization are thus both direct and indirect. They do not merely consist in too rigid rates, inadequate service, and the variegated and unhealthy reaction of politics upon purely commercial or purely administrative problems; they also include the retardation of national development by a progressive restriction of the zone of private enterprise.

Here, indeed, we touch on one of the gravest disadvantages of public ownership. Directive ability, as all modern economists, even the Socialists themselves, now agree is a vital element of industrial productivity; and anything that diminishes the available supply of inventive capacity, energy, initiative, and ingenuity, or that diverts it from the industrial field, lessens to that extent the national wealth and output. But we have seen that the bureaucratic control of commercial undertakings is unfavorable to the higher kinds of managerial capacity. No Government, no municipality in the world, has yet solved the problem of attracting to its service the ablest men, or of testing their competence in the conduct of business enterprises, or of furnishing them with a stimulus that automatically extracts from them the best of which they are capable, or of eradicating politics from the workings of officialdom. These are difficulties that are overcome day by day and almost unconsciously by the normal union of promoter, capitalist, and manager. Whatever may be said against it, this combination does at least offer higher and more tempting rewards than any form of governmental employment; it exerts a more salutary influence on character; it brings to the front men whose abilities have been thoroughly appraised in the school of experience; it corresponds to that prime factor of all progress—the very human longing for gain and distinction; it makes, therefore, for the maximum of productivity, and consequently of employment and wealth. Public ownership, on the other hand, tending more and more to split up all industry into a series of

local or national monopolies, wastefully and inefficiently operated, tends also to divert the savings of the community —that is to say, its capital—into narrower and less fruitful channels. Undoubtedly, however, it brings an immediate pecuniary benefit to its employees, whatever may be its ultimate effect on the whole body of labor. If the higher grades of State and municipal officials are invariably worse paid than men employed in corresponding positions by private firms and corporations, the lower ranks are as invariably better paid. Public ownership creates, as it were, an aristocracy of labor, enjoying shorter hours, higher wages, and in many respects a more assured position than men in private employment. The discipline under which they work is slacker, their pay is more independent of the value of their labor, and they are able to bring to bear upon their employer a more constant and potent pressure than is the case in an ordinary industry—the nature of that pressure consisting in the fact that they are not only employees of the State or municipality, but also help to elect or defeat their employers at the polling booth. The position of a State or municipal workman is thus on the surface superior to and more attractive than that of the ordinary employee in a private firm. But is that an argument that justifies a general resort to public ownership? I do not see how it can be so used unless one accepts the extreme contention of the Socialists that all the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange should be taken over by the community. No reason, that is to say, can be adduced in favor of paying the employees in, for instance, the municipal gas-works a rate of wages above the current standard of the industry and locality that would not warrant the municipalization of all industries. If public ownership is to be defended because it improves the condition of its employees, and if that defense is held to be valid and sufficient, the logical conclusion is that the more of public ownership the better, and that the employment of labor should become a State monopoly. But it can, I think, be shown that the creation of a specially privileged class of workmen under the auspices of the national or local authorities is neither economically sound nor morally and politically healthful. It must be remembered in this connection that so far as public contracts and the conduct of public utilities are concerned, it is both easy and habitual for the State or the

municipality to stipulate that private concession-holders and corporations should pay their employees a fair rate of wages and should observe all the statutory regulations in regard to their health and hours of labor. It must also be remembered that industrial legislation and the legitimate action of the trade-unions have greatly restricted the field in which a municipality can set what is called "a good example" in the treatment of its workmen. Under a properly supervised system of private enterprise, there is nowadays no danger at all of the rights of labor being disregarded; while such further reforms in industrial conditions as experience may show to be necessary can be far more effectively brought about by legislation that would enforce them on all employers than by the voluntary and spasmodic action of separate municipalities. A good example is unproductive so long as it is not followed, and I have never yet heard of a case in which the more favorable conditions of public employment had any influence on the terms of private employment. So far as the great body of labor is concerned, it cannot be said that the higher wages and shorter hours that obtain in State and municipal enterprises—and that are only possible because these enterprises are for the most part monopolies—have resulted in any benefit at all.

On the other hand, it can, I think, be established that the preferential treatment of an arbitrarily selected set of workmen is a positive, if indirect, disadvantage to their fellow-laborers and cannot be defended on any principle either of abstract justice or of sound economics. Reasons have already been given for thinking that public ownership and operation of the main utilities is more expensive than private ownership and operation, that it adds to the burden of local taxation, that it is far less productive of efficient services, and that it impedes the free circulation of capital. Unquestionably the swollen pay-rolls that characterize all official undertakings are one of the chief causes of their uneconomical working. But somebody has to pay for it, and without entering on the labyrinthine problems of the incidence of taxation it is a reasonable assumption that in one form or another the poor have to bear their share, and usually, I think, more than their proper share. Thus not only do the mass of working-men suffer through being deprived of those public facilities which private enterprise has been shown to furnish more abundantly than any State or any

municipality; not only do they suffer through the curtailment of capitalistic initiative and the consequent contraction of the labor-market, but they are also taxed either as rate-payers or in their rents or as consumers for the benefit of a comparatively small and highly favored body of their fellow-workmen. An impost is, in fact, levied on the whole community and then distributed in the form of wages among the municipal employees; and whether the impost takes the form of additional taxation or of an increase in the cost of the services supplied does not, of course, affect the essential injustice of the proceeding. So long as it is agreed that you cannot raise wages, reduce hours, relax discipline, and recruit more laborers than the work requires without at the same time increasing the cost of production, the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the favorable treatment in these respects of State or municipal employees really represents a bonus paid out to them from the public funds at the common expense. It is, in effect, the old fallacy of a special grant in aid of wages reappearing in somewhat disguised form and restricted to a particular class. And when one reflects that the amount of this special grant—the difference, that is to say, between the pay of the municipal and of the privately employed workman—is regulated by no principle whatever, bears no relation to the value of the work performed, is intertwined with many extraneous considerations, of charity and politics, for instance, that have nothing whatever to do with business efficiency, and is very largely conditioned by the degree of illicit pressure that workmen in the service of public authorities are able to exert on their employers, one feels little hesitation in declaring that the discrimination shown in the treatment of the employees is a fact that tells against and not in favor of public ownership.

The nature of this "illicit pressure" brings us directly to a consideration of the action and reaction of State trading upon political well-being. Does public ownership increase or diminish the chances of corruption? Does it favor or does it impede those illegitimate influences that are always more or less on the lookout for opportunities to permeate local and national administration? This is a question which in Great Britain and in the United States is answered in two contradictory senses. A large body of British opinion opposes the policy of public ownership because it multiplies the possibilities of corruption; a large body of American opinion

supports it because it promises to lessen them. This flat divergency is interesting if only because it shows how little we know at present of the workings of public ownership as a whole and because it emphasizes the folly of drawing universal conclusions from particular instances. Great Britain, one must remember, is a country where a high and in many ways a unique standard of civic probity has been evolved, where the tradition of unpaid public service is still a potent, though undoubtedly a diminishing, influence, and where the national good sense has recognized the necessity of an army of permanent and well-paid officials to carry on the work of State and municipal administration. It is, therefore, a country in which an extension of governmental functions is least likely to lead to undesirable results. Nor can it be said even by the most ardent opponent of municipal trading that its introduction has so far seriously impaired either the tone or the conduct of local government. That it has contributed nothing to their elevation is, I think, indisputable; that here and there it can be shown to have worked positive harm is also, in my judgment, nothing less than the truth; but that there can at present be laid to its charge any clear falling-off in the character or efficiency of the British municipalities as a whole is a proposition that the available evidence does not support. Certain phenomena have, however, already arisen in connection with the rapid expansion of local activities during the past three decades, and certain symptoms and tendencies have disclosed themselves, that justify many and grave apprehensions for the future.

Signs, for instance, are not wanting that the gradual decline in the personnel of the ordinary City Council in Great Britain, if it was not caused by, has been considerably hastened by, the plunge into public ownership. Every extension of the duties undertaken by the local authorities means that they have so much the less time to devote to their primary functions of civic administration and that additional labor, often of the most complex and exacting character, is thrown upon the shoulders of the elected representatives. The busy and prosperous merchant or professional man, whose sagacity and independence are essential to the proper discharge of municipal responsibilities, grows less and less willing to place his leisure and experience at the service of the community when the work expected of him

is such as might well monopolize his whole time and attention. The consequence is that a less efficient and less disinterested type of candidate is forthcoming in his place, that the composition of the local administrative bodies is liable to wide fluctuations, that the average of business capacity is lowered, and that power is more and more deflected into the hands of the permanent officials. Again, with every step that is taken to enlarge the area of municipal trading, the local authority adds to the risk of finding itself engaged in " the politics of labor " and exposed to disputes with or capture by the trade-unions. The greater the number of rate-paid employees, the greater also is the danger that the conditions of their employment will be made issues at the elections and that candidates will be voted for or against according as they promise or decline to support the demand for higher pay or shorter hours. In practically all the British municipalities the employees are an organized body; whoever else may forget to vote, they never forget; and cases have frequently occurred of their issuing a collective appeal to their fellow-electors to join with them in choosing or unseating specified candidates solely because they were in favor or opposed to the special interests of the employees. Nothing could well be more demoralizing than conditions under which on the one side the vote is regarded mainly as an instrument of personal advantage and on the other weak-kneed candidates are intimidated and conscientious candidates repelled by the electioneering pressure of the municipality's own servants. The best men will not willingly enter civic life under such conditions, and if once the leading men of the neighborhood acquire a distaste for municipal service British local government must infallibly decline. That stage has not yet been reached, but no one can deny that it is appreciably nearer than it was in the days when a municipality was an agency not of trade, but of administration, when elections were determined on local and not on national lines, and when it was out of the power of municipal employees to decide the fate of candidates. Everybody who has any inside knowledge of British politics is aware that the incessant and unwholesome pressure of organized bodies of public servants, especially of those employed in the post-office, upon members of Parliament is a growing and noxious evil. The same evil has established itself in British municipal life, and it seems likely

to increase, with all its accompaniments of administrative extravagance and electoral degradation and its openings for political jobbery, until either the employees rule the council and all local government is conducted primarily in their interests, or until a law is passed disfranchising all State and municipal servants, or grouping them into a special body with special representation both in Parliament and in the City Council. Moreover, as Mr. Robert P. Porter has well insisted, the power of the municipal officials and employees has extended far beyond the boundaries of each separate local authority and is now organized and directed on a national scale. The vast majority of the men in the service of the British municipalities—over two million in number—are banded together in an association that is virtually a trade-union and that like a trade-union naturally seeks first of all to promote the interests of its members. As these interests are held to lie in a continuous and unlimited expansion of municipal enterprise, the efforts of private corporations to obtain Parliamentary sanction for their undertakings are confronted with a very formidable obstacle. The Association of Municipal Corporations, says Mr. Porter, "is a bureaucratic ring so strongly organized in self-defense that it whips the member for a Scotch borough to vote against an electric-power scheme for Ireland. No private scheme which touches, even remotely, the objects of modern municipalism is permitted to go through a Parliamentary Committee without being strenuously opposed, clause by clause, by the municipalities *en masse* represented by the counsel of the Municipal Corporations Association. . . . The tender solicitude with which it watches all legislation affecting municipal trading, and the skill with which it can concentrate its forces at short notice in aid of legislation favoring municipal trading and to defeat obnoxious measures, gives some idea of the cohesive power of self-interest—a self-interest which is dangerous enough when exerted from the outside in large combinations of capital, but which is far more disastrous to sound government when exercised from within by a strongly welded organization of ambitious officials determined on extending their influence."

This is a development that need not, I imagine, be greatly apprehended in the case of the United States. If municipal trading were to expand in America with the same rapidity that it has expanded in Great Britain, it might, no doubt,

be possible for an association of municipal officials and employees to make its influence powerfully felt in a State Legislature in opposition to schemes promoted by private corporations; but the capture of the national Legislature would always, owing to the Federal character of the American policy and the absence of a strongly centralized government, be beyond its scope. With this exception, however, almost all the conditions that make the policy of public ownership a fertile soil of political corruption exist in America in a highly intensified form, and almost all the conditions that might mitigate its harmful effects are conspicuously wanting. Speaking broadly, it is, I believe, the fact that men of the best type and of the highest business competence are rarely to be found on American City Councils, and that the claims of public service fail on the whole to enlist the most efficient and upright elements in the community. It is also, so far as my observation goes, the fact that in America local elections are almost invariably fought out on the same rigidly partisan lines as State or Presidential elections, that the victorious party holds itself entitled to the spoils of office, that the controlling power in civic affairs is frequently neither the Mayor nor the Council, but a political Boss, that the principal tradition of American local government is a tradition of corruption, and that the number of permanent municipal officials is very small, while the number of officials elected for short terms, inadequately paid and with little real security of tenure, is inordinately large. These are precisely the circumstances most certain to bring out the worst side of public ownership and to condemn municipal enterprise to a perpetual round of extravagance, inefficiency, and political debauchery. It is claimed, however, that the corruption resulting from the control of the chief public utilities by private corporations is so great that municipal ownership, whatever its drawbacks, could hardly help being an improvement. I confess to some difficulty in following that argument, particularly when it is coupled with an acknowledgment that public ownership in the United States, to be given even a reasonably fair chance ought to be preceded by a drastic measure of civil-service reform. Such a line of reasoning strikes a foreigner as but too consonant with the American habit of relying upon mechanical expedients for the correction of moral evils—a habit that has overloaded the statute-book of almost every

State in the Union with unenforceable laws and has induced Americans to believe that everything will come right if only such and such a device is adopted and such and such a change in the accessories and accidentals of government effected. The corruption of municipal administration in the United States is not caused by private corporations and will not be cured by public ownership. It lies infinitely deeper than either system can ever reach. I do not mean that on the hunt for public-utility franchises and in their subsequent administration many grave scandals have not occurred. They assuredly have. But in the first place there are many tokens that that particular phase of municipal corruption is nearing its end and that the very enormity of the abuses that flourished under it has tended to work out its own cure. In the second place, Americans of late years have turned their attention with increasing success not to the abolition of private enterprise, but to its regulation, and in the establishment of Public Service Commissions for safeguarding the interests of the public, while allowing capital a rational freedom and security, have made one of the most valuable and original contributions to modern political science. And in the third place, when it is a question of the amount of corruption that is likely to ensue from private enterprise and from public ownership, respectively, it is extremely pertinent to bear in mind that, while the bad effects of municipal trading on political conduct and atmosphere rarely take any very sensational or very personal forms and are therefore less dramatically interesting, they are also more insidious and cumulative in their operation and may insensibly end in debauching an entire community where corporations merely debauched their scores or hundreds. Against the advantages of public ownership there must, at any rate, be set this supreme disadvantage: that it has within it the potentiality of becoming one of the most formidable instruments of political demoralization that has been fashioned in our times.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

[THE END]

# THE LESSON FROM LAWRENCE

BY W. JETT LAUCK

Much has been said and written about the labor disturbances at Lawrence. The fundamental significance of the situation there has yet to be explained. The conditions in this textile-manufacturing center, serious as they have been, have more than a local import, and if the American people are wise they will devise measures of general relief for the industrial conditions of which the ebullition at Lawrence is typical.

It has been pointed out with emphasis, and it cannot be denied, that the woolen and worsted mill owners have been guilty of sham and hypocrisy in demanding a high tariff for the protection of the American mill operative, when, as a matter of fact, the so-called American wage-earner does not exist. Instead of a protective tariff serving as a bulwark for American standards against the " pauper labor " of Europe it has been made clear that the American mill-hand has not only been exposed to the direct competition of a cheap, alien labor-supply from the south and east of Europe, but, because of his inability to work under the same conditions and at the same wages as the recent immigrant, has been forced to leave the woolen-goods manufacturing industry. The inadequacy of the earnings of married men; the need for wives and children to work; the lack of an independent form of family life, due to the necessity of taking boarders and lodgers in order to supplement the earnings of husbands; the poor housing facilities and the highly congested living conditions; the segregation of the alien textile operatives, their inability to speak English, and their failure to develop any political or civic interest—all these and many other lamentable facts relative to working and living conditions in Lawrence have come to light as the result of the present strike.

The point, however, which the American people have not yet grasped and which is of fundamental importance is that the situation at Lawrence is not unique. It is typical. It is representative of all our important industrial centers. The fact which cannot be over-emphasized, and which the intelligent citizen must bring himself to realize, is that the working and living conditions which have been shown to exist in Lawrence are found in all of our industrial localities in the north and west, no matter upon what branch of manufacturing or mining they are dependent.

The United States Immigration Commission during its recent and exhaustive industrial investigation attempted, with great care, within the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers, to discover a purely American industrial community. It was forced to acknowledge the effort a failure. No manufacturing or mining locality of any importance could be found which did not have its immigrant colony of industrial workers from southern and eastern Europe.

The foreign or immigrant communities in the North and West, which have come into existence because of the recent influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, are of two general types. The first type is a community which has, by a gradual process of social accretion, affixed itself to the original population of an industrial town or city which had already been established before the arrival of races of recent immigration. Foreign communities of this type are as numerous as the older industrial towns and centers of the country, any one of which in New England, the Middle States, or in the Middle West or Southwest will be found to have its immigrant colony or section. The second type of immigrant community has come into existence within recent years because of the development of some natural resource, such as coal, iron ore, or copper, or by reason of the extension of the principal manufacturing industries of the country. They are usually communities clustered around mines or industrial plants; often practically all of the residents are of foreign birth, the population being composed of Slavs, Italians, Magyars, and other peoples of recent immigration. Illustrations of this type of immigrant communities are common in the bituminous and anthracite coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania, and in the coal-producing areas of Virginia, West Virginia,

Alabama, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, and Oklahoma. In the Mesaba and Vermilion iron-ore ranges of Minnesota, as well as in the iron-ore and copper-mining districts of Michigan, many towns and cities of this character are found. Although not so numerous, they are not infrequently established in connection with the leading industries, such as the manufacture of iron, steel, glass, cotton and woolen goods, etc. Numerous communities of both types might be mentioned, but the foregoing examples will serve to set forth the general situation.

In discussing the Lawrence labor difficulties much stress has also been laid on the fact that the operatives in the Lawrence mills are principally of southern and eastern European or Oriental races. The same class of wage-earners, however, make up the operating forces of all our mines and factories. The Immigration Commission secured original information for over half a million employees in twenty-one leading industries. It found that three-fifths were of foreign birth, and of these two-fifths were members of races from the south and east of Europe. This striking situation becomes more apparent when the percentage of foreign-born employees in the principal divisions of industry are shown. The proportions in twenty-one branches of mining and manufacturing are as follows:

| Name of Industry. | Percentage Foreign-born Empolyees. |
|---|---|
| Agricultural implements and vehicles | 59 |
| Cigars and tobacco | 32 |
| Clothing | 72 |
| Bituminous coal mining | 61 |
| Railroad construction work | 76 |
| Copper mining and smelting | 65 |
| Cotton goods | 68 |
| Furniture | 59 |
| Glass | 39 |
| Gloves | 33 |
| Iron and steel | 57 |
| Iron-ore mining | 52 |
| Leather | 67 |
| Oil-refining | 66 |
| Silk-dyeing | 75 |
| Silk goods | 34 |
| Shoes | 27 |
| Slaughtering and meat-packing | 60 |
| Sugar-refining | 85 |
| Woolen and worsted goods | 61 |

From the foregoing figures it can readily be seen that the racial composition of the Lawrence mill-workers is but a replica of all other industrial employees. The principal immigrants among our industrial workers, taken as a whole, are the French-Canadians, Croatians, Russian and other Hebrews, North and South Italians, Lithuanians, Magyars, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, Slovaks, and Slovenians.

The characteristics of these alien industrial workers are also the same as those who live and work in Lawrence. The southern and eastern European is normally of a simple mind and of a peaceable disposition. He is usually tractable almost to the point of subserviency. When aroused, however, he will dumbly follow a leader to any length, often to the point of extreme violence and disorder. The developments at Lawrence have shown this characteristic in a pronounced form. Three years ago it was similarly displayed in the strike of the employees of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, when the recent immigrants refused, under the influence of the Industrial Workers of the World and under the leadership of the same men who were recently in Lawrence, to return to work even after the native American strikers had reached an agreement with the employers.

Another quality of the recent immigrant labor-supply which is purely industrial, but which is no less important, is that only a very small proportion have had any industrial training or experience before coming to the United States. The great majority were farmers or farm laborers before they were transplanted to their industrial environment in this country. Furthermore, they possess but small resources from which to develop industrial progress and efficiency. Unlike the immigrants of former years from Great Britain and northern Europe, the southern and eastern European wage-earners in other industries, as in the case of Lawrence mill-operatives, are unable to speak English. They are also characterized by a high degree of illiteracy. Of 250,000 industrial workers for whom information was received by the Immigration Commision, only fifty-three per cent. could speak the English language. Among certain races, such as the Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks, Herzegovinians, Montenegrins, Roumanians, and Turks, the proportion who had acquired an ability to speak English was much smaller. About one in six of the same employees of

mines and factories cannot read or write in any language. Furthermore, the Bosnians, Bulgarians, Croatians, South Italians, Portuguese, Servians, and Turks are marked by an even higher degree of illiteracy.

The standards of living of the recent immigrant wage-earner are everywhere as low as in Lawrence. The recent immigrant males being usually single, or, if married, having left their wives abroad, are able to adopt a group instead of a family living arrangement, and thereby to reduce their cost of living to a point far below that of the American or older immigrant in the same industry or the same level of occupations. The method of living usually followed is that commonly known as the "boarding boss" system. Under this arrangement a married immigrant or his wife, or a single man, constitutes the head of the household, which in addition to the family of the head, is usually made up of two to sixteen boarders or lodgers. Each lodger pays the boarding boss a fixed sum, ordinarily from $2 to $3 per month, for lodging, cooking, and washing, the food being usually bought by the boarding boss and its cost being equally shared by the individual members of the group. Another common arrangement is for each member of the household to purchase his own food and have it cooked separately. Under this general method of living, however, which prevails among the greater proportion of the immigrant households, the entire outlay for necessary living expenses of each adult member ranges from $9 to $15 each month. The additional expenditures of the recent immigrant wage-earners are small, and every effort is made to save as much as possible.

A normal form of family life—wife and children supported by the earnings of the husband—is as uncommon in other industrial localities as in Lawrence. The family income must needs be supplemented by the earnings of children or by the payments of boarders and lodgers. The wages of the heads are not sufficient. As a consequence, the native Americans depend upon the contributions of wives and children employed outside the home to supplement the earnings of the husband. The recent immigrants, owing to the comparatively small number of children, rely for their additional income upon the receipts from boarders and lodgers. As a result of its intensive study of the families of 15,000 industrial workers of different geographical areas and of the

leading divisions of mining and manufacturing, the Immigration Commission found that only two-fifths of the families derived their entire incomes from the earnings of husbands. About one-eighth of both the native American and immigrant families were supported by the wages of the husbands and the earnings of wives and children, and one-fourth of the immigrant households depended upon an income from boarders and lodgers. In the case of some families the heads of which were from southern and eastern Europe, as high a proportion as four-fifths received part of their income from the contributions of boarders and lodgers.

This situation may be more quickly realized when its effect upon housing and living conditions is considered. A study by the Immigration Commission of the families of 17,000 wage-earners, both native Americans and aliens, employed in all lines of industrial activity, showed that one out of every three had boarders or lodgers. In more than one-half of the households with Croatian, Russian, Magyar, Roumanian, Ruthenian, Servian, and Lithuanian heads there were boarders and lodgers. The average number of boarders and lodgers among native Americans was 162 for each 100 households as against 345 in each 100 immigrant households. The Croatians had an average of six, the Servians seven, the Bulgarians eight, and the Roumanians twelve boarders or lodgers in each family.

As might be expected, this condition of affairs causes a high degree of congestion within the households. In the 17,000 investigated there was an average of 246 persons for each 100 sleeping-rooms. Among some families of southern and eastern Europeans all the rooms of their apartments were used for sleeping purposes, and no provision was made for a kitchen, dining, or living room. More than one-third of all the families had only one room available for general living purposes. The low standards of living and the congested living conditions are further exemplified by the rent payments of the families of the industrial workers. The average monthly rent for each person in 11,000 families was found to be only $1.60, and in the cases of some of the southern and eastern European households, notably the Bulgarians and Macedonians, it ranged as low as 78 cents each month per person. The standards of living indicated by these small rent payments is too evident to require comment.

The significance of the situation at Lawrence is therefore

obvious. The class of wage-earners in Lawrence—recent immigrants, unable to speak English, of low standards of living, without industrial experience and unable to know proper working conditions—are the same as are found in all branches of mining and manufacturing in the United States. In brief, although the general level of wages is somewhat lower in Lawrence than in some other branches of manufacturing, the general conditions of life and work are the same. In other words, the status of the wage-earner and his family in Lawrence is typical of the so-called American wage-earner in general. As a consequence, the question as to what we are going to do about the situation in Lawrence quickly resolves itself into the more general inquiry as to what we are going to do about the entire industrial situation. This is the significance of the whole matter. The Lawrence strike is settled, but unless more than local treatment is administered, it will rise again to vex us and a hundred similar instances will follow in its train. The public welfare as well as the condition of our industrial workers demands that measures be taken to prevent the development on a national scale of the conditions which have been characteristic of the strike of the Lawrence woolen and worsted mill operatives.

In order to point out remedial measures it is necessary to inquire into the causes of the industrial situation in which we find ourselves. They are not difficult to ascertain. The remarkable expansion of mining and manufacturing and the consequent demand for labor which have been characteristic of the past thirty years, have attracted to our industrial localities millions of untrained, inexperienced, non-English-speaking, illiterate, temporary immigrant wage-earners. The extraordinary inventions of machinery and mechanical processes during the same period of time have eliminated the elements of skill formerly required of industrial workers and have made possible the extensive employment of this cheap, alien labor supply from the south and east of Europe and the Orient. With the influx of this new labor force, conditions of employment have deteriorated, labor organizations of the original employees have been inundated and disrupted, and the native Americans and older immigrant employees from Great Britain and northern Europe, finding themselves unable to compete with the low standards and the rates of

payment acceptable to the recent immigrant workmen, have segregated themselves into certain occupations or have sought other employment. The greater number have now been displaced, and the immigrant workmen themselves, who a few years ago drove out the native Americans, are now finding it difficult to withstand the competition of the Syrian, the Turk, and members of other races of more recent arrival from their own countries or from the Orient. In other words, our industrial system has become saturated with an alien, unskilled labor force of low standards, which so far it has been found impossible to assimilate industrially, socially, or politically, and which has broken down American standards of work and compensation.

The obvious solution consists in imposing a check upon a further addition to this labor-supply until those who are already at work in our mines and mills can be absorbed and elevated to a point where they will demand proper wages and working conditions. If the alien influx is permitted to continue it will mean a further degradation of the industrial worker and the intensifying of the conditions of unrest and dissatisfaction which offer such fruitful ground to the Socialist and other revolutionary and radical propagandists. McKees Rock and Lawrence are object-lessons in this respect. We shall do well if we heed their teachings. A temporary restriction of immigration would not imply any racial discrimination or deviation from our traditional policy of offering an asylum to those who are politically or religiously oppressed.

Whether we have a restriction of immigration or not, we must educate and assimilate the recent immigrants who are already resident in our cities and towns and who are workers in our mines and industrial plants. The astounding fact in connection with the presence of a large immigrant population in all of our industrial communities has been the complete indifference of the native Americans to its existence. This attitude must be changed. Every possible agency must be brought to bear upon the effort to Americanize the alien. There is almost an unlimited field for service, and the recent immigrant will be found to be quickly reponsive, and unless something is done the violence and anarchy which have already occurred are only an earnest of what we may expect in the future.

W. Jett Lauck.

# THE SENATE AMENDMENTS TO THE ARBITRATION TREATIES

BY AUGUSTUS O. BACON, U. S. SENATOR

THERE is no sentiment more universally entertained by the American people than that which favors peace among the nations and opposes war. It is in consequence no wonder that there was a general public expression in favor of the ratification of the recently proposed arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France so soon as it became known that these treaties had been negotiated by the President and had been transmitted by him to the Senate for its advice and consent. It is safe to say that this general demand for their ratification was based upon the confident belief that they were essential to provide the means, through international arbitration, for preventing war. The wide appeal which the advocates of these treaties made to the public sentiment was apparently based upon this assumption. No effort was made to inform the public of the present existence of the arbitration treaties already in force, which will be hereinafter mentioned, nor was there any attempt to indicate wherein the proposed treaties were more desirable or efficacious than these existing treaties; and there was a studious avoidance of a discussion of provisions in these proposed treaties which would endanger the public welfare and our vital interests and which were violative of the Constitution of the United States. It was sufficient for the purpose to laud peace and condemn war; and one is safely within the limits in the statement that ninety-nine out of a hundred of those who responded to these appeals in their laudable desire for peace had never read a line of these proposed treaties.

The urgency of the insistence so generally manifested for their ratification without any amendment can only be explained upon the existence of a wide-spread belief that

unless thus ratified there would be no existing treaties with these nations for the arbitration of international differences. The fact is, however, that there now exists the Hague Convention, which is a treaty between forty-five nations, including the United States and every other important nation of the earth, and also most of the lesser nations, providing the most elaborate machinery for the court of arbitration at The Hague, carefully and elaborately perfected in every detail, and open to them all for the peaceful arbitration of international differences. Not only so, but the United States have formally negotiated and made arbitration treaties with twenty-five nations, including in this number, with the exception of Germany only, all the important nations of the world, by which treaties it is solemnly agreed to submit for decision and settlement by this arbitration court at The Hague all the international differences embraced in the terms of these treaties which may arise between the United States and any one of these several twenty-five nations.

These general arbitration treaties are now in force between the United States and the following nations—*viz.*:

China, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, The Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Costa Rica, Haiti, Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil.

All of these treaties with the above-named nations are identical in terms, the one with the other. They were negotiated by Mr. Root when Secretary of State. They are short, plain, and comprehensive. The agreement for arbitration in each of these several existing treaties is embraced in the first article, which is as follows:

"Article I. Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two Contracting Parties and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of the 29th of July, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two Contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third Parties."

The second article in each of these twenty-five treaties provides the proceedings through which there shall be made effective the submission of said differences to the Permanent Court at The Hague.

For convenience the foregoing existing arbitration treaties will hereinafter be denominated as the Root treaties.

The proposed treaties with Great Britain and France are likewise identical in form, the one with the other. They were negotiated by the present Secretary of State, Mr. Knox. The agreement for arbitration in each of these two treaties is embraced in the first paragraph of the first Article and is as follows:

"Article I. All differences hereafter arising between the High Contracting Parties, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, relating to international matters in which the High Contracting Parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other arbitrable tribunal, as shall (may) be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organization of such tribunal if necessary, to define the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, the question or questions at issue, and settle the terms of reference and the procedure thereunder."

The second and third paragraphs of this first Article in each of these two treaties, as is done in the Root treaties, further provide the proceedings through which there shall be made effective the submission of said differences to the court of arbitration.

For convenience the foregoing two proposed treaties with Great Britain and France will hereinafter be designated as the Knox treaties.

A comparison of these two agreements to submit differences to arbitration, the one in the Root treaties and the other in the Knox treaties, does not disclose such vital difference in scope and in practical effect as to make it a matter of supreme importance that the latter should be substituted for the former. There may be grounds for difference of opinion as to which is the better form of agreement, but had the Senate entirely rejected these proposed treaties the failure to substitute the Knox agreement for arbitration as a substitute for the Root agreement for arbitration could not by any impartial mind be deemed a serious blow to the cause of international arbitration. There is well-founded basis for the contention that the Root form of agreement for arbitration as now found in these twenty-five existing treaties is the better of the two.

It is profitable to analyze these two forms of agreement for arbitration and determine wherein their differences consist.

1. In each of the twenty-five Root treaties it is agreed that the international differences shall be referred for settlement to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. In the two Knox treaties it is provided that these international differences shall be referred to this court at The Hague " or to some other tribunal " as may be decided by the parties in each case. This difference in the terms, respectively, of the Root and Knox agreements is inappreciable, and is unimportant in view of the fact that in case of any difference arising between the United States and any one of these twenty-five nations it would be perfectly competent, if desired, for the parties to agree to refer the same for settlement to some other tribunal than the Permanent Court at The Hague.

2. In each of the twenty-five existing Root treaties it is provided that, where diplomacy has been unable to adjust them, there shall be submitted to arbitration differences " of a legal nature or relating to interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties." In each of the two proposed Knox treaties it is provided that where diplomacy has been unable to adjust them there shall be submitted to arbitration differences " relating to international matters in which the high contracting parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity."

There is room for question whether in the field of international jurisprudence, the simple phrase " differences of a legal nature " which is found in each of these twenty-five Root treaties, is not the full equivalent of the more elaborate designation which is found in the above quotation from the proposed Knox treaties. Indeed, unless the words " by virtue of a claim of right " are surplusage, the designation of the subject of arbitration as those " of a legal nature " is the broader of the two, as it is not limited by this qualification. The phrase " of a legal nature " possesses the twin virtues of simplicity and comprehensiveness, to which may be added as well that of brevity. The designation of the subjects of arbitration as found in the above quotation

from the proposed Knox treaties would furnish a rich and inviting field for the discussions of the casuist and the hair-splitter.

3. The Root treaties add to the agreement to arbitrate "differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties" the proviso "that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two Contracting States." The Knox treaties in the agreement to arbitrate differences "which are justiciable in their nature, etc.," do not contain this proviso.

The omission of this proviso from the Knox treaties is esteemed by many as the important advance made in them in the cause of international arbitration, in that, as it is claimed by them, the field of arbitration is thereby broadened. But in reply to that contention it is to be noted that when there was pointed out the intolerable danger of an irrevocable treaty agreement to submit to arbitration with a foreign power all differences which might hereafter arise affecting the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the United States, the advocates of these treaties replied and urged most strenuously that the terms of the agreement to arbitrate as expressed in the Knox treaties could not be construed to embrace any differences of this character. It was most resolutely contended by them that no differences affecting the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the United States could be "justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity"; and particularly was it urged that no "claim of right" against the United States could be made by a foreign power regarding differences of this nature; and that without "a claim of right" there could be no demand upon the United States for arbitration. An examination of extended debates in the Senate on the subject of these proposed treaties will abundantly establish the correctness of this statement. Senator McCumber, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and one of the most earnest advocates of the ratification of the Knox treaties, said specifically, that which was in debate stated generally or by necessary implication by practically all other advocates thereof, that under the Knox treaties nothing could be submitted for arbitration that could not now be submitted under existing treaties.

So that, judged by the construction put upon it by the

advocates of the Knox treaties, the omission in them of the proviso found in the Root treaties does not broaden the scope of the arbitration agreement found in the former.

But whatever differences of opinion there may be in regard to that part of the treaties defining the scope of the agreement to arbitrate, as found respectively in the Root and the Knox treaties, the Senate did not amend that part of the proposed treaties with Great Britain and France, but, giving to it the benefit of the doubt, accepted and ratified in its entirety that part of these treaties found in the first paragraph of Article I. which is hereinbefore quoted, the only change made being to substitute the word "shall" for the word "may" for the purpose of correcting a manifest verbal error.

With this slight correction of a verbal error the Senate agreed not only to the paragraph which has been analyzed, but consented to the ratification of these treaties with only two changes by two amendments which it is important to note accurately, one of them being to the text of a subsequent part of each treaty and the other being engrafted on the resolution of ratification.

It has been so widely and generally represented that the amendments adopted by the Senate had so emasculated these treaties as to render them of no value, that to properly show the inaccuracy of this representation it is important through the foregoing narration to clearly indicate what parts of these treaties have been left unamended, and further to state definitely what amendments were adopted and the effect thereof.

The amendment to the text above referred to consists in striking out the third paragraph of Article III. hereinafter quoted. The nature of this paragraph and its relation to a similar article in the Hague Convention it is necessary to explain.

In the Hague Convention, agreed to by forty-five nations, there is a provision for the international Commission of Inquiry, the duty of which is, in case of international disputes,

> "to facilitate a solution of these disputes by elucidating the facts by means of an impartial and conscientious investigation."

In defining the duties and powers of this commission in the Hague Convention it is provided as follows:

"The Report of the Commission is limited to a statement of facts, and has in no way the character of an Award. It leaves the parties entire freedom as to the effect to be given to the Statement."

The Knox treaties in Article II. each creates a similar "Commission of Inquiry," to be composed of three members of each party to the dispute, "or the commission may be otherwise constituted in any particular case by the terms of the conference."

Article III. of these proposed treaties defining the duties and powers of this commission is as follows:

"Article III. The Joint High Commission of Inquiry, instituted in each case as provided for in Article II., is authorized to examine into and report upon the particular questions or matters referred to it, for the purpose of facilitating the solution of disputes by elucidating the facts, and to define the issues presented by such questions, and also to include in its report such recommendations and conclusions as may be appropriate.

"The reports of the Commission shall not be regarded as decisions of the questions or matters so submitted either on the facts or on the law, and shall in no way have the character of an arbitral award.

"It is further agreed, however, that in cases in which the Parties disagree as to whether or not a difference is subject to arbitration under Article I. of this Treaty, that question shall be submitted to the Joint High Commission of Inquiry; and if all or all but one of the members of the Commission agree and report that such difference is within the scope of Article I., it shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty."

The first two paragraphs of this Article are evidently taken from the corresponding Article of the Hague Convention above quoted. The third paragraph of this Article is, however, entirely new and is unlike any other treaty ever proposed or made by the United States or by any other nation. If construed according to the plain meaning of the words taken in connection with the context, the purpose of the third paragraph is that the United States shall be bound by the decision of this Court of Inquiry to submit to arbitration a given question of difference even though in the opinion of the President, or of the Senate, or of both, it is not a proper matter to be left to the decision of the Court of Arbitration. Under this construction, in case the Senate should determine, in the exercise of its constitutional function and duty, that a given question of difference did not fall within the terms of the treaty, or was one so vitally concerning the people of the United States that it could not be safely left to the decision of a court of arbitration, the

judgment of the Senate in that regard would not be final. On the contrary, it would under this construction of this paragraph be referred to this Commission of Inquiry, which might be composed entirely of foreigners, and if this Commission determined that it was a matter which should be arbitrated the Senate would be bound by the plighted faith of our Government to agree to the necessary treaty of arbitration, although the Senators under their oaths and their consciences should be of opinion that it was dangerous to the interest of the country to make such a treaty of arbitration in that particular case. In other words, the judgment of an outside commission would be substituted for the judgment of the Senate. How utterly in violation of the Constitution this would be is emphasized by the requirement of that instrument not only that the consent of the Senate shall be necessary to the making of the treaty, but that the consent of two-thirds of the Senate shall be necessary. The framers of the Constitution were unwilling that the consent of a majority only of the Senate should be sufficient to make a treaty, but the framers of these treaties, if this construction be correct, are willing that an unknown outside commission, composed possibly of foreigners, shall determine in the place of two-thirds of the Senate, and even against the judgment of the Senate, as to the making of treaties relating to subjects involving the most vital interests of the country, some of which are now known, but many of which cannot be anticipated, although certain to arise in the future.

The vesting of the treaty-making power in part in the Senate is one of the gravest features of our Constitution and one of the most important to be guarded and preserved. A statute law enacted by Congress is declared by the Constitution to be the supreme law of the land. A treaty under the Constitution is also declared by that instrument to be the supreme law of the land. A treaty, made with the advice and consent of the Senate, is of equal dignity with an Act of Congress. It is not open to argument that the provisions of the Constitution relative to the manner and authority in and by which treaties shall be made are as imperative and as important to be guarded and preserved as are those other provisions of the Constitution prescribing the manner and authority in and by which statutory law shall be enacted.

In the Convention which framed the Constitution there was never a contemplation that treaties should be made without the full participation of the Senate. On the contrary, the original draft of the Constitution reported by the Committee to the Convention vested the treaty-making power in the Senate alone. It was only in the closing days of the Convention that the suggestion was made by Mr. Madison and adopted that the President should have the initiative in the negotiation of treaties, the change having evidently been made in consideration of convenience; but the provision was most carefully guarded that the mighty power of making treaties with foreign nations should only be exercised with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senators present.

In refusing to permit a part of the treaty-making power to be delegated to an outside commission, the Senate is but guarding inviolate a vital and fundamental provision of the Constitution. To do otherwise would be to trifle with its duty.

In providing that the consent of two-thirds of the Senate shall be necessary to the making of a treaty, the plain purpose and intent was that that consent should be given to each and every part of a treaty. If a part of a treaty can be excepted from that requirement, then can also be another part, and there is no point in a proposed treaty at which the line could be drawn. This proposition appears to be too plain to require argument to sustain it. Accepting this as the rule, the fact is apparent that whenever it is proposed to submit an international dispute to arbitration, the decision of the question, "Is this a proper subject-matter or controversy to submit to arbitration?" is not only a part of it, but it is the vital thing to be decided in agreeing or consenting to the making of a treaty of arbitration relative thereto. It is in every proposed treaty of arbitration not only a vital, but it is necessarily the controlling question, the decision of which determines whether the Senate will, in exercising its constitutional function, consent to the proposed treaty or whether the Senate will reject it.

For instance, in 1895, when we intervened in behalf of Venezuela in her controversy with Great Britain regarding a portion of territory claimed by each, we based our action on the right we claimed to interfere under the Monroe Doctrine. If this proposed treaty had then been in force, England could have claimed the right to the arbitration of

our right to interfere in that controversy. Under the terms of the proposed treaty, if then existing, it would, upon our objecting, have been within the power of an outside commission to determine for the Senate that the Monroe Doctrine, and the right to assert it by the United States, constituted a proper subject-matter of arbitration under the terms of the treaty; and with such decision by this outside commission the Senate would have been bound to consent to a treaty submitting that question to arbitration, and would have violated the plighted faith of the United States if it had refused to consent to such treaty of arbitration under such a demand from Great Britain.

The main question for the Senate, when such a treaty of arbitration involving the Monroe Doctrine was proposed, would have been, "Will the Senate consent to submit this to arbitration?" Under the Knox treaties if the Senate said "No," that question of consent, which under the Constitution devolves upon the Senate, would have been decided by the outside commission.

Further illustrations, in case similar treaties are made with other nations, could be made regarding questions which relate to the control of the immigration of those, Asiatics or others, who are undesirable to us; to the right of Asiatics to enter our schools in the several States; to the integrity of the territory of the United States or of any one of the States; to our control within certain limitations of the affairs of Cuba, including our prohibition of the grant of any naval base on the island to any other nation; to our fortification of the Panama Canal; to the objection we should urge if any great power should seek a naval or military base within our sphere which would in any way be a menace to our peace and safety; and to many other questions, existing and hereafter to develop, vital to us as a people. In each of these and kindred cases whenever a proposition of arbitration is submitted to the Senate, the final determination of consent or refusal to consent to make the treaty of arbitration belongs to the Senate and to it alone. It cannot be delegated to another body, whether that be an outside commission or otherwise constituted. This was the view taken by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations who recommended to the Senate in a forceful report that the third paragraph of the third Article above quoted be stricken from the proposed treaties. In so doing the committee said:

"This recommendation is made because there can be no question that through the machinery of the joint commission, as provided in Articles II. and III. and with the last clause of Article III. included, the Senate is deprived of its constitutional power to pass upon all questions involved in any treaty submitted to it in accordance with the Constitution. The Committee believes that it would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States to confer upon an outside Commission powers which under the Constitution devolve upon the Senate."

And again the committee say in the same report:

"To take away from the Senate the determination of the most important question in a proposed treaty of arbitration is necessarily in violation of the treaty provisions of the Constitution. The most vital question in every proposed arbitration is whether the difference is arbitrable."

The position of the Committee on Foreign Relations was in this contention so unassailable that the advocates of the treaty who opposed any amendment to its text took refuge in the contention that the third paragraph of the third Article did not in any manner abridge the constitutional powers of the Senate, and that after a decision by the outside commission that the matter in difference is arbitrable under the treaty, the Senate would be under no obligation to submit it to arbitration in conformity with such decision. It is difficult to find any reasoning upon which such construction can rest, as the language of the third paragraph of the third Article with the context seems to plainly indicate the contrary intention. If it means that the decision of the commission imposes no obligation on the Senate, it is surplusage and practically means nothing.

Senators were unwilling that the power should be left as expressed in the paragraph even though the advocates of the treaties construed that language to mean other than what it plainly imported. This construction by the advocates of the unamended treaties would not be binding upon the nations with whom we contracted these treaty obligations. Courts do not construe a statute by inquiring of the legislators what they intended in the use of the language they employed in the enactment of the laws.

Believing that the third paragraph of the third Article of the Knox treaties, in its delegation of the power of the Senate to an outside commission, was in violation of the Constitution and that as well such delegation was unwise and dangerous, the Senate struck it out in the proposed treaties both with Great Britain and with France.

There are many vital questions, it will be generally admitted, that the United States would not submit to the final determination of others; and it is worse than unwise to solemnly enter into obligations to do so which it is well known we would not recognize and observe when the occasion arose. It is no reply to say that questions of this class are not included in the terms of the proposed treaties. These treaties do not leave us as the judges whether a given difference between the nations presents a question to be submitted to arbitration. If we should think it not arbitrable under the treaty, and the other nation should contend that it is arbitrable, by the terms of the third paragraph of the third Article found in each treaty the outside commission would have the final determination whether it was or was not arbitrable.

It is proper and desirable that there shall be general treaties of arbitration and that the agreement to arbitrate shall be as comprehensive of the classes of international differences to be submitted to peaceful arbitration as is consistent with our welfare and safety; but the President and the Senate, constituting the treaty-making power under the Constitution, can be the only constitutional authority to determine, when an international difference arises, whether it falls within the terms of the treaty and should, in consequence, be submitted to arbitration in accordance therewith. And when the President and the Senate so decide and agree to submit that difference to arbitration, the award of the court of arbitration thus legally authorized should be abided by and performed though the heavens fall.

The contention that the Senate had, by amendment, so mangled the proposed treaties as to emasculate and practically destroy them cannot withstand the test of examination. Besides the correction of the verbal error already mentioned the Senate made but two amendments. There was but one amendment made to the text of the treaties, and that was to strike out the third paragraph of the third Article which has been under discussion. Every other part of the text of the treaties is left untouched. The contention that the striking out of this third paragraph had emasculated the treaties and destroyed their value can only be supported by showing that that paragraph is of vital importance to the treaties. Unfortunately, with scarcely an exception, every advocate of the unamended treaties differs from every

other advocate thereof as to the meaning and effect of this paragraph. Without this third paragraph the Commission of Inquiry still remains with its powers to make examinations and report findings of fact and law with recommendations thereon. This third paragraph could only be vital to the treaty in case the purpose of the treaty was to coerce the Senate to unwillingly submit a given matter to arbitration, and this third paragraph was the means devised for that coercion. There is no other vital function that can be ascribed to this third paragraph, and if it has no such vital function its elimination cannot result in the practical destruction of the treaty. Its advocates in America generally and with scarcely an exception, while differing in other particulars, contend that the third paragraph gives no such power. If the foreign nations intended that this third paragraph should perform this function, and now discard the proposed treaties because by the elimination of the paragraph that intention is defeated, no better argument could be advanced in support of the Senate's action in striking out that paragraph.

Until there is pointed out what vital function this third paragraph was intended to perform, and how its elimination has destroyed or practically impaired the remaining parts of these treaties, their abandonment must find other grounds on which to rest; for it must be conceded that unless the finding of the outside commission, as provided in that third paragraph, would be binding on the Senate, the treaties are as far-reaching and effective without that paragraph as they are with it included.

Other than the verbal correction and the striking out of the third paragraph of the third Article, the Committee on Foreign Relations recommended to the Senate no change or amendment. If the advocates of the treaties had been content with them thus amended, there would have been no contention and they would have been agreed to by the Senate with practical unanimity. But in the very earnest discussion which followed the opposition to the proposed amendment, the dangers pointed out in regard to the compulsory arbitration of certain differences which might arise were so manifest that the Senate by the decisive vote of 46 to 36 engrafted upon the resolution of ratification in the case of each treaty that it would not

"authorize the submission to arbitration of any question which affects the

admission of aliens into the United States, or the admission of aliens to the educational institutions of the several States, or the territorial integrity of the several States, or of the United States, or concerning the question of the alleged indebtedness or monied obligation of any State of the United States, or any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe Doctrine, or other purely governmental policy."

These are subjects which vitally concern our welfare and safety. It can be conceived that occasion may occur when we would be willing to submit to arbitration international differences which may arise as to some of them; but there is no one of them which we would be willing to bind ourselves in advance to arbitrate, regardless of circumstances which may attend when the particular question is presented for determination.

It is to be further remarked that without exception the advocates of the unamended treaties contended most ardently that the terms of these treaties do not embrace differences as to any of these subjects included in the amendment. If so, the expression of their exclusion has in no wise destroyed or weakened these treaties.

Should these Knox treaties not be finally concluded and proclaimed, the cause of peaceful arbitration of international differences will not be endangered. In the first place, the twenty-five Root treaties make provision for the peaceful arbitration of every question that it is at all probable the United States will submit to arbitration. And should a special occasion arise not covered by the Root treaties, there is no reason to fear that in every proper case a special arbitration treaty will be made to meet that case. The fact that we have heretofore made seventy-four arbitration treaties with other nations is abundant guarantee that such will be done when the occasion demands. In the long years only one case suggests itself in which we have refused an arbitration which in the opinion of many should have been granted, and that case, among so many, is an illustration of the meaning of the adage that the exception proves the rule.

AUGUSTUS O. BACON.

# PROTECTION OF AMERICAN COMMERCE AND CAPITAL ABROAD

BY JOHN BALL OSBORNE

THE vast extent of the present commercial and financial interests of American citizens in foreign countries is a matter of common knowledge and national pride. But the means available to the Government of the United States for the protection of these various interests against injustice is not so well known. From time to time, however, when instances of discrimination or other injurious treatment by a foreign government arise the ways and means of adequately meeting the situation by reprisals or otherwise, become a matter of serious concern. This was the case early in 1910 at the time of the threatened tariff war first with Germany and then with France, prior to the tariff settlements with those countries; and again, more recently, in connection with the discussion of the effects on American business interests of the German Potash Law of 1910.

It is well to consider briefly the extent of the stake. For the first time in our history the exports of American products to foreign countries exceeded, in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911, a valuation of $2,000,000,000. The proportion of manufactured goods in this export trade is steadily increasing, which means that the volume of American products requiring protection against tariff discrimination in foreign markets is expanding, inasmuch as it is against our factory goods that such discrimination is generally practised. Raw materials such as cotton, copper, petroleum, and grains are, almost invariably, either exempt from duty or subject to non-differential rates, since they are required to meet the manufacturing needs of the importing countries. Excepting in a few countries where

agrarian influences dominate the commercial policy, the same consideration applies to our foodstuffs other than grain. The foreign nations rarely impose unusual burdens upon the imports of these products, for by so doing they injure themselves. Our manufactures, on the other hand, compete usually with domestic manufactures, as well as with those of other origins, so that discriminatory tariff treatment operates merely to draw the required importations more largely from the commercial rivals of the United States.

On the basis of the detailed figures of our exports for the fiscal year 1910, manufactured goods—that is, those ready for consumption and those for further use in manufacturing — constituted forty-five per cent. of the total; to which might be added fifteen per cent. for foodstuffs partly or wholly manufactured, making sixty per cent. On the basis of the exports for the fiscal year 1911, this means that American exports to the value of about $1,200,000,000 are peculiarly susceptible to discriminatory treatment and need the vigilant protection of the United States Government, while the remaining forty per cent., being composed of crude materials for use in manufacturing and foodstuffs in crude condition and food animals, are not so vulnerable, because the importing countries consult their own economic interests and admit them free of duty or on reasonable terms and without discrimination. There are, of course, a few exceptions to this rule.

Europe is the trade region where the great bulk of our exports go, and hence our solicitude as to tariff conditions in the various European countries is especially great. In 1910 the distribution of our exports throughout the world was as follows: to Europe 65.10 per cent.; North America 22.09 per cent.; South America 5.34 per cent.; Asia 3.49 per cent.; Oceania 2.92 per cent., and Africa 1.06 per cent.

The American merchant marine engaged in the foreign carrying trade, of course, requires the protection of our Government, as well as American commerce; but, unfortunately, these interests are not extensive. In 1910 American vessels carried only 8.7 per cent. of the combined exports and imports of the United States, the percentage of the former being 7.5 per cent. and the latter 10 per cent.

Almost equally important with the commercial interests, from the standpoint of our present inquiry, is the extent of

what we may term the extra-territorial investments of American capital—that is, the investments of the capital of American citizens in foreign countries. Twenty years ago I doubt whether there was, all told, more than $500,000,000 of American money invested outside the United States. At the present time the total is about $2,000,000,000, distributed by countries somewhat as follows:

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|---|---|---|
| North America: | | |
| Dominion of Canada | $400,000,000 | |
| Mexico | 800,000,000 | |
| Cuba | 220,000,000 | |
| Haiti and Dominican Republic | 7,500,000 | |
| Costa Rica | 7,000,000 | |
| Guatemala | 20,000,000 | |
| Honduras | 3,000,000 | |
| Nicaragua | 2,500,000 | |
| Panama | 5,000,000 | |
| Salvador | 2,500,000 | |
| | | $1,467,500,000 |
| South America: | | |
| Argentine Republic | $40,000,000 | |
| Bolivia | 10,000,000 | |
| Brazil | 50,000,000 | |
| Chile | 15,000,000 | |
| Colombia | 2,000,000 | |
| Ecuador | 10,000,000 | |
| British and Dutch Guianas | 5,000,000 | |
| Peru | 35,000,000 | |
| Uruguay | 5,000,000 | |
| Venezuela | 3,000,000 | |
| | | 175,000,000 |
| Europe | | 200,000,000 |
| Near East | | 10,000,000 |
| Far East and all other regions | | 50,000,000 |
| Grand total | | $1,902,500,000 |

In making up the foregoing estimates I have consulted the best authorities—for instance, in the case of the Latin-American countries, the Pan-American Union and Mr. Charles M. Pepper. The Canadian figure might seem rather high; but an agent of the British Board of Trade at Toronto recently made an itemized statement showing $417,000,000 American capital invested in the Dominion. The Cuban estimate is one made officially by Consul-General Rodgers of Havana.

Due account has been taken of the well-known fact that the nationality of a large amount of American capital invested abroad is not disclosed, being in foreign corporations

or foreign loans. There are cases where American citizens who own stock in foreign corporations are unwilling to make their holdings known for business reasons. On the other hand, there are numerous cases where the majority of the stock in a corporation chartered under the laws of one of the States of the Union is owned by aliens. The corporation is nominally American and yet substantially foreign. In several instances corporations of this character have invoked the protection of the United States Government, their legal right to do so being apparently well founded. This has occurred more often in South America than elsewhere. In the Latin-American countries bona fide American investments rarely fail to disclose their identity, while, as already intimated, the contrary policy is followed in Europe. For instance, the American ownership of the Sollstedt potash mine in Germany became generally known only when the validity of the American contracts became a diplomatic question.

Let us now see what means have been and remain available to the Government of the United States for the protection of the foreign commerce and extra-territorial financial investments of American citizens. A brief historical review will be useful as a background for the present practical phases of this important question.

The first instance of retaliatory action on the part of the United States was directed against France in 1798. In reprisal for the repeated seizures of American vessels by French privateers, as well as for insults against the envoys of the United States, Congress passed the Act of July 7, 1798, which abruptly abrogated all our treaties with France, including the commercial convention of 1778, which had regulated the trade relations between the two countries.

The persistent warfare by British vessels on American commerce in the early years of the nineteenth century was met by the Non-Importation Act of 1806, which prohibited the importation of such British manufactures as could be obtained elsewhere or produced in this country. This proved ineffectual. In retaliation for the English Orders in Council, as well as the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, Congress adopted the Embargo Act of December, 1807, which forbade all vessels to leave any American port for a foreign country. This being entirely too drastic and injurious to the United States, the Non-Intercourse Act of

1809 was passed, removing the barriers against trade intercourse with all countries excepting England and France.

In 1832 Spain imposed discriminating duties upon American vessels entering the ports of Cuba and Porto Rico. This Government retaliated against Spanish vessels in our ports, and it was not until 1884-1887 that a series of agreements between the two countries put an end to these restrictions.

Shortly after the termination of the fishery clauses of the Treaty of Washington, the Canadian authorities seized several American vessels engaged in the North Atlantic fisheries. Congress in 1887 provided the means of retaliation in an Act which authorized the President to forbid the entry of Canadian vessels in American ports. Happily there was no further occasion for bringing into operation the drastic powers of this law.

The most radical legislation, however, is contained in Section 5 of "an Act providing for an inspection of meats for exportation, prohibiting the importation of adulterated articles of food or drink, and authorizing the President to make proclamation in certain cases, and for other purposes," approved August 30, 1890. While some of the provisions of this law have been superseded by the Meat Inspection Law of June 30, 1906, Section 5 is regarded by eminent lawyers as still in force. It reads as follows:

"That whenever the President shall be satisfied that unjust discriminations are made by or under the authority of any foreign State against the importation to or sale in such foreign State of any product of the United States, he may direct that such products of such foreign State so discriminating against any product of the United States as he may deem proper shall be excluded from importation to the United States; and in such case he shall make proclamation of his direction in the premises, and therein name the time when such direction against importation shall take effect, and after such date the importation of the articles named in such proclamation shall be unlawful. The President may at any time revoke, modify, terminate, or renew any such direction as, in his opinion, the public interest may require."

It is no exaggeration to say that this is a tremendous weapon for retaliation; but, although there was undoubtedly serious tariff discrimination on the part of certain foreign countries against American commerce from 1890 to 1910, the club available to the President was too heavy to justify his using it in reprisals against the offending countries, for the absolute prohibition of importations is a bar-

barous method of commercial retaliation, belonging to the economic system of the Mercantilists.

Section 3 of the McKinley Tariff law of October 1, 1890, made a curious provision for tariff retaliation of limited scope. The free list of the Act included the articles sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, while Section 3 authorized the President to suspend by proclamation such free entry of any or all such articles when imported from countries imposing "duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides into the United States he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unreasonable," and instead to impose thereon certain duties specified in Section 3. As intended, this threat of retaliatory action acted as a strong incentive to several countries to make favorable reciprocal commercial arrangements with the United States, and several of the governments of South and Central America and the West Indies responded. Three countries, however, declined, when specially invited, to enter into reciprocity arrangements with the United States providing for improved tariff treatment of American products. These were Haiti, Venezuela, and Colombia. On March 15, 1892, President Harrison issued three proclamations suspending the free entry of sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides when imported from the countries mentioned, and declared those articles subject to the specified rates of duty. This is almost the only instance in recent years where the United States Government has actually retaliated against foreign governments for unjust tariff treatment of our exports. Section 3 of the Tariff of 1890 was virtually repealed by the Wilson Tariff of 1894.

The Dingley Tariff of July 24, 1897, contained, in the latter part of Section 3, a similar provision for the penalization of coffee, tea, and tonqua and vanilla beans, all of which, although on the free list of the tariff, were liable to certain specified duties when imported from a country which discriminated against the United States in tariff treatment. The duties on coffee and tea were to be three and ten cents per pound, respectively. This provision of the law was never utilized; nor was there any disposition to invoke it. It was terminated, of course, by the passage of the present tariff law.

The retaliatory provisions of the Payne-Aldrich law are

the most important that have ever been enacted by Congress. This tariff law gave the United States, for the first time in its history, a double tariff, of the maximum and minimum class. The double tariff features came into operation only on April 1, 1910, prior to which date the President had issued one hundred and thirty-four proclamations extending the benefits of the minimum tariff to all the countries of the world. The minimum tariff consists of the regular duties in Section 1 and the free list, while the maximum tariff consists of the rates of the minimum tariff plus twenty-five per cent. ad valorem, with the free list unchanged.

The minimum tariff having universal application, the potential severity of our maximum tariff is little understood. Just what it would mean if it were given universal application may be comprehended by a few figures. In the fiscal year 1910 the value of the dutiable imports into the United States from the world was $785,000,000, on which duties to the amount of $326,000,000 were collected under the minimum tariff. If the maximum tariff were applied it would mean an augmentation of the duties by twenty-five per cent. of $785,000,000, or $196,000,000, and this added to the duties actually collected would make the collections $522,000,000. The fallacy here, of course, is that if the maximum were applied no such valuation of imports would come to the United States. The present duties average, on the basis of dutiable imports alone, about forty-two per cent. The maximum would bring the average ad valorem up to sixty-seven per cent., which would kill a large part of our import trade.

Taking the case of Germany: Our dutiable imports from the Empire in 1910 amounted to about $112,000,000. The duties collected were in the neighborhood of $45,000,000. The maximum tariff would necessitate the collection of $28,000,000 additional, which would bring the collections to $73,000,000 on a valuation of $112,000,000. It is certain that the German products could not stand any such tariff treatment in our markets, particularly if the like products of other countries paid the minimum rates. There would be an extensive diversion of our established German trade, and Germany would be supplanted in our markets by her commercial rivals, particularly Great Britain and France.

The maximum tariff feature of the Payne-Aldrich Act has not only exercised a strong deterrent influence in pre-

venting undue discriminations against American commerce, but it has brought about the abandonment by several governments of discriminations previously practised against the United States. It was provided in the law that the double tariff provisions should become effective April 1, 1910. During the interval between August 6, 1909, when the Act went into effect, and April 1, 1910, the Department of State, with the aid of its foreign representatives and its tariff officers at Washington and with the co-operation of the Tariff Board appointed by the President, made a careful inquiry into the laws, decrees, and regulations of foreign governments affecting American commerce in all parts of the world, with a view to determining whether or not undue discrimination in any respect existed against the United States or its products. This inquiry involved extensive diplomatic negotiation between the Department and the representatives of the foreign governments at Washington. Many instances of undue discrimination were brought to the attention of the offending governments and suitable corrective measures were taken by them.

As a gratifying result of the tariff negotiations of the Department of State all instances of what may fairly be described as "*undue* discriminations" in tariff treatment against the commerce of the United States have been removed.

The beneficial results accomplished by the tariff negotiations above referred to may be briefly summarized as follows: Germany removed completely* her tariff discrimination against American products and applied her entire conventional tariff to the imports from the United States. She also admitted our pork products without requiring certificates showing microscopic inspection in the United States. Austria-Hungary made the same concession. France compromised by extending to the United States her minimum tariff on about seventy-five classes of articles imported from the United States that had not hitherto enjoyed the benefit of the lower schedule of duties. Greece reduced by one-half her duties on cotton-seed oil and lubricating oils. Canada reduced her general duties to the level of the intermediate rates in favor of thirteen important classes of imports from the United States of the same character as those enumerated in the Franco-Canadian reciprocity treaty. Brazil enlarged

* But see *infra* as to action taken by Germany, Dec. 1, 1911.

the list of American products entitled to a preferential tariff reduction on their importation. All the foregoing concessions represented actual improvement of conditions previously existing—in other words, better tariff treatment for American products aggregating in value at that time about $60,000,000, and at the present time about $75,000,000 per annum.

What is almost equally important, the United States obtained, in the course of these tariff settlements, formal guarantees on the part of the other foreign governments employing a dual tariff system that they recognize the principle of minimum for minimum and will continue to extend to the United States the benefit of their complete lowest tariffs in compensation for the minimum tariff of the United States. This was the principle underlying the tariff negotiations of 1909-1910. These governments included Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Japan, Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria.

Unfortunately, the maximum tariff of the Act of 1909 has failed to remove all instances of discrimination against American products. The remaining discriminations are limited to less than a dozen countries. Everywhere in Europe, excepting only in France and Roumania, and since December, 1911, in Germany, American exports enjoy complete tariff equality with the like products of the most-favored nation. France declined to recognize the principle of minimum for minimum, but in lieu thereof made some compensatory concessions to the United States for that portion of her minimum tariff which she withheld. Fortunately, the minimum rates granted to the United States cover the large majority of the articles of American production or manufacture actually entering into the export trade with France, so that in a total exportation to France of $125,000,000 about sixty-seven per cent. is on the free list; thirty per cent. is admitted to the minimum tariff, and the remaining three per cent. is subject to discrimination. Among the principal articles subject to this discriminatory treatment are the following: Live animals, most meat products, fish, dairy products, vegetables, chemical products, glass, china and earthenware, yarns, fabrics, embroideries and clothing, most boots and shoes, gloves, clocks and watches, many kinds of machines, electrical apparatus, boilers, stoves, iron and steel, manufactures of wood, and manufactures of rubber.

Roumania is another country where tariff discrimination is practised against the United States. On the ground that there is no commercial convention between the two countries, Roumania applies her entire general tariff to imports from the United States. Fortunately, on a majority of the comparatively few articles that are imported into Roumania from the United States, the rates of the general and conventional tariffs are the same.

Since December 1, 1911, when the new commercial treaties between Germany and Sweden and Japan, respectively, were put into effect, Germany has withheld from certain American products the benefits of the new conventional rates established by those treaties. The only important articles of American export to Germany affected by this action come under the German-Swedish treaty and include rubber footwear and drill-rods.

Two other forms of discrimination against American commerce are presented conspicuously in Europe—namely, excessive duties or other restrictions on edible cotton-seed oil and sanitary restrictions against American cattle and meats. Cotton-seed oil is the subject of discriminatory treatment of this kind in Austria-Hungary, where the duty amounts to twenty-eight cents per gallon, an absolutely prohibitive rate. In Italy a heavy manufacturing tax is imposed on the imported article in addition to the regular tax on vegetable oils. In Spain an excessive import duty is charged and denaturing is required. In Portugal importation of the edible product is practically prohibited.

The sanitary restrictions against American live cattle are quite general in northern Europe. The United Kingdom, Belgium, and Switzerland admit them for slaughter, but France and Germany do not, and even decline to permit their transportation in transit to Switzerland. Besides maintaining these restrictions against live cattle, Germany has an unusually stringent inspection system for American meat products. Canned meats and sausages are absolutely prohibited entry, while the regulations governing the importation of fresh meats are so strict that compliance with them is impracticable. The tariff negotiations to which I have already referred were ineffectual in bringing about the modification of this sanitary system so general in Europe.

In Belgium a curious discrimination exists in the form of the public tenders for the supply of the state railways with

lubricating oil. Year after year these tenders specify oil of Russian origin, thereby discriminating against an American oil-exporting concern that has repeatedly expressed its desire to bid.

The tariff concessions granted by the Dominion of Canada to France, in accordance with the provisions of the Franco-Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1907, were the subject of negotiation prior to the going into effect of our double tariff law. The United States, however, exports to Canada some articles which are still required to pay higher tariff duties than the like articles when imported into the Dominion from France.

Haiti withholds from the United States the benefit of certain reductions of duty made by her in favor of imports from France in a reciprocity treaty signed in 1907. Haiti made a similar treaty with Germany in 1909. A like case is presented in Salvador, where France, by reciprocity treaty, obtained certain tariff concessions in favor of some of her products, such as wines, soaps, and other toilet articles, the benefits of which Salvador declines to extend to the United States. Venezuela imposes a surtax of thirty per cent. ad valorem upon West-Indian imports, including those from Porto Rico, thereby discriminating against a part of the United States. The French colonial possessions, which use a modified form of the double tariff of France, discriminate more or less against American commerce in the application of that tariff. With the exception of Venezuela and French Guiana, there is no tariff discrimination against the United States in South America. Nor is there any in Asia or Africa worth mentioning, although there are neighborhood tariff relations which interfere with the development of American trade. Preferential tariff arrangements between colonies and their mother countries are not regarded as discriminations.

The instances of confiscatory, repressive, and discriminatory treatment of American financial investments in foreign countries are few and far between, and when they do arise there is invariably wide publicity given to the facts. The effect of the German Potash law of May 28, 1910, on the American-owned mine known as Sollstedt is a case in point, and so are the measures taken by the Austro-Hungarian Government against the Vacuum Oil Company, an American-owned concern doing business in that country.

Similar injustice against American enterprises has been, in isolated cases, practised by various governments of Latin America. There is no doubt that the Payne-Aldrich law fails completely to cover cases of this kind, since it relates exclusively to tariff matters. Hence there is urgent need of means of meeting foreign injustice of this kind by suitable reprisals.

Nearly all the foreign governments are adequately equipped to meet emergencies arising in the commercial relations of the country where discrimination is practised. All the double-tariff countries have, of course, the general or maximum tariff as the immediate remedy. As a rule, the rates of the maximum tariff average fifty per cent. higher than the rates of the minimum or conventional tariff, as the case may be.

In addition to the maximum tariff, however, there is usually provision for a penalty or war tariff. Several single-tariff countries have this means of retaliation. The Austro-Hungarian Government may impose a surtax up to two hundred per cent. of the regular duty, or the equivalent of the full value of the goods, and for goods on the free list a special duty up to one hundred per cent. ad valorem. The German Government may impose a surtax up to one hundred per cent. of the regular duties, or a surtax equivalent to the total value of the goods, and a duty of fifty per cent. ad valorem on goods on the free list; or the same duties as are applied to German goods in the country of origin. The French Government has the same penalty tariff provisions as Germany. The Italian Government may increase the duties up to fifty per cent. of the duties of the general tariff and impose an ad valorem duty up to twenty-five per cent. on goods on the free list. The Belgian Government may impose fifty per cent. additional to the regular duties and upon goods upon the free list fifteen per cent. ad valorem or an equivalent specific duty. Denmark has provision for a surtax up to forty per cent. of the regular duties, with ten per cent. ad valorem on goods on the free list, but these penal provisions may be applied for a period not to exceed forty weeks. The Spanish Government, in addition to the maximum tariff, may impose such surtaxes as it deems proper. The Canadian Government is authorized to impose a surtax amounting to one-third of the duties of the general tariff. The Japanese Government may apply a surtax not exceed-

ing the regular duties and for goods on the free list not to exceed fifty per cent. ad valorem. Russia, Switzerland, the Balkan States, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic also have effective penalty tariffs.

In order to supply the defects of our present penalty tariff legislation, and particularly to make it comprehend instances of injustice practised against American financial investments abroad, Senator Curtis of Kansas introduced in the Senate, in the final session of the Sixty-first Congress, a bill to amend Section 5 of the Act of August 30, 1890, which I have already described. This bill, although nominally an amendment of the old Act of 1890, is, to all intents and purposes, an amendment of Section 2 of the Payne-Aldrich law and, by a strict construction of constitutional law, it would seem that it should be initiated in the House of Representatives, for the reason that it affects a bill to raise revenue. This point, however, does not detract from its intrinsic merits.

According to the Curtis bill, " whenever the President shall be satisfied that the government of any foreign state (1), by repressive, discriminatory, or confiscatory measures, jeopardizes, impairs, or destroys the capital of citizens of the United States legitimately invested in such foreign state; or (2) makes undue discriminations or gives relative treatment not equivalently favorable, adversely affecting the importation into or sale in such foreign state of any product of the United States; or (3) imposes, by law or by administrative measures, exactions, regulations, or limitations restrictive of or harmful or amounting to relative treatment not equivalently favorable to the commerce of the United States with such foreign state, with respect to the imports into or exports from such state," he may direct, by proclamation effective ninety days after its date, the following action:

(1) The imposition on imports of all or such dutiable products of the offending state as he may deem proper of such increased ad valorem rates of duty, not less than five per cent. nor more than twenty-five per cent., as he shall determine are equivalent to the injury inflicted upon American capital or commerce; or

(2) The imposition of the like ad valorem rates of duty upon importations of all or such duty-free products of such foreign state as he may deem proper; or

(3) The imposition of the like ad valorem rates upon both dutiable and duty-free importations; or

(4) In what the President shall be satisfied are extreme cases of undue discrimination and unjust treatment of the commercial or financial interests of citizens of the United States on the part of such foreign state, the complete exclusion from importation to the United States of such products of the offending state as he may deem proper. All articles imported contrary to the Act are subject to forfeiture to the United States.

This bill would, if enacted into law, meet all possible emergencies confronting the commerce and foreign business interests of American citizens. It would correct three great defects in the present legislation at the command of the President. Firstly, it would apply to goods now on our free list and thus bring within the scope of the maximum tariff the importations from the countries of Latin America, including those which now discriminate against us largely because they have no fear of a maximum tariff. About ninety-six per cent. of our importations from Central America are on the free list, and the percentage in the case of Haiti is even larger. Secondly, it would afford an effective remedy for unjust treatment of the financial investments of the United States in foreign countries. Thirdly, it would give a graduated scale of punishment commensurate with and equivalent to the injury inflicted upon American commerce or capital. No one will deny that the existing legislation is sufficiently drastic; but there is a general feeling that it suggests a situation where capital punishment is provided for all the crimes in the calendar.

There may be a difference of opinion as to the merits of the Curtis bill; but these differences can scarcely be drawn on party lines, for this is in no sense a partisan question, but a broad question of patriotism and national dignity. Democrats and Republicans alike are desirous of seeing the dignity and prestige of the United States upheld in foreign countries, and no one will dispute that the President of the United States should be furnished with adequate authority and practical means of protecting the commercial and financial interests of American citizens in foreign countries.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

# THE LIFE AND WORK OF CLARA BARTON

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

On April 12th there passed away at the age of ninety-one one who is justly entitled to an honored place among America's great women—Clara Barton, founder of the Red Cross in the United States. All her life after she reached maturity was a preparation for this, its crowning achievement, and biographical history has no more eloquent record of self-sacrifice, courage, and devotion to noble causes than that of this brave, tender, and true woman.

Clara Barton was a Christmas gift, in 1821, to her parents, Captain Stephen and Dolly (Stone) Barton, who resided in North Oxford, Massachusetts. She came of "fighting stock," for her father was a valiant soldier under "Mad Anthony" Wayne in 1812, just a century ago, and her maternal grandfather was one of the heroes of Bennington in the Revolutionary War. It is a beautiful antithesis that, while the ancestors helped to carry on war, their descendant gave her life to mitigating its horrors. Girls had few opportunities for education eighty years ago, but she made the best of these, and at sixteen was herself a teacher. She was ambitious, however, and carefully saved her small earnings until she had enough to take a course at Clinton, New Jersey, which had one of the best seminaries of that time for young women. Going from here to Hightstown, New Jersey, she taught for some time with much success in a private school. Later she went to Bordentown, and in the face of much opposition carried out a cherished plan of founding a free public school, which was almost the first in that State. In one year she saw it increase from six to six hundred pupils and secured the building of a new school-house costing four thousand dollars.

After a few years Miss Barton's health, never very robust, suffered under the strain, and in 1854 she went to Washington to find a milder climate. At this time there was much confusion in the United States Patent Office; clerks had betrayed the secrets of inventors and there was a general lack of confidence. The Commissioner of Patents, who knew Miss Barton personally, persuaded her to take the position of confidential secretary. She was the first woman publicly employed in a government department, and the male clerks were highly indignant. They were rude and insubordinate, insulted and slandered her, and tried in every way to drive her out of the office, but they did not know her firm and dauntless spirit. With remarkable executive ability she brought order out of chaos, and eventually raised the standard of honor and loyalty in the department to a point it had never before attained. The Republican party came into power about this time, and the antislavery question was growing very acute. Miss Barton, a Massachusetts woman, naturally felt a strong interest in this new party, which she did not hesitate to express, and for this she was discharged from her position by President Buchanan, but her services had become so necessary that finally she was recalled.

At last, in 1861, the Civil War began and Miss Barton's sole thought became, "How can I best serve my country?" The first wounded soldiers, forty men of the Sixth Massachusetts Volunteers, injured in the Baltimore attack of April 19th, were brought to Washington, and she hastened to their relief. She saw at once the great need of woman's help in nursing, feeding, and caring for the sick and wounded, and from that moment she consecrated herself to this work as long as the war should last. Women never had been permitted in hospitals, camps, or on battle-fields, and officials, military and civil, declined her services, really not knowing how to accept them. In her own unequaled manner she succeeded in gaining the confidence of the commanding officers, and finally made her way to the front, where the situation was terrible. As soon as it was known she was there supplies sent to her care poured into Washington, first from her own State and then from many others. Her wonderful work under the most distressing conditions in a short time gained for her the name "Angel of the Battle-field." By her quiet self-reliance and her prompt decision she obtained so large and complete a recognition that camp and hospital

supplies, a corps of assistants, and even military trains were placed at her service. During the four years of the war she was present on sixteen battle-fields, including those of Cedar Mountain, Fort Wagner, Petersburg, the second Bull Run, the Wilderness, and Antietam, for a long time in the hospitals about Richmond, and eight months at the siege of Charleston. She was always calm, cheerful, well poised, and philosophical, but strict, firm, and unflinching in maintaining authority.

The close of the war did not end Miss Barton's labors. During the long years of its excitement and confusion many of the soldiers who died in the battles and the prisons had been placed in unmarked graves. Thousands of agonized letters from distracted relatives flooded the War Department, but as it had no information to give they remained unanswered. This situation aroused in Miss Barton not only a feeling of deepest pity, but a sense of great injustice that men had been called by their Government, patriotically given up by their families, and then no response made to the inquiry as to what it had done with them. Of these 80,000 were on the rolls simply as "missing." Miss Barton carried personally to President Lincoln her request that she might be allowed to receive and reply officially to these letters. He answered by announcing to the country that she would do this and directing that all such correspondence be addressed to her. This resulted in what is known historically as "The Search for the Missing Men."

A bureau was at once established by Miss Barton and lists were carefully compiled from the hospital and prison rolls. Among the most noted of these prisons was that at Andersonville, Georgia, where 13,000 died in one year. The keeping of the daily record of the dead had been assigned by the Confederate authorities to a young Union prisoner, Dorance Atwiler, of Connecticut, who had been wise enough to preserve a copy of these records on scraps of paper which he had managed to secure, and these were of invaluable assistance. As the bodies had been placed in shallow trenches, it was necessary that the work of disinterment and identification should be done before the fall rains began. Secretary Stanton detailed a force of men to accompany her, and on a little steamer loaded with head-markers Miss Barton set out for Andersonville. Here she spent the hot summer of 1865, living in a tent, and, under her supervision,

13,000 bodies were located and each placed in a grave four feet deep with a marker at the head. And then 400 graves of the Confederate dead were also carefully marked. In describing this work a few years ago at a patriotic gathering Miss Barton said: "When all was finished I pulled the rope which raised the Stars and Stripes above the place for the first time—and I never have seen Andersonville since!"

For four years, in the seasons when the weather permitted, Miss Barton continued this most trying task, and by her skill in following clues she located and marked the graves of over 20,000 Union soldiers, whose last resting-place, but for her brave and devoted service, would have forever remained unknown. For this she did not hesitate to use her own private funds, as there were no others available, and out of these she maintained an office in Washington and a force of twelve men. Finally Congress began to make some inquiries, and one day a delegation came to see her—Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs and afterward Vice-President; Colfax of Indiana, Speaker of the House; Senator Wade of Ohio; Senator Grimes of Iowa; and young Representative Allison, later the well-known Senator. They found Miss Barton surrounded by thousands of letters and records, conducting the work according to her own simple but accurate system. They learned that she had already expended $8,000 of her own money and had not yet reached the end of her great undertaking. As they realized what this quiet, unassuming woman had done and was doing they could not keep back the tears.

When the Thirty-seventh Congress assembled it passed the following resolution:

"*Whereas,* Miss Clara Barton has expended from her own resources large sums of money in endeavoring to discover missing soldiers of the U. S. Army, and in communicating intelligence to their relatives, therefore

"*Resolved,* by the Senate and House of Representatives that the sum of $15,000 be appropriated to reimburse Miss Barton and to aid in the further prosecution of the search; and that the printing necessary for the furtherance of this object shall be done by the public printer."

This, therefore, was not recompense for services, it was reimbursement for money expended by a private citizen for public uses. It was without solicitation on Miss Barton's

part, who never asked for remuneration and never desired pay for her work for humanity.

Miss Barton's fame had become national, and everywhere the people, whose hearts were filled with grateful appreciation, were so anxious to hear of her experiences that at last she engaged with a lecture bureau, and for three years, during the winter months, she spoke throughout the country. Hundreds of thousands came to listen, to weep, and to applaud. She was among the most highly paid lecturers of that time, including John B. Gough, Wendell Phillips, Mrs. Livermore, Mrs. Stanton, and others. Her profits enabled her to lay aside about $25,000, which she found very useful in her later work.

It is not surprising that by the autumn of 1869 Miss Barton was almost worn out. Her physicians, feeling that she never would cease work if she remained in this country, sent her to Europe for a complete rest. She went to Geneva, Switzerland, and from that visit dates the beginning of the Red Cross in the United States.

Ten years previous the agitation had begun for some means of mitigating the dreadful suffering of sick and wounded soldiers, as terrible a result of war as the actual deaths in battle. A book written by Henri Dunant, of Geneva, describing the awful conditions on the field of Solferino, had stirred the civilized world. Meetings were called, committees formed, conferences held, and finally a great convention was arranged to assemble in Geneva in 1864 to learn the results of the investigations made by humanitarians in many lands, and Switzerland officially invited all governments to send representatives. At this most important convocation, known as the "Convention of Geneva," almost every government was represented except the United States; but this country was then in the midst of one of the most fearful wars in history, which left no thought for occurrences in other parts of the world.

As a consensus of the wisdom and humanity of many nations ten articles of agreement were adopted to be known for all time as "The Treaty of Geneva for the Relief of Sick and Wounded Soldiers." Twelve governments affixed their official signatures to this document August 22, 1864. This treaty, to express it briefly, provides that all wounded or sick soldiers, all surgeons and nurses attending them, all hospitals and their supplies, shall be held neutral by both

armies and shall not be captured by either; that citizens properly authorized shall be permitted to go on the field of battle, carry provisions and other relief, and work as they would among suffering people elsewhere; that badly wounded men shall not be held as prisoners, but must be sent back to their own army; that inhabitants of the place where a battle is fought may bring help to the wounded without being molested, nor shall their homes be disturbed if such soldiers are being cared for in them; that injured soldiers must not be regarded as enemies, but all must be attended to alike.

As a distinguishing badge would be necessary, it was decided that out of compliment to Switzerland, the principal factor in creating this organization, her flag should be adopted with the colors reversed, and thus the red cross on a white field became the sign of the greatest humanitarian association the world has ever known. All other hospital flags were given up, and now any building over which it flies, any train or ambulance with this sign on its side, any doctor or nurse, any sick or wounded man with a Red Cross on the arm is absolutely sacred and must receive the protection of friends and foes alike. This badge can be issued only by the military authorities. Every army now is closely followed by the Red Cross with everything which long experience has shown will be needed when the emergency comes. Each country has its own central committee, and men and women work together, in some places men, in others women, taking the lead.

This, in brief, is the history of the Red Cross. In a few years practically every nation had its society with one exception; that was the United States! Why did this great, unselfish, charitable country, ahead of all others in humane practices, occupy this strange and anomalous position? The principal reason, as has been stated, was because when the society was organized it was in the throes of a long war and for years afterward was trying to recover from its effects. The proceedings of the Geneva convention were sent over here in a foreign language and in the stress and hurry of the time were not translated and published in the newspapers. In 1866 the Rev. Dr. Henry Bellows, who was at the head of the relief work during the war, endeavored to interest the Government, but failed. The feeling seemed to be that never again would there be a war in this country,

but, should one occur, it could organize sanitary commissions and other associations as had been done in the last conflict. After frequent efforts the International Committee became discouraged and made no further attempts to enlist the co-operation of the United States.

This was the situation when Clara Barton went to Geneva in September, 1869. She found her fame had preceded her and at once the International Committee of Geneva called on her to ask why her country had not entered the Red Cross. She told them that, like herself, the people were ignorant concerning it. They begged her to make herself acquainted with it, and as she continued her tour of Europe she studied its publications in French. The next summer she returned to Switzerland and was in Berne when war was declared between France and Germany. The International Committee urged her to go into the field and see the practical working of the Red Cross in time of war. Although she had by no means recovered her health, she could not resist this appeal, and she was present during nearly all the battles of this fiercely fought war — at Hagenau, Metz, Strasbourg, Belfort, Woerth, in the Baden hospitals, at Montbelard, and then through the long Siege of Paris and the dreadful days of the Commune. During these two years she saw in all its grandeur the beneficent work of the Red Cross and the Treaty of Geneva, and she pledged herself to the nations of Europe that she would devote the rest of her life, if necessary, to introducing and carrying forward this great institution in the United States.

Miss Barton, however, had to pay the penalty for overtaxing nature and for several years was an almost helpless invalid. She did not fully recover her strength until 1877, and then her first effort was to carry out her pledge. She presented to President Hayes an eloquent letter from President Moynier, of the International Committee, entreating that he would take the necessary steps to unite this country with the others in the sacred bonds of the Red Cross. It proved impossible to secure any action by this administration and she had to content herself with patient, tactful, and untiring measures to interest persons of influence and power. Soon after President Garfield's inauguration, in 1881, she again presented her beloved cause, and he received it and her with much cordiality. He urged its favorable consideration by Sercetary of State James G. Blaine, who opened

a correspondence with the International Committee and began immediate arrangements to organize the Red Cross in the United States. That very summer occurred the tragic death of the President, but to Miss Barton's great joy his successor, President Arthur, continued these plans. On March 1, 1882, he proclaimed to the world that this country had entered into the Treaty of Geneva. President Moynier at once wrote Miss Barton: "You must feel happy and proud at last to have attained your object, thanks to a perseverance and zeal which surmounted every obstacle." In Geneva bonfires were lighted in celebration of the news that the United States had become a Red Cross nation. This is doubtless the only instance where an international treaty was brought about solely by one person, and that one a woman. Miss Barton was very properly made president, and she held this most responsible office for twenty-two years.

The United States had now the association, but its largest war had been over for many years, and it was hoped and believed that there would not be another for generations, if ever. This is, however, a country of great disasters in many other forms, and the resourceful mind of this woman-general realized that if the society were to justify its existence it should have power to extend its aid in any national calamity. With that diplomacy of which she was past-master she brought those in authority to this belief, and when the treaty was presented to other nations for their ratification it contained this request. They willingly granted it and it became known as the "American Amendment." Many years passed before it was adopted by other countries, but now all of them have it in their treaties.

The wisdom of this provision is apparent, for, in the quarter of a century which has passed, the United States has had only one small war—the Spanish-American—while the Red Cross has rendered invaluable aid in scores of calamities. The list of these is long, and includes the Michigan forest fires, Ohio and Mississippi River floods, cyclones in many States, the Texas famine, the great earthquakes, Florida yellow-fever epidemic, the memorable disaster at Johnstown, the South Carolina Islands hurricane, and the great tidal wave at Galveston. Twice the Red Cross has sent relief to the sufferers from famine in Russia; it went to the help of the Armenians after the massacre; it was first

to relieve the distress of the Cuban "reconcentrados," and its services throughout the Spanish-American War are still fresh in memory. Our people always respond instantly and generously to all such appeals for help with thousands of dollars in money and thousands in supplies, but these are of small avail unless properly distributed, and this is the mission of the Red Cross. At the first cry of distress its workers are on the field and there they remain till the last needed act of mercy has been accomplished. To all of these scenes of suffering Miss Barton went in person, with her devoted assistants, and remained for weeks and months, burying the dead, apportioning the supplies, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, nursing the sick, and helping rebuild the ruined homes. It would be impossible to enter into the details of this work. These are fully set forth in the many official reports of Miss Barton and her large and interesting book entitled *The Red Cross in Peace and War*. Nothing in fiction ever was so dramatic and thrilling. Here also is the long and entertaining story of the society's part in the war between Spain and the United States from the time it responded to the first call of the starving reconcentrados, in 1897, until their own flag of liberty floated over Cuba. The Red Cross knows neither race nor color, neither Cubans nor Spaniards. In 1898 the Spanish Government expressed its appreciation of Clara Barton in the "Diploma of Gratitude," a beautifully engrossed testimonial from the Supreme Assembly of the Red Cross of Spain for kindness and help to Spanish soldiers.

In 1883 Miss Barton was appointed superintendent of the Reformatory Prison for Women at Sherborn, Massachusetts, by Governor B. F. Butler, but soon resigned the position. In 1885 she was made Special Commissioner for Foreign Exhibits at the New Orleans Exposition, but with these exceptions her life for thirty years was devoted to the Red Cross. For many years she made her home in Washington, where she provided a headquarters for the society from the time of its organization. Later she went to Glen Echo, a few miles away, attracted by the quiet and peace which left her undisturbed at the times when she could be at home. In a beautiful and picturesque spot overlooking the Potomac she built a unique house after the fashion of the temporary structures used by the Red Cross in its relief work. A wide hall extended the entire length, with a gallery looking down

upon it from the second story, and into this hall and gallery all the rooms opened. Between the partitions were almost numberless cupboards and closets whose existence never would be suspected, and most of these were filled with books and Red Cross literature. The stone towers, vine-covered and apparently architectural features, were in reality fireproof vaults for the protection of the important papers. Thus by personal care and at her own expense she preserved the records of the American Red Cross all the years.

This quaint but pleasant and comfortable house was full of interest. Domestic and personal associations clustered about the old furniture, pictures, and china brought from her childhood home, while all around were reminders of a public life that was without a parallel. The walls were covered with the flags of all nations, gifts to Miss Barton—our own banner, the great eagle of Germany, the eagles of Austria, star and crescent of Turkey, the blue-and-white silken folds of Greece, the royal banners of Italy, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, and the flag of Switzerland voted to her by that Government. Everywhere were engrossed and illuminated diplomas and testimonials from the German War Veterans, the Red Cross of Austria, the Sultan of Turkey, the Prince of Armenia, the Cortes of Spain, the Portuguese Red Cross, the Governor and Legislature of Texas—from all parts of the world. In cabinets were many jewels and decorations, including the Iron Cross of Prussia from Emperor William I. and Empress Augusta; Gold Cross of Remembrance and jewels from the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden; Red Cross from the Queen of Servia; decoration from the Queen of Spain; medals from potentates and societies without number.

Miss Barton was five times appointed to represent this Government at international conferences of the Red Cross in Europe—at Geneva in 1884, Carlsruhe in 1887, Rome in 1890, Vienna in 1897, Russia in 1902. At the last named she was received with marked distinction by the Tsar and Tsarina and the Empress Dowager, and although eighty-one years old she bore her full part in the duties of the conference. Notwithstanding the distinguished honors paid her by the sovereigns of Europe and eminent men and women of all countries, far beyond those ever conferred upon any other American woman, she was wholly without egotism or assurance, and so modest and reserved that she could not

be persuaded by any means to talk about herself. It was only from her closest friends that one could secure the facts about her life in which an appreciative public had a right to be interested. She was too reticent, for toward the close of her life, when she shared the fate of all who have achieved fame and the effort was made to depose her from her high position, she scorned to enter into controversy. "Let my life and my work speak for themselves," was her only answer to criticism, although she was deeply wounded. When she was convinced that the society which she had founded and sustained for so many years would pass into capable hands she gladly resigned the presidency and laid down the heavy burden.

Although at this time eighty-four years old Miss Barton had no thought of ceasing from work; she purchased at Oxford, Massachusetts, near the home of her birth, a handsome colonial house in which she expected to spend most of her time while still retaining the Glen Echo place. From here in 1905 she sent out to hundreds of friends her Christmas and birthday greeting, a little book of eight pages, containing her picture with a dainty cover of holly design. In this she outlined what she called "My Later Work" and said: "This announcement will not surprise you. You have never known me without work and you never will. It has always been a part of the best religion I had." She referred to the Red Cross now wholly taken over by the Government as "a finished effort" and said: "But this does not finish the need of help for the woes of the world about us. Another work reaches out its hands to me and I have taken them. The humane and the far-sighted are pressing to its standard—the standard of Organized First Aid to the Injured."

Miss Barton's plan, as afterward outlined, was to provide a training for firemen, policemen, employees on railroads, ships, in all kinds of factories, which would enable them to know what appliances and remedies to use on the instant when accidents should occur. This training would be given also to the women of the household so that they too might be prepared for the emergencies which so often arise. This scheme, which, when put into general practice, would be as valuable as the Red Cross itself, was carefully worked out even to the selection of a capable board of management, and this new organization has already taken its place among the great humanitarian agencies of the world.

Miss Barton was a strong advocate of woman suffrage, and, while she could not spare the time to make it a special part of her work, she always went to the national conventions when it was possible, occupied a seat on the platform, and bore strong testimony to her belief in the justice of this cause. She attended the convention in Baltimore in February, 1906, the last at which Miss Anthony was present, and in the course of her eloquent and touching remarks she said:

"A few days ago some one said in my presence that every woman in the world should stand with bared head before Susan B. Anthony. Before I had time to think, I said, 'And every man as well.' I would not retract the words. I believe her work is more for the welfare of man than for that of woman herself. Man is trying to carry the burdens of the world alone. When he has the efficient help of woman he should be glad, and he will be. Just now it is new and strange, and men cannot comprehend what it would mean. But when such help comes, and men are used to it, they will be grateful for it. The change is not far away. This country is to know woman suffrage, and it will be a glad and proud day when it comes."

Age passed Miss Barton by, leaving but few traces of the many years. Her dark eyes were bright and her cheeks pink, while the brown hair parted smoothly over her forehead had scarcely a thread of white. When she was eighty-four she offered her services and those of the Red Cross to both Russia and Japan and held herself in readiness to start for the Orient at the word of command. Almost to the last she kept a stenographer busy day after day answering the thousands of letters which came to her from all parts of the globe; she found constant employment for her own pen and supervised personally all the details of whatever work she was engaged in carrying forward.

The nation will indorse that resolution passed by the Central Relief Committee of Texas after the Red Cross had ended its work for the sufferers from the storm at Galveston:

"*Resolved,* That we especially thank and render homage to the woman who is the life and spirit of the Red Cross; to her who is the embodiment of the saving principle of laying down one's life for one's friend, whose friend is the friendless and whose charge is the stricken; to her who should be exalted above queens and whose achievements are greater than the conquest of nations or the inventions of genius, and who is justly crowned in the evening of her life with the love and admiration of all humanity—Clara Barton."

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

MOODS, SONGS, AND DOGGERELS. By JOHN GALSWORTHY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

WERE this volume to hold but the one striking first poem, "A Dream," it would be worth more than nine out of every ten volumes of verse. John Galsworthy is never negligible. He stands in the very first rank of English thinkers to-day, and comes nearer than any other living author to being cast in the heroic mold of the early Victorians.

This volume contains about thirty poems under the caption, *Moods;* thirteen *Songs,* and about the same number of poems entitled *Doggerels.* The songs do not all sing, to be sure, but the doggerels are far better than their title indicates. Like all other masters of prose, it is impossible for Galsworthy to keep all the time at that point of lyric emotion which means great poetry. Now and then he is simply the cultured gentleman writing verse. But the first poem, not only maintains throughout that high power of moral interpretation which belongs to all great writers, but has flashes of exquisite lyric emotion.

"And all my days of past delight
As to a drowning man came by—
And all the litanies of night—
And prayed and spoke me tenderly.
And all the perfume and the grace,
The stealing beauty of this earth,
Put out its fingers to my face
And softly murmured me its worth."

There is a wonderful stanza about the implicit deep in all increase which demands the backward swing, the ebbing down and fading out of life, which ends:

"The bush
That burgeons dons a funeral gown;
*And every tune contains its hush.*"

In that last line is a whole world-philosophy, and yet it has such perfect lyric simplicity of expression as Wordsworth himself could not always capture.

One more stanza of rapturous loveliness will suffice to give the quality of that poem:

"And there around me dark had flowered
With day; and summer moths as bright
As amethysts uprose, and towered
To gem with color all the night.

The blossoms smelled like noon, and shone
In crimson patines on the dark.
And—wonder! Caroling alone
In sky of night, I heard a lark!"

The poems "Courage," "Errantry," "Time," "The Soul," and "The Prayer" maintain the high standard set by the first poem, in both concept and expression.

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THE TERRIBLE MEEK. By CHARLES RANN KENNEDY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912.

What a wave of humanitarian emotion is sweeping through the world! All the younger men are confining utterance to repreaching the Sermon on the Mount. That great bit of literature is really being discovered all over again and with a great rush of enthusiasm! Not only John Galsworthy, John Masefield, Rudolph Besier, and Granville Barker are hymning loud and long the sacredness of human life and the beauties of neighborly love, but Rann Kennedy has produced a new *Servant in the House*. His *Terrible Meek* is a good play for reading, whatever it may be for acting. Through the dark we are supposed to hear three voices speaking—that of a common soldier, that of an army officer, and that of a bereft mother whose son is hanging dead over the heads of the speakers. The soldier's point of view is that he has proven himself a man and a soldier by obeying orders, and has as a side issue gotten something out of it, as, when they bargained for the dead man's raiment, he got his boots. The captain questions his conscience as to his right to obey orders when he carries out a sentence without knowing why he does it, and the mother laments a dead son, as to the end of time mothers will lament sons.

"He wasn't particular, my son: He would go with anybody. He loved them so. There wasn't a drunken bibber in the place, nor a lozel, nor a thief, not a loose woman on the streets, but called him brother. He would eat with them, drink with them, go to their parties. He would go with grand folk too, gentlemen. He wasn't particular."

Any one acquainted with the range of Rann Kennedy's mind ought to know at this juncture what to expect next. As the mother moans the captain comes to a fuller and fuller sense of what his part in the event is. Also he realizes that it is not those who kill, not the greedy, the grasping, the tyrannical, who possess life; it is not the proud, the idle, the wealthy; but the meek, the terrible meek who love that have gained a kingdom never to pass away.

When the darkness lifts after all this talk of twentieth-century Britons we are supposed to see a barren hill and upon it three crosses, while the crouching woman at the foot of the cross is in Eastern garb; the captain is a Roman centurion, and the soldier a Roman Legionary. That this dénouement should be considered irreverent is only one of the illogical absurdities of modern life. To plead for respect of life in the name of Christ is never blasphemous, no matter where it is done. His doctrine is pure enough to be heard in a theater or on the streets. There will always be those whose reverence is such that they cannot hear Christ's name with any comfort until they have adjusted their minds and ward-

robes to a Sunday habit and taken the accustomed seat in a pew. But these, after all, are the Christians whom Christ himself would never recognize. They are so far distant from Him that they only think of Him under elaborately prepared conditions.

The protest which Rann Kennedy is making in his play is the same that Tolstoy lived and died for, and it is that which all thinking men of to-day are advancing. All of this feeling can hardly pass without having some effect upon the great, whirling organism we call life. It is said that copies of this play are to be sent to all the rulers upon earth. Its effectiveness will not depend upon the impression it makes upon them, but upon its appeal to average man. It is not the so-called rulers who order the earth, but the simple folk, the Meek, the terrible Meek.

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American Addresses. By Joseph H. Choate. New York: The Century Company, 1911.

This volume contains a selection from among the numerous addresses which the versatile and brilliant author has, from time to time, delivered in this country on special occasions, such as the unveiling of statues, commemorations of various kinds, the opening of sanitary fairs, club receptions, the meetings of the Harvard Alumni, the New England Society, and the American, New York, and Chicago Bar Associations.

Felicitous they all are—in thought and expression alike. The lighter addresses are invariably illuminated by playful humor, graceful urbanity, charming badinage, and kindly irony. Through them all runs the spirit of the finest literary culture; and they are also notable for a lofty tone born of great elevation of view as well as of an unconscious and unobtrusive sense of integrity, which can never really grow old-fashioned, but which somehow seems to belong to a past age. This quality is particularly observable in the addresses delivered before the members of the profession which Mr. Choate has so signally adorned. He was, however, never more felicitous than in the address which he delivered at the reception to Lord Houghton. His speech on that occasion was a model of graceful compliment without a trace of fulsomeness. Equally happy, too, were the addresses delivered at college commencements, where the humor, wit, geniality, sympathy, and culture of the speaker had the fullest scope for their display.

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Plays by August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Bjorkman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

Strindberg is the first of living writers in Sweden, and is said to have raised modern Swedish to its utmost potency of beauty and power. Of the charm of his idiom we can of course gain no conception from the translation. Although the translator's work is better done than is usual, style and individuality are not translatable. Strindberg himself has approved this translation as well as the choice of plays contained in the volume.

It takes a little wrench always to move ourselves from our own traditions and environment to a foreign one. The inevitable difficulty is heightened in these plays by the use of a difficult symbolism and the unprecedented depravity of the characters. The biographical notice sheds much light on this matter as well as on the method of writing.

"The Dream Play," which is the first in the volume, is purely symbolic. The daughter of Indra descends to earth and takes part in the earth life, always with a sense of the unreality and insignificance of such life. The author has imitated the disconnected yet seemingly logical form of the dream. Anything may happen. The characters split, double, multiply, vanish, solidify, as they do in dreams. To follow out the entire scheme of symbolism in the play would be an elaborate study.

The last two plays—"The Link" and "The Dance of Death"—are realistic in treatment and shockingly depressing in tone. All the evil passions possible to humanity seem crowded into these pages and there is a brutality of speech and action which we have found heretofore only in certain Russian writers. The philosophy which is paramount in Strindberg's conception of life is Nietzsche's and the whole tendency is retrograde and demoralizing.

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THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK. A Critical Study by A. MARTIN FREEMAN. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

The average reader who picks up this volume is bound to be disappointed. Thomas Love Peacock was one of those people who are fortunate in their friends, and one hopes for data of the connection with Shelley and Meredith. The latter is mentioned only twice in the most casual and passing manner, and Shelley, after all, appears only as the original of some of Peacock's caricatures.

Biographical matter about Peacock is evidently scarce, and the critical study of his works, although much needed to make clear to future generations the underlying inspiration of his satires, is certainly not vitally interesting. A few years ago George Newne's house in London republished in one small volume, with thin paper and limp covers, "Headlong Hall," "Nightmare Abbey," "Maid Marian," "The Misfortunes of Elphin," "Crochet Castle," "Melincourt," and "Gryll Grange." The work, so long practically inaccessible, thus came into the hands of all students of literature. Its value is not so much absolute as a link in the history of literature. It marks the epoch when the long, dreary poems of the pseudo-classic period merge, after the acquaintance with Shelley, into the satirical romances that so ably reconstruct the life of the earlier part of last century.

A good insight is given into the timid and chary methods of the reviewers of the monthlies and quarterlies of that period. The monthly in which Peacock's *Fiolfar* was reviewed contains a notice of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel,* in which the learned critic remarks that Mr. Scott's own compositions are superior to poems of this sort which he has "collected and edited with such minuteness of version and luxury of typography." Not only does the critic deny Sir Walter the credit of his *Lay,* but he attributes to him the authorship of the hymn "Dies Irae."

This volume takes Peacock through his pseudo-classic period; gives two chapters to Shelley in England and Italy (chapters that have really very little to do with Shelley), and then gives a résumé of the novels and the portraitures contained in them. The book belongs on the shelf of the curious student of literature, and is indeed not interesting or vital reading for any one else.

MOSES COIT TYLER. Selections from His Letters and Diaries. Made and Edited by JESSICA TYLER AUSTIN. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1911.

The most celebrated diaries known to literature belong to at least one of three kinds—the diary of morbid and vehement emotion, like Marie Bashkirtseff's, which fairly palpitates with self-consciousness; the diary of serene and philosophical meditation, like Emerson's, that records the writer's most private reflections on the sublimated subjects that interest him, without showing that he is under the influence of an abnormal degree of self-absorption; and, finally, the objective diary, like John Evelyn's, which notes, not what the writer himself has been thinking, but what he has seen and heard.

The flavor of Dr. Tyler's diary smacks distinctly in turn of each of the three. It goes very deeply and subtly into the study and analysis of his own particular outlook on life; touches upon countless aspects of thought, in the highest reaches of the human mind, that have no special relation to himself; and, finally, describes, with singular vividness, incidents of the writer's travels, details the more interesting events of his daily life, and shows the characteristics of the prominent persons with whom he is associated from time to time.

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DIARY OF GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln and Johnson. With an Introduction by JOHN T. MORSE, Jr. Volumes I., II., III. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911.

These three handsome volumes, which, though bulky, contain hardly a superfluous word, so clear, so vigorous, and precise is Mr. Welles's style, form the most valuable contribution of personal impressions which has been made to our knowledge of the intimate side of American political history since the publication of the diary of John Quincy Adams. It is really more important than that profuse but egotistic and somewhat exacerbated record, because the times of the Civil War and Reconstruction, the two periods which Mr. Welles so minutely describes from personal observation, were of far more burning interest than the times in which our sixth President played so conspicuous and honorable a part, although his career, it is true, was coincident with the second contest with Great Britain and with the acrimonious controversy over slavery.

But the interest of Mr. Welles's diary is not attributable simply to the stupendous nature of the prolonged double crisis of the Civil War and Reconstruction, to which it is confined. The salt with which it is so highly flavored is chiefly due to the very pronounced individuality of the writer, to the shrewdness, penetration, and candor of his intelligence, and to the fund of information and experience which he possessed. He had been a participant in public life for many years before he entered the cabinet. Thoroughly versed in the history of his country, he was an ardent lover of the Constitution, and a profound student of the influences which had led up to its adoption, and of the principles which it embodied. A consistent and firm supporter of the rights of the States, he was, at the same time, an uncompromising advocate of the inviolable supremacy of the central government.

Sprung from the oldest stock of New England, he had grown up

under influences which still reflected the austere but noble qualities of the primitive Puritans, a fact that was revealed in his inflexible loyalty to his ideals, in his immovable fidelity to his principles, in the rigidity, almost harshness, with which he sat in judgment on the men who were his associates in public life. He was, indeed, the incarnation of sturdiness. This quality was illustrated, not only in his attitude toward men, but also in his attitude toward events. Not even in 1863, the darkest year of the Civil War, did he for one moment lose confidence in the final triumph of the Federal arms. "My faith in ultimate success is unshaken," is his simple comment when Pope's defeat threw Washington into a state of consternation that closely resembled despair. And he retained his perfect balance (not without a touch of scorn, which he was too brusque to hide) when Stanton and even Mr. Lincoln were so disturbed in their expectation of the early arrival of the ironclad *Merrimac* in the Potomac River opposite the Capitol.

In the midst of the conflicting currents of these tumultuous times, when it was so difficult to arrive at dispassionate conclusions, his opinions of both men and policies were invariably sound. It was due to his discriminating insight into character that Farragut, the bravest but most modest of naval heroes—the American Nelson, who fairly thirsted for battle—was chosen for high command, and thus afforded an opportunity to achieve so much for the cause of the Union. It was due to Mr. Welles that the *Monitor,* which proved to be such an obstructive antagonist of the *Merrimac,* was accepted by the government. It was due to his wisely directing hand that, while the Federal armies were meeting with so many defeats in the East, and not winning decisive victories in the West, the Federal ironclads had closed all the Confederate ports and were splitting the disaffected South in two by opening up the great highway of the Mississippi.

But Mr. Welles's practical sagacity was not revealed only in his management of the affairs of his department. The clearness and justness of his views were never more convincingly illustrated than in the warnings which he so persistently urged against the Congressional policy of Reconstruction and against universal negro suffrage. He was vehemently opposed to both measures. He condemned the Acts of Reconstruction as repugnant alike to the Constitution and to the suggestions of true statesmanship, and referred to them as a "fraud perpetrated by a majority of a fragmentary Congress." The radical policy, he said, was "to prescribe the intelligent, the wealthy, the moral portion of the South, and to place over them the ignorant, the degraded, and the vicious." He pronounced the exclusion of that section of the country from Congressional representation in the winter of 1865-66 to be as great a crime as secession itself. Indeed, he declared that it exhibited still less wisdom and regard for the Constitution, while it was marked by an equal degree of recklessness of consequences. "The radicals," he bursts out in his indignation, "are managed and controlled by leaders who have no more respect for the Constitution than for an old almanac."

Mr. Welles foresaw, with prophetic prescience, the misfortunes which would be the lot of the Southern people even should they be allowed by the North to reorganize their shattered industrial and social system without interference. "By forbearance and forgiveness," he said, as

early as 1863, "by wise and judicious management, those States may be restored to their places, and the people to their duty, but let us not begin by harsh assumption, for even with gentle treatment the work of restoring will be slow." "There are two lines of acting," he remarked, with great earnestness, to Sumner before Mr. Lincoln's death; "one is harsh, cold, distant, defiant—the other kind, conciliatory, and inviting. Which will sooner make us a united people?" "We have a country to care for," he declared at a later period in a lofty strain of remonstrance, "and should, I think, exert ourselves to promote reconciliation and reestablish the Union in all its integrity at the earliest attainable moment." He predicted that the grant of the right to vote would only precipitate calamity upon the negroes unless they were first prepared to use it properly. "No one," he said, "can claim that the blacks can exercise the franchise intelligently. Is it politic, wise, or right, when trying to restore peace and reconcile differences, to make so radical a change?"

But it is not simply the new light which this diary throws on the course of memorable events which makes it so important, nor is it wholly the writer's extraordinary foresight in predicting the harvest of senseless political measures. Its pages offer the most unique portrait gallery to be found in the whole range of the historical literature of the United States. In this respect it rivals in value Clarendon's History, and for the same general reason—both writers were persons of uncommon penetration and discrimination, and both were delineating the characters of men whom they had known and studied at close quarters in a period of vast upheaval.

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HAIL AND FAREWELL. By GEORGE MOORE. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1911.

This volume of desultory and casual conversation by George Moore is offered us as the first volume of a trilogy. Trilogies now being exceedingly popular, George Moore proposes to talk to us in three volumes of himself apropos of life in general. The present volume is the mere greeting, entitled *Ave*. *Salve* and *Vale* are to follow. Lest we should be moved to take the present volume lightly, the publisher supplies a prefatory note to warn us that "a philosophy is indicated between the lines if the interviewer cares to read between the lines. This philosophy will transpire in the volume entitled *Salve*." One wonders whether "philosophy" is not rather a large word to express George Moore's temperament—a temperament revealed by the fact that he adores Rubens and revels in the miles and miles of pink and fleshy females of that great painter. George Moore speaks of Symons as a man of "somewhat yellowish temperament." Moore himself would seem to be of a bright brick-red temperament with streaks of yellow and orange. The sense of sex is far too rampant for the taste and consciousness of most of us. Even his highest imaginative flights of poetry concerning women have an unpleasant tinge to them.

"For the sake of expressing myself, though I knew Edward would never understand, I told him that the coming of a woman into the room was like a delicious change of light. Without women, we should all be reasonable, Edward; there would be no instinct, and in a reasonable world what would that be like?—a garden without flowers, music without melody....

Without women the world would be like a palette set in raw umber and white. Women are the coloring matter, the glaze the old painters used. Edward wanted information as to the method employed by the old painters, but I preferred to develop my theme."

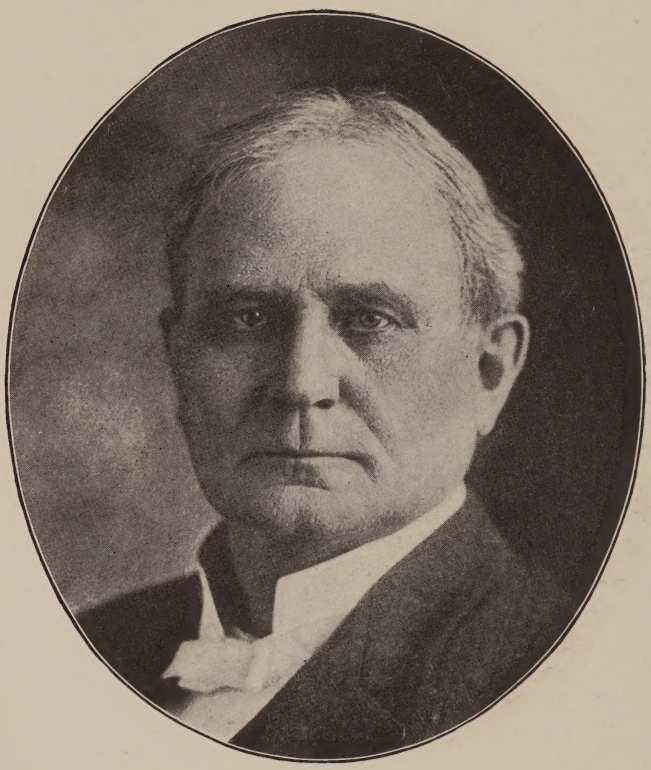
Our own sympathies are entirely with Edward, who is described in other places as being "interested in the soul" and given to "praying heavily" at times when his friend and traveling companion preferred conversation. A devout Catholic traveling with George Moore would doubtless be in constant need of prayer and fasting.

The most amusing parts of the book are the literary portraits; and Yeats, in his long, black cloak, looking exactly like a rook, and cawing when the others laughed, is a delightful cartoon. Indeed, the author furnishes us with a series of portraits of Yeats. "Yeats lank as a rook, a dream in black silhouetted on the flowered wall-paper," is one of the series; and a second: "When I saw him he was on exhibition, striding to and forth at the back of the dress-circle, a long, black cloak drooping from his shoulders, a soft, black sombrero on his head, a voluminous black silk tie flowing from his collar, loose black trousers dragging untidily over his long, heavy feet—a man of such excessive appearance that I could not do otherwise—could I?—than to mistake him for an Irish parody of the poetry that I had seen all my life strutting its rhythmic way in the alleys of the Luxembourg Gardens." And a third: "Yeats would not speak, but sat all profile, like a drawing on an Egyptian monument, thinking his speech."

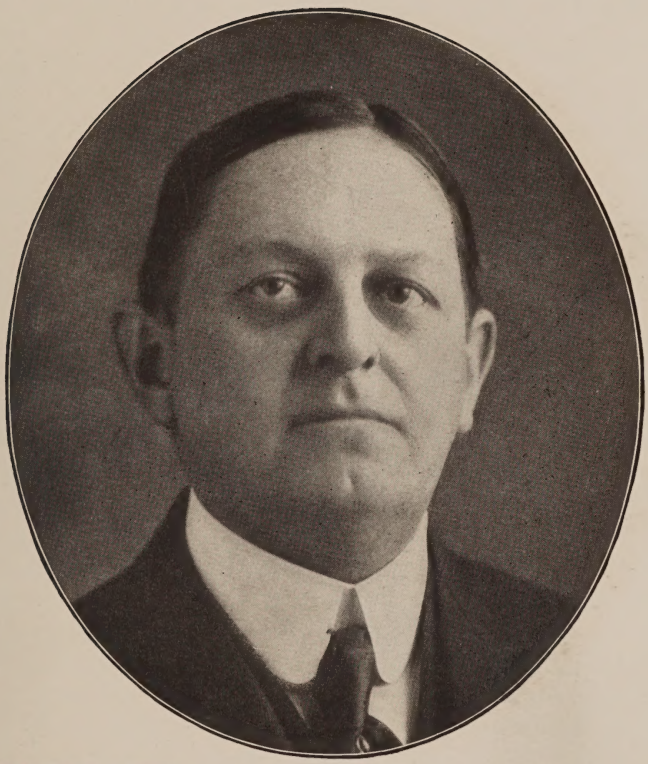
When Yeats did speak, this is what George Moore made out of it. "He spoke of Cherubim and Seraphim, and the hierarchies and the clouds of angels that the church had set against the ancient culture, and then he told us that the gods had been brought vainly from Rome and Greece and Judea. In the imaginations of the people, only the heroes had survived, and from the places where they had walked their shadows fell often across the doorways; and then there was something wonderfully beautiful about the blue, ragged mountains and the mystery that lay behind them, ragged mountains flowing southward." Although we refuse to be very serious despite the publisher's warning over Mr. Moore's philosophy, we greatly enjoy his humor and his cynicism. His temperament may well be gauged from the fact that he gives pages of fervent delight to the Rubens "Descent from the Cross" in Antwerp and passes over Van Eyck's "Adoration of the Lamb" in Ghent with two lines.

"Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." It is not difficult to find out wherein is Mr. Moore's treasure. His is a gross mind, but a clever one. There is no pose and no artificiality in his book of reminiscence, and for its frank, tolerant, amused outlook upon life we cannot but be grateful.

"Opinions," he says, "make us cruel." So often do principles and taste and whatever differentiates us from our kind. Mr. Moore is not cruel, nor yet kind. He is just amused, and all his friends are good material for caricature.



CHAMP CLARK



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# TWO DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

BY THE EDITOR

It is a significant and encouraging fact that two of the leading candidates for the Democratic nomination for President hail from the long-ostracized South—significant because of the total absence of invidious remark in the North and the West, encouraging as evidence of a country at last reunited in truth as well as in name. One is Speaker of the House of Representatives; the other is its leader. They personify, respectively, the old and the new schools of American statesmanship. Despite their long experience in the public service, they are necessarily less well known through the medium of their utterances than corresponding leaders of the party which has held direct authority and responsibility for so many years. Now, however, in view of the existing political condition, attention is riveted upon them. The sole purpose of the following presentation is to enable readers of the Review to make acquaintance, not with their personalities, but with their minds.

## CHAMP CLARK

Champ Clark was born in Anderson County, Kentucky, on March 7, 1850. The community was one of pioneers whose days were long and full of toil. From dawn to dusk

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man labored in forest and field and woman's work was never done. For boys and girls was little play. It was a struggle for existence in which all joined with the resolution and cheery optimism of a hardy race. From early necessities and fatiguing experience Champ Clark derived the intense sympathy with tillers of the soil, which continues to be the distinguishing trait of his guileless nature. From his father he inherited love for imaginative literature and picturesque expression; from his mother consciousness of reverence and faith in the justice and mercy of God. Isolated from humankind, he could live and die content if not deprived of the exaltation which such a spirit is able invariably to draw from the poetry of the Bible.

Champ Clark's early life was so typical of American development that it need not be depicted. Craving for knowledge dominated. Hence earnest application, first in the common schools, then in country college and State university, finally as teacher himself and president of a small college in West Virginia at twenty-three. Admitted to the bar at twenty-five in Bowling Green, Missouri, he became city attorney in 1878, began his political career as member of the State Assembly in 1889, was elected to Congress in 1893, achieved influence slowly but steadily until he was chosen to be, first, leader of the minority and, secondly, Speaker of the House by the unanimous voice of his party associates. It is with the development of his intellect and judgment, as indicated by his public utterances during the past twenty years, that we shall concern ourselves upon the eve of the Democratic National Convention, to which his name will be presented as that of one worthy to become a candidate for President of the United States.

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated the second time on March 4, 1893. On the same day Champ Clark began his long period of service as Representative in Congress. The Democratic party had carried the country upon two vital declarations:

"Republican protection is a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few."

"We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal."

Champ Clark was a zealot. His belief in the rightfulness of these two proposals was as strong as his faith in

the righteousness of his Maker. His first speech on the double standard, delivered on August 19, 1893, began as follows:

"MR. SPEAKER. To demonetize or not to demonetize silver is the question that now confronts us. We might as well recognize the truth and look it squarely in the face. There is no good to come of beating about the bush. There is no sense in whipping the devil around the stump.

"No subterfuge, no sophistry can delude the people on this momentous subject. The issue is squarely joined. There is, there can be, no misunderstanding about it. From utterances, public and private, here, from articles in current magazines and periodicals, we know that it is the remorseless purpose of a minority of this House to utterly destroy silver as a money metal, while a majority of us are determined to restore it to its place of ancient honor, usefulness, and beneficence in the coinage of the country. [Applause.]

"There can be no straddling, no dodging, no foraging between the lines, and no fence-riding in this fierce contest.

"He who is not with us is against us." [Applause.]

He set forth the familiar arguments in favcr of bimetallism and continued:

"MR. SPEAKER. It is an old saying that all things are fair in love or war, and some people appear to believe that anything is fair in politics. I dissent *in toto* from any such immoral doctrine. The people have a right to honest treatment at the hands of those who aspire to be their agents in public affairs, and to the man who betrays them they will send the silken bowstring for his own destruction. [Loud applause.] It is my solemn conviction that the man who will deceive the people to obtain an office will desert them when in office.

"I reiterate the proposition—and it cannot be repeated too often—that the Chicago platform proclaimed to all the world that we are in favor of cutting the tariff to a strictly revenue basis, and in favor of bimetallism; and let me tell the single-gold-standard Democrats that if the people west of the Alleghanies had not believed that both of those things would come about there would now be no Democratic Congress to pass a money bill and no Democratic President to sign one. [Loud applause.] The people knew what they wanted, and they thought they knew what they were getting. [Laughter and applause.] Shall they have it, or shall they not?

"Will we redeem the solemn pledges made by tongue and pen to the people and be considered their benefactors forever, or will we violate our vows and have pronounced upon our heads their anathema maranatha? Will we restore happiness and prosperity to the land and read our history in the nation's eyes, or will we be the instruments in creating universal bankruptcy among the people who have committed to our hands a sacred trust?

"These questions I press home upon the mind, heart, and conscience of every Democrat upon this floor. . . .

"Now, the average American citizen may not be much of a political

economist or logician. He may not know a syllogism when he sees it, and cannot in technical terms distinguish a major premise from a minor; but nevertheless, in his own homely way, he reasons a great deal more than he gets credit for. He knows when he is hurt and when his business is crippled. [Applause.] He understands that when, after toiling sixteen hours a day through summer's heat and winter's cold, and after practising the severest economy, he cannot at the end of the year make buckle and tongue meet, there is something radically wrong and that 'something is rotten in the state of Denmark.' . . .

"The leaders in the cities express their opinions through the metropolitan press by resolutions of all sorts of boards and by pamphlets galore. The great body of the people, the wealth-creators, are not heard from in any such way; but as certain as God reigns in heaven they will discover a way to make their voice penetrate even to this Hall.

"'Let the people eat grass!' quoth the pampered lackey of Louis XVI., who lost his head upon the block.

"'The people be damned!' shouts William H. Vanderbilt, whose father laid the foundations of a more than princely fortune by selling root-beer at three cents per glass.

"'Popular delusions!' exclaims the gentleman from Tennessee, whose sudden conversion eclipses that of Saul of Tarsus, as he journeyed down from Jerusalem to Damascus. [Laughter and applause.]

"Over against these ejaculations I would place for our instruction the words of the foremost man of all this world. On a celebrated occasion Queen Victoria thought to overawe William E. Gladstone by saying, 'Do you know who I am? I am the Queen of England!' To which the great Commoner answered, 'Madam, do you know who I am? I am the people of England!' [Applause.]

"No wonder he is universally known as the Grand Old Man."

He concluded sonorously:

"The great Irish orator, Charles Stewart Parnell, once said:

"'Opportunity is a horse, saddled and bridled, which stops at each man's threshold once in a lifetime. Be ready, mount, and he carries you on to success and honor. Pause but a moment, he is gone, and the clatter of his iron hoofs, echoing down the corridors of time, will forever remind you of what you have lost.'

"My Democratic brethren, the magnificent silver-white steed stands pawing impatiently at our gates. Let us vault into the saddle and ride him into the realm of unfailing prosperity, amid the benedictions of a grateful people."

Here spoke the orator of the plains, voicing the prejudice of country against city with extravagant expression and sophomoric peroration, but through the grandiloquent language rang the note of intense earnestness and uncompromising defiance in support of what the speaker believed to be the rights of the people.

With like vigor and in similar vein he made his first

speech on the tariff on January 15, 1894, extracts from which follow:

"I am in favor of the Wilson bill because it will render our laborers independent freemen and eager patrons of our merchants and our farmers, which God intended them to be, and not the ragged habitués of soup-houses, to which pitiable condition a protective tariff has reduced them.

"Tennyson says:

"'Better fifty years of Europe
Than a cycle of Cathay':

"And I say: Better for the American workman is steady employment at fair wages than all the charity which Andrew Carnegie could dispense from his Scottish castle in a thousand years. [Applause.]

"If the Wilson bill conferred no other boon upon the people of America than placing salt on the free list, that alone would be its ample vindication.

"God made salt an absolute necessity to animal life; consequently it is abundant in quantity and universal in diffusion. It is everywhere—held in solution in the ocean, lakes, and springs. It is mingled in every soil under heaven. It is found in solid and inexhaustible masses in Kansas, Nevada, and many other States and countries. It is scooped up by the ton on the seashore and on the banks of the Great Salt Lake of Utah—already prepared for the use of man and beast. It is pumped from the recesses of the earth and evaporated by the sun. It is quarried in great blocks like building-stone. God made it cheap and bountiful; the tariff barons make it scarce and dear. From time immemorial it has been the test of friendship and the pledge of hospitality. To taste an Arab's salt is to secure his protection forever. Among the ancients it was part of their sacrificial ceremonies. The New Testament Scriptures abound in allusions to it. Its importance has been recognized in all the literatures of the world. The Saviour of mankind gave it the seal of His divine approbation when He said to His disciples: 'Ye are the salt of the earth.'

"It should be as free as the air we breathe, but the greed of man has laid a heavy tax upon this purifier and preserver of things physical. This disgrace upon our civilization should be wiped from our statute-books instanter and without ceremony. It is not only a grave mistake from an economic standpoint, but is essentially wicked. Even a heathen emperor—Aurelian, one of the greatest of the Roman conquerors, glory to his name!—hundreds of years before Christopher Columbus set sail from Palos, had a nobler conception of humanity, and prohibited his soldiers from levying a tribute of salt upon any subjugated people.

"The pathway of civilization on this continent may be traced by the salt springs. Round about them clustered the earliest settlements in the wilderness. They constituted the mile-posts on the march of the all-conquering Caucasian from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"The history of the Blue Licks and of Boone's Lick forms as romantic chapters as can be found in martial story. It was free salt which lured Daniel Boone and his comrades to those spots far beyond the outposts of civilization.

"Thomas H. Benton labored for a quarter of a century to place salt upon the free list, and when he had succeeded, in his exaltation of spirit he declared that he could hear the cattle on a thousand hills bellowing out their love and gratitude to him. [Laughter and applause.]

"Pass this bill and give the people a chance to earn an honest living. An idle brain is the devil's workshop.

"The ideal condition of affairs is not where there are a few very rich men and a great many very poor men, but where everybody can find work to do. [Applause.]

"Men with brains in their heads, the love of humanity in their souls, and the courage of their convictions in their hearts, will with eager hands rend the temple of protection till not one stone shall be left upon another in that robbers' castle. God speed the day!" [Applause.]

The Wilson bill was emasculated by the Senate, and in 1896 Bryan was defeated on the silver issue. He and his supporters insisted and believed that the election of McKinley was directly attributable to the use of an enormous corruption fund raised in the East by Mr. Hanna. The Far West and the Southwest were angry to the verge almost of insurrection. Cleveland was held responsible for what they considered a gross violation of their rights as citizens. Champ Clark returned to Washington in March, 1897, imbued with their wrath. The Dingley bill was brought forward for immediate consideration. On March 26th, while stinging with resentment, he engaged in a running debate, in the course of which, egged on by mischievous Republicans, he declared:

"Grover Cleveland is not a Democrat. [Laughter on the Republican side and applause on the Democratic side.] As a Democrat, bred and born, understanding its tenets, loving its traditions, ready always and everywhere to battle for its principles, I solemnly declare that he never was a Democrat.

"On the 4th of March, 1893, sustained by a people's love, he might have stood against the world; now, none so poor as to do him reverence.

"On the 6th of March, 1893, in his first official act, he startled all the Democrats in the land, and a great many Republicans, by appointing to the highest office within his gift a sore-head Republican. [Laughter.]

"According to his mugwumpish notions, he could not find within the confines of the Republic a Democrat fit to be Secretary of State.

"That was the beginning of the end, and from that day to this he has been the best friend the Republican party ever had—its most efficient ally. We repudiate him and all his works."

Five days later he added, bitterly:

"Mr. Chairman, after nine days of sore travail, at last one truth has been brought forth on the Republican side of this House, and that by

the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Linney], when he said that I would destroy every custom-house in America. He is entirely correct. If I had my way to-day, sir, I would tear them all down, from turret to foundation-stone, for from the beginning they have been nothing but dens of robbers."

The passage of the bill under the whip and spur of Speaker Reed served only to enhance the rancor of the Western farmers at what they regarded as Cleveland's betrayal of both cause and pledge. On May 3, 1898, his throat choking with rage, Champ Clark spoke as follows:

"There are but two men in all the hoary registers of time that Cleveland's name ought to be associated with—Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold. Shades of Arnold, forgive the profanation!

"He at least did not hire a substitute to do his fighting. The blood which he shed at the storming of Quebec and on the heights of Saratoga was American blood. The shattered leg which was buried in his grave of obloquy was an American leg, broken by British bullets in the holy cause of liberty.

"Arnold was at one time both a hero and a patriot. He fell headlong from his high estate to everlasting infamy.

"Upon reflection, I think really I ought to beg the pardon of Judas Iscariot, because after his treason he did have the grace to go out and hang himself. [Laughter.] The Missourians did vote for Grover Cleveland in Chicago."

Mr. Cummings. "Was he not a Democrat then?"

Mr. Clark, of Missouri. "No. We thought he was; but we were sadly mistaken. He stole the livery of Heaven to serve the devil in. He played a colossal bunco game on the Democratic party. He was the tool of the plutocrats masquerading as a Democrat."

Mr. Mitchell. "Why did you vote for him, then?"

Mr. Clark, of Missouri. "I will tell you why we nominated him. We nominated him because he sent that free-trade message to Congress in 1887. We thought that Cleveland was honestly a free-trader."

"Now, Mr. Speaker, we voted for Cleveland on that ground. I am afraid we shall never get forgiveness for it. His conduct on the financial question is not the main charge that I bring against Cleveland, bad and un-Democratic as it was. We took him, knowing that he differed with us somewhat on the silver question, but we believed that as an honest man—because then we believed he was honest—if he accepted the nomination on that platform, knowing the overwhelming sentiment in the Democratic party in favor of silver, he would subordinate his private opinion to the general Democratic opinion and carry out what we wanted.

"That's what he should have done. Otherwise he ought to have declined the nomination. Men are not forced to be President. They are not compelled to hold office. At least I have not found it so in Missouri. But the main charge that I bring against him—and I have always been a free-trader—is this, that he not only undid us on the money question and used the patronage of his great office ruthlessly and corruptly to get the Sherman law repealed, because when we first met here in con-

ference we had a majority of this House against that repeal, but when we came to vote on it we could only muster a paltry 101 votes—the worst charge that will be laid at his door in the day of judgment is that he betrayed a great party on the tariff question.

"Yes. Grover Cleveland by his unfaithfulness did the cause of free trade more harm than all the McKinleys and Dingleys could do in one hundred years. He could not kill it. Nobody can do that; but he did set it back for perhaps a generation.

"The tariff barons ought to build a monument to his odoriferous memory.

"I believe now, and I shall always believe, that on the day when he stood in the sleet and snow and rain, the day when he was sworn in for his second term, he held it in his pudgy fist to keep the Democratic party in power in this country for a quarter of a century, and all that he had to do to work that beneficent result was to do what he had solemnly promised to do by word of mouth, by speech, in writing, in every way in which a man can be committed to do a thing—and that was to cut the robber tariff to a purely revenue basis. That was the issue on which we won the sweeping victory of 1892—a victory the fruits of which turned to apples of Sodom on our lips, through the action as well as the non-action of Grover Cleveland. It is sickening and pitiful to think of what is and then of what might have been had we elected a real Democrat in 1892."

Violent words, these; to many, doubtless inexcusable if not indeed unpardonable. That they were the accurate expression of the speaker's community, however, may not be questioned. That the provocation which evoked their utterance was not small is equally manifest. That they constituted an outburst of honest indignation, whether righteous or not, none will deny. Would Champ Clark recall or conceal the words if it lay within his power to do so? We think not. He might and doubtless does regret both the occasion and the vituperation, but no consideration of expediency could impel contrition for having spoken at a given time, under given conditions, what he then believed to be the truth. Susceptible of explanation or not, the record stands, and he would be the last to blot it out for personal advantage.

Six years passed. Champ Clark was now fifty-four years old. Had experience brought knowledge, wisdom, consideration, recognition of things existing no less than of things desired? We turn to the tariff, or reciprocity, debate of 1904:

Mr. Olmsted. "Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman from Missouri whether he entertains the same views and stands in the same position to-day as regards the tariff that he did in 1897, when the Dingley bill was on its passage?"

Mr. Clark. "Academically, yes. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Just exactly. Now, sit down till I answer you. [Laughter.] Academically, yes."

Mr. Dalzell. "Will the gentleman allow me for a moment?"

Mr. Clark. "Wait until I get through with the other Pennsylvanian. I heard the Hon. Thomas B. Reed state, on the floor of this House, that free trade is a beautiful theory; that it might do for England, but that we had not yet reached that state. Practically, as legislating for the country, with certain laws on the statute-books and certain habits formed, I would not go to a free-trade basis, and before I get through, if I have the time, I will state the Democratic position exactly about cutting down the tariff rates.

Mr. Dalzell. "Will the gentleman allow me now?"

Mr. Clark. "Yes."

Mr. Dalzell. "I want to know whether the gentleman on March 31, 1897, said on the floor of this House the following:

"'I repeat, so that all men may hear, that I am a free-trader, and proudly take my stand with Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Henry George. I may be an humble member of that illustrious company, but it is better to be a doorkeeper in the house of honest free-traders than to dwell in the tents of wicked protectionists.'"

Mr. Clark. "Yes."

Mr. Dalzell. "That is an accurate quotation?"

Mr. Clark. "I think it is. It sounds like I would have put it." [Laughter.]

Mr. Dalzell. "Does the gentleman still keep the same position?"

Mr. Clark. "Theoretically, yes." [Laughter on the Republican side.]

"I will tell you my position about it exactly. If a new continent should be discovered, and I should be given charge of its government after it was populated, I should establish free trade."

Mr. Lacey. "And not otherwise?"

Mr. Clark. "Not otherwise? There is no sense in adding those words to it. I have stated the case." [Laughter.]

Mr. McCleary, of Minnesota. "Will not the gentleman be good enough to define 'free trade' as he uses that expression now?"

Mr. Clark. "Free interchange of the products of the world."

Mr. McCleary, of Minnesota. "Without a tariff on any import?"

Mr. Clark. "In order to raise money to run the Government I would levy a revenue tariff. We are in a situation produced by the practice and theory of over a hundred years. The American people have fallen into the habit of raising a large part of the revenue by tariff taxes, and they seem to think it is easier to do it in that way than in any other. Therefore I would not go to the basis of free trade. I would cut down the exorbitant and outrageous exactions of the Dingley bill."

Mr. Dalzell. "But, if the gentleman will allow me, we are in precisely the same condition to-day that we were when he made that declaration, so far as revenue is concerned."

Mr. Clark. "Oh, no, we are not."

Mr. Dalzell. "Precisely."

Mr. Clark. "I made that declaration in 1897, and the Treasury was empty. Now the Treasury is overflowing, and if they will pare down

the appropriation bills in this House as they ought to be pared down we could cut off two hundred millions of revenue and never miss it."

MR. WATSON rose.

MR. CLARK. "Wait until I finish with the gentleman from Pittsburg. Because we are in the habit of raising revenue by tariff taxes under both Republican and Democratic administrations, and because the constitutional provision for levying a direct tax is unfair, inasmuch as it makes it in proportion to the number of people in a State instead of in proportion to the property thereof, and inasmuch as the Supreme Court knocked the income tax in the head, to tell you the truth about it, I do not see any other way to raise a sufficient amount of revenue to run the Government except by tariff taxes and the internal-revenue system. That is the whole of it. . . . But in levying a tariff we want reasonable rates, not excessive rates."

Addressing the House for the first time as Speaker on April 4, 1911, Mr. Clark called for:

"1. An honest, intelligent revision of the tariff downward, in order to give every American citizen an equal chance in the race of life, and to pamper none by special favor or special privilege; to reduce the cost of living by eradicating the enormities and cruelties of the present tariff bill, and to raise the necessary revenue to support the Government."

The various bills passed by the House and now pending in the Senate were constructed upon this theory. To what extent Mr. Clark's present attitude is inconsistent with that taken by him fifteen years ago, and to what extent his vision has been broadened naturally by the assumption of actual responsibility, the reader must determine.

Champ Clark declared his position regarding expansion in a debate upon the Cuban reciprocity bill in 1903, when he said:

"I am in favor of this bill because there are two pieces of ground on the North American continent that I want to see annexed to the United States. One is Cuba, and the other is every foot of the British North American possessions, no matter how far north they extend. [Applause.]

"I am not in favor of conquering them. There is no reason why they should be conquered, and if we act with any sense they will come to us peaceably, and this bill is a step in the right direction. If we want the friendship of Cuba, as we are in duty bound to do, and in good sense bound to do, she will come to us in time without the expenditure of a dollar, without the shedding of a single tear."

During the recent Canadian campaign he repeated this declaration, and the anti-Laurier party and the English Tories distorted it into a threat of enforced annexation, to serve their political purposes. The interpretation was

so manifestly unwarranted that the subject is unworthy of consideration.

We have now set forth Speaker Clark's utterances upon important topics which have induced discussion and evoked criticism. As illustrating further the processes of his mind during the past twenty years, no less than as indicating his attitude upon a variety of public questions, we append excerpts from the great number of speeches which he has delivered in the House of Representatives:

"1893.—For political reasons Republicans are very particular to speak of the negro; from force of habit we call him plain 'nigger.' They feed him taffy; we give him the creature comforts of this life. They build for him magnificent 'castles in Spain,' which he can never inhabit; we erect for him unpretentious cabins and bid him be happy with his wife and pickaninnies. [Laughter.] They stuff his head with esthetic philosophy; we furnish school-houses for his children and employ teachers for their education. They give him allopathic doses of sympathy in magazines, newspapers, and public speeches; we minister to his wants in sickness, in distress, and in every time of trouble. They urge him to break into the best society of the South, which he can never do; we give him employment whereby to earn an honest living."

"1893.—I think that the body of men who made the Constitution of the United States formed the most august assembly that ever met beneath the sun. They possessed more wisdom than any other one set of gentlemen that ever undertook to do any one thing. They knew a great deal, but they did not know it all. [Laughter.] They were originators. Of necessity, they were experimenting. They were pioneers in the work of making a paper Constitution. They had no models. They wrought wondrous well. We are largely their debtors. We should never cease to revere their memory. But time is the test of all things, and a century's experience has taught us some things which they did not, which they could not know. Some few, remarkably few, defects have been found in their great work. If they were alive to-day they would be the first to suggest remedies for these defects which no human wisdom could foresee."

"1893.—In the heat of debate we are all liable to make a good many violent statements. I believe this is true about Republicans, and Democrats too—individually, they want to do what is right; that is, the bulk of them. Take the Republicans one at a time, and they are very clever sort of gentlemen [laughter], but take them *en masse,* and they will not do to tie to, by a jugful. [Laughter.] I want to say another thing: We honestly believe, gentlemen, that these laws are dangerous, even to say nothing about their constitutionality. A thing is not good simply because it is constitutional; a great many things might be constitutional and at the same time unnecessary or even dangerous; but I believe they are unconstitutional."

"1894.—I have no prejudice against the people of the District of Columbia. It is a good district and a fine town [laughter], but I hope there will never be such another on the face of the green earth. [Great

laughter and applause.] The fact that no man in the District of Columbia is permitted to vote on any proposition whatever is the saddest commentary that has ever been written or uttered upon the principle of free government."

"1898.—Congress should formulate the Monroe Doctrine as we now understand it, and it should be in words about as follows: 'The American Republic hereby takes all of North America, Central America, South America, and all the islands of the adjacent seas under the shadow of her protecting wing, guarantees to them any form of government they choose, and warns Europe, Asia, and Africa to keep their hands off the Western Hemisphere on the penalty of being thrashed within an inch of their lives.' [Applause.]

"That is the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted by a Missouri Democrat. [Laughter.] We should extend a moral protectorate over them all. Not one of these Central or South American Republics can maintain its independence without our support. They caught the spirit of freedom from us. They copied their form of government from ours. Round about the young and feeble Republics already established in this hemisphere we should throw our friendship and influence, and we should encourage Cuba and all the rest of the West-Indian Islands to unite themselves into a republic of their own. The habit of representative government is healthy and laudable. It should be fostered by us in every way possible. We should not only lend them our moral support, but should give them physical aid in cases of necessity.

"It is high time that we served plain and emphatic notice on all kings, emperors, princes, and potentates that the navies of transatlantic powers shall not be used as collection bureaus for questionable debts, as was done a year or two ago at Corinto, and as was done a month or so ago at Haiti." [Applause.]

"1898.—A Chinaman never can be fit for American citizenship. His color, his diet, his mental conformation, his habits of thought, his methods of conduct, his style of living, his ideas of government, his theory of the domestic relations, his code of morals, his religion, his passiveness in servitude, his ultraconservatism, his manners, his amusements, the very fashion of his dress, are radically un-American. In all these he is thoroughly incorrigible. His ways are not our ways. He is among us, but not of us. . . ."

"1899.—Hawaii is a blind for our eyes, a snare for our feet, a bait for our cupidity, the will-o'-the-wisp which will lead us into the Slough of Despond, the bewitching, scheming, treacherous Delilah destined to shear our Samson of his leonine locks and to deliver him bound hand and foot into the power of the Philistines.

"Nature has set bounds to this magnificent Republic beyond which she should not go—the Atlantic on the east, the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande on the south, the Pacific on the west, and in the fulness of time, without the expenditure of a dollar or the spilling of one drop of blood or the shedding of a single tear, the frozen ocean on the north."

"1899.—I say this, I am not hidebound about politics. There are great and distinguished Republicans. I have great admiration for Abraham Lincoln. I claim a part of the honor of Grant's fame as an American citizen. Garfield was a wonder of learning and brains. The younger Harrison was far above the average President in character and capacity.

I admire McKinley in some respects, but I entertain a supreme contempt, although he is in the grave, for Hayes, because he stole the Presidency of the United States, the greatest crime committed in all the flood of time. I do not care if he is dead. Public men live after they are buried. They live in their records. I wish Hayes had been compelled to live forever and had had to bear the scorn of decent men until the end of the world itself."

"1900.—What difference in principle is there between a few hundred thousand white men buying and owning four million negroes and the Government of the United States buying and owning ten million Malays? If the Filipinos are not to be consulted, what becomes of that clause in the Declaration of Independence which informs us that 'all men are created equal,' and that other which revolutionized half the governments on earth by proclaiming that 'all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed'? Driven from one untenable position, the nimble jingoes immediately assume another. Their last claim is that we should retain the Philippines because the poor, untutored savages are incapable of self-government, and that if left to themselves they would indulge in revolutions and exterminate one another. I humbly submit that it's none of our affair if they do."

"1900.—I am sure that I would not vote to put a tax on knowledge. I sympathize with the poor boy in his aspirations and struggle for information, for I was as poor a boy as ever grew to lusty manhood in the hill country of Kentucky. I am poor yet. My children are poor. I am a lover of books. I cannot remember a day when I was not. I am glad paper-covered books are cheap; also muslin-bound books, cloth-bound books, leather-bound books, morocco-bound books, books in every binding. But, to save me, I do not see any reason why paper-bound books—books, mark you—should go through the mails at one cent per pound, and the same books, printed by the same men, on the same types and presses, should go at eight cents per pound if they happen to be bound in boards, muslin, leather, etc. It seems to me that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; that if one sort of books is sent through the mails at one cent a pound all sorts should be sent at the same rate. We should go the whole hog or none."

"1902.—It is absolutely true that the President of the United States intrinsically and theoretically is no better than any other good citizen of the Republic. It is not so much the individual we are trying to protect as to protect the Government of the United States and the people of the United States not only against anarchy, but against sorrow and agony of spirit, such as pervaded the entire country when President McKinley was killed. According to my judgment, the most valuable part of this bill is the part of it which authorizes the punishment of the villains who go around over the country making public speeches advising the assassination of people because they hold public office."

"1902.—There would be more wisdom and more justice in establishing a universal old-age pension for every citizen of the Republic than there are in the manner in which we are proceeding to create an old-age pension list from the civil departments of the Government.

"The average citizen who is not in the employment of the Government is just as worthy of an old-age pension as is the Government employee,

for the latter receives the higher compensation, while the former does more and harder work."

"1902.—I suggest to every man here, it is not a matter of politics, it is a matter of economy, it is a matter of plain common sense; and every dollar that we expend here in excess of what we ought to spend is practically a robbery of the people. I hear statesmen here talking about the money which belongs to the United States Government. It does not own a single dollar of money anywhere on the face of the earth. It is simply a trustee for the people, and a trustee of an express trust."

"1908.—I will give you a sample of what I consider public honor. John Quincy Adams was one of the most disagreeable personages that ever sat in the White House, but he was thoroughly educated. He had an extremely delicate sense of honor, and I give him that credit and glory. When he was elected to the House after he was President he owned some stock in the old United States Bank, and he went immediately after his election and sold that stock, on the ground that there might be legislation involving the property of the United States Bank in Congress, and I commend his example to all of us. [Applause.]

"While I am talking about John Quincy Adams I will tell you another thing that I commend. He is one of three or four United States Senators that ever had conscience enough, when he was instructed by the legislature of his state to vote in a way that he thought was improper, to resign his office and go home. That is to be commended in him, too."

"1908.—The first time that my wife and I ever attended a White House dinner she was assigned to the Peruvian minister to take her out to dinner. She could not talk any Peruvian [laughter] and he could not talk much English, and though she is a very fine talker the conversation lagged somewhat.

"But, sitting on her right was Mr. Secretary of State John Sherman. She had never been introduced to the Secretary, but she recognized him by his pictures. She had frequently told me privately that she intended that if she ever got close enough to him to ask him about the "Crime of '73." [Laughter.] They scraped up an acquaintance, and Secretary Sherman explained to her how the President and his wife were bedeviled with all sorts of people and how unsanitary the conditions of the house were, and that it wore the President and his wife to a frazzle, and endangered their health—even their lives. After drawing as gloomy a picture as he could, he asked her, 'Madam, would you be willing to see your husband live in this house four years with all that trouble and danger and under those conditions?' With that good sense which she exhibited when she picked her husband she said, 'Yes; I think I would.' [Great laughter.] She said she was willing to take the chances of unsanitary conditions and nervous prostration to see her husband in the White House for four years."

"1910.—I would not give a vote under any consideration whatever that I thought would cripple the United States Government in any of its legitimate functions, for this is as much my government as it is your government, except that you happen to have the offices at the present time and we have not, but that is not the question at issue. It is my government. It is my father's government. It is my children's govern-

ment. A man who would not support it in all of its legitimate functions is not fit for the great honor of American citizenship [applause on the Democratic side], and I always add to the old Democratic dictum, economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened, this, that every function of the Government should be economically but effectively administered, and enough money should be voted for that purpose. But we should remember that we are trustees of a trust fund, and we have no right to squander the public money. We are not fit to be here if we do. I do not advocate things while we are in the minority which I will be unwilling to advocate when we are a majority. We in Congress cannot reasonably expect others to economize unless we set the example.

"Whenever you have a legitimate appropriation here I will vote for it; whenever you have one—I do not care whether it is big or little—which I do not believe should go into an appropriation bill I will vote to put it out; and you can call that poor leadership if you choose, but I believe the American people will indorse it." [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

"1911.—No man is fit to be the lawgiver for a mighty people who yields to the demands and solicitations of the few who have access to his ear, and is forgetful of the vast multitude who may never hear his voice or look into his face."

"1912.—I repeat that, in my judgment, the tariff and the cognate question of the trusts will constitute the overshadowing issues in the coming campaign. The Republicans will undoubtedly undertake to befog these issues and lure us away from the tariff question and the trust question, because they realize the fact that on the tariff question and the trust question we will defeat them most decisively. Of course, there are subsidiary questions of more or less importance, some of them of great importance, but the battle for tariff reform and the destruction of the trusts must be fought to a finish. On these questions we are undoubtedly in the right. We have justice on our side, and on them we should win a sweeping triumph.

"'By their fruits ye shall know them,' is a rule established by highest authority. It is grounded in wisdom and in justice. By that rule we are ready to be judged.

"In his speech nominating General Grant for a third term Roscoe Conkling said, 'General Grant's fame rests not only on things spoken and things written, but upon the arduous greatness of things done.' That sentence fits the Democrats of Congress like a glove.

"The Republicans seem to be utterly demoralized. That their quarrels, unless composed, will help us there can be no doubt. But our chief reliance for success is to give to the people such a record for honest, intelligent, courageous, constructive, progressive statesmanship as to convince the country beyond the shadow of a doubt that we are worthy of the continued and enlarged confidence of the public. To do this we must lead in the enactment of all remedial legislation. That is our duty to our country and our kind.

"That is the straightest, plainest, shortest, and easiest road to complete success. Pursuing that line of conduct, victory will perch upon our banners whether the Republicans patch up their differences or not. We

hold our own fate absolutely in our own hands. Let us not lose our golden opportunity through overconfidence or upon ill-advised reliance upon the quarrels and factional fights among our opponents."

"1912.—Can business men trust the Democratic party? is what the lawyers would call a leading question propounded to me. It is a thing incredible that any sane man or set of sane men would desire to injure any legitimate business. The Democrats constitute one-half of the American people. They are engaged in every species of legitimate business known among men and possible in this country. The effect of law falls like the rain, the sunshine, and the dew of Heaven equally on the just and unjust. Consequently the Democrats cannot injure other people's business without injuring their own. I have said before, and I say now, that no legitimate industry in the United States has any cause whatever to fear the action of the Democrats. The desire of Democrats is to so arrange things, as far as may be, that every American citizen shall have an equal chance in the race of life.

"That is what we promised to do, and that is what we are going to do so far as is possible."

This article is purely expository. It is no part of our purpose to attack, excuse, or defend. Certain deductions, however, may be made. Champ Clark sprang from that hardy stock which produced the American pioneers, virile, intense, honest, patriotic, headstrong. The red blood coursed swiftly through his veins till the mellowing influence of time checked its speed. Responsibility begat reflection and calm, tolerance of the opinions of others, evenness of disposition, moderation in thought, word, and deed. That he achieved his present eminence unaided is no more significant than the use to which he put his power. It is a simple fact, surely worthy of consideration, that never before has the business of the House of Representatives been conducted with more decorum, greater dignity, or truer efficiency than under his guidance as Speaker. That much of his success is attributable to exceptional popularity achieved by a winning personality is plainly evident. But it is no less obvious that underneath are qualities of native ability, of rugged common sense, of undoubted integrity, of intense patriotism, of sympathy with humankind, which constitute character. That his strength should be greater in the West, where he is known, than in the East, where he is comparatively a stranger, is a fact neither discreditable nor uncommon. A like condition existed half a century ago when another son of the plain people, also Kentucky born, was under the scrutiny of those who beheld him from afar. How like the comments of metropolitan

journals now are those of the great newspapers then! Turn back the files and read:

From the New York *Herald:*

"*May 19, 1860.*—The Republican Convention at Chicago have nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President of the United States—a third-rate Western lawyer, poorer than even poor Pierce. . . . The conduct of the Republican party in this nomination is a remarkable indication of a small intellect, growing smaller. They pass over Seward, Chase, and Banks, who are statesmen and able men, and they take a fourth-rate lecturer, who cannot speak good grammar, and who, to raise the wind, delivers his hackneyed, illiterate compositions at two hundred dollars apiece. Our readers will recollect that this peripatetic politician visited New York two or three months ago on his financial tour, when, in return for the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes, he filled his empty pockets with dollars coined out of Republican fanaticism."

"*May 20th.*—The rejection of Seward and the nomination of Lincoln, who represents all that is brutal and bloody in Seward's political programme, without possessing a tithe of his personal ability, is almost as severe a blow at the Republican party organization as was the feud at Charleston to that of the Democracy. . . . The highest claims for the candidate who is put up as a fit ruler for thirty millions of freemen, pursuing a march of social development with a rapidity that is the wonder of the age, is that he can 'maul rails,' and that he is 'honest.' What part the first of these qualities is to play in the science of government we cannot conceive; the second we know to be the quality that commends him to demagogues and robbers that now swarm about the public offices, for it makes them more secure of their prey."

"*May 21st.*—Lincoln is the echo of Seward without his practical acumen, the follower of Spooner with the rabid spirit of Helper, and the worshipper of John Brown without his pluck. Animated by the same sentiments, but with a far different spirit from that which sent Brown across the Susquehanna, he voluntarily proclaimed in one of his speeches that he 'did mean to go on to the banks of the Ohio and throw missiles into Kentucky to disturb them in their institutions.' Such is the man whom the fanatical black Republicans have brought forward as their choice for President of the American confederation, and for whom they have rejected every man with conservative tendencies, practical statesmanship, or national views, to be found within the party ranks."

"*May 22d.*—The candidate for President, Abram Lincoln, is an uneducated man—a vulgar village politician, without any experience worth mentioning in the practical duties of statesmanship, and only noted for some very unpopular votes which he gave while a member of Congress."

"As to the reception of this miraculous mouse which the Chicago mountain has brought forth, nothing can be more discouraging."

"*May 23d.*—Lincoln is exactly of the same type as the traitor who was hung at Charleston—an abolitionist of the reddest dye, liable to be led to extreme lengths by other men. Without education or refinement, he will be the plaything of his party, whirled along in the vortex of

passion if he should gain the control of the Government. The comparison between Seward and this illiterate Western boor is odious—it is as Hyperion to a satyr. Lincoln has in an aggravated and virulent degree all that rendered Seward unpopular with the conservative classes, while he has none of those redeeming qualities and gifts of genius which distinguish the son of New York."

From the Albany *Atlas and Argus:*

"*May 21st.*—Mr. Lincoln was first heard of in politics a year ago last fall, when, limping with wounds and howling with anguish, he was driven through the State of Illinois by Douglas, and defeated with the tacit approval of the majority of his own party, and with the publicly expressed gratulations of Greeley, Weed, and others. Last spring he made his début in this State as an orator, and commenced by charging for his speeches at the rate of one hundred dollars apiece, and was forced to desist amid such public expressions of contempt that he may be said to have been fairly hissed out of the State. He has never held public office of any credit, and is not known except as a slang-whanging stump speaker, of a class with which every party teems, and of which all parties are ashamed."

From the Boston *Post:*

"*May 21st.*—Lincoln has merely talent for demagogue appeal, that was thought to be worth in New England fifty or one hundred dollars a speech, by those who hired him; but some who heard him were surprised that he should be considered anywhere a great man. He can only be the tool of the fanatical host he will lead on. This is the truth of the case, let the blowers of his party swell him as they may into tremendous dimensions. By this means, and by imitating in every locality the trickery and demagogism that won Lincoln his local popularity, and at length the nomination, his partisans may attempt to secure his election. But such is the intelligence of the country that his attempt must fail."

From the Philadelphia *Evening Journal:*

"*May 24th.—Why should Lincoln be President?* There is not in all the history of his life any exhibition of intellectual ability and attainments fitting him for the high and responsible post in the Government for which he has been nominated. When in Congress, from 1847 to 1849, he was not only not distinguished by any display of parliamentary talent, or by any special service, but those who sat in the same Congress find it difficult to remember that any such person as Abraham Lincoln occupied a seat on the floor. His contest in 1858 with Mr. Douglas for the election as United States Senator from Illinois is the beginning of his fame, and while he showed in that controversy the rough strength of a practised stump speaker, and the pluck of a champion who enters the ring with a crowd of sturdy backers, he exceeded even Seward in the extravagance of his views respecting the slavery question, while his coarse language, his illiterate style, and his vulgar and vituperative personalities in debate contrast very strongly with the elegant and classical oratory of the eminent Senator from New York"

From the Boston *Courier:*

"*July 17th.—A New Argument for the Rail-splitter.* The most careful readers of the Scriptures have sometimes remarked that no matter how carefully or how frequently they have studied the Bible, they are sure to find something new—that is, new to them, of course, because the thought was there from the beginning, and their minds only became prepared to discover it. The lesson is constantly enforced in this way, that man is very much the same as formerly, and that the same things happen to the race now as in former times. But we were scarcely prepared to find so close a description of the Republican candidate to distinction as we see in Psalm 74, v. 5: 'A man famous, according as he had lifted up axes upon thick trees.'"

The parallel is obvious. Morally, we believe it can be said with truth derived from impartial investigation, Champ Clark is the peer of Abraham Lincoln. Of his relative intellectual qualifications for the greatest political position in the world the reader shall be the judge. Our duty ends in setting forth the bases upon which opinion may be formed.

## OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD

Oscar W. Underwood personifies the new, progressive, prosperous, business-like South. Born in Kentucky, in 1862, of well-to-do parents and distinguished lineage, graduated from Rugby School, Kentucky, and the University of Virginia, he began to practise law in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1884 and was first elected to Congress in 1894. His advancement followed as a natural consequence of constant application of his exceptional talents until he achieved the position of definite leadership at the beginning of the present Congress. His record in this highly responsible capacity, with respect to intelligence, tactfulness, and courage manifested or to results accomplished under difficult conditions, has never been surpassed.

Mr. Underwood owes no small part of his prominence as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President to the dictatorial propensities of William Jennings Bryan. While the tariff bills were under discussion Mr. Bryan publicly attacked the Democratic leader as a betrayer of the principles of his party. On the following day Mr. Underwood made the rejoinder which instantly won for him respect and fame throughout the country. The scene in the House of Representatives was admirably depicted by Mr. Samuel G. Blythe:

"'The gentleman from Alabama is recognized,' said the Speaker, leaning forward.

"'Mr. Speaker,' began Underwood, calmly, evenly, dispassionately, and coolly—'Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of personal privilege.'

"He asked that the clerk read from the newspaper which he held in his hand. It was a telegraphic despatch from Lincoln, Nebraska, and it began: 'The recent activity of Representative Underwood in defeating the attempt by Champ Clark and others to reduce the steel-and-iron schedule has met with the disapproval of W. J. Bryan.'

"The reading clerk paused here, then began again: 'To-day Bryan authorizes the following statement: "The action of Chairman Underwood in opposing an immediate effort to reduce the iron and steel schedule reveals the real Underwood. Speaker Clark and other tariff-reformers tried to secure the passage of a resolution instructing the Ways and Means Committee to take up other schedules, including the iron and steel schedule; but Underwood and Fitzgerald, of New York, succeeded in defeating the resolution."'

"There was more of the statement, but that is enough to show its general tenor. It charged Underwood with being tainted with protection and having an individual interest in the iron and steel business, and was a very pointed and personal assault. After the clerk had finished reading the statement there was a moment of silence. Underwood stood looking directly at the Speaker, who still half leaned across the big desk up under the flag. Then Underwood began speaking, slowly, dispassionately, evenly, and gravely.

"'The statements contained in that article are absolutely false!' he said. Instantly the entire Democratic side broke into a roar of applause.

"'If the reflections that paper contains rested only on myself I should not take the time of this House to answer them; but the statements contained in that article are a reflection on the only body of Democracy that is in control of this Government, and as the representative leader on the floor of this House, of this majority, I should be untrue to my party if I did not rise here and stamp those utterances with the brand of falsehood!'

"Underwood continued. He asserted he had asked the committee to take up the iron and steel schedule first because he comes from an iron and steel district, and appealed to his Democratic colleagues on the committee to support this statement, which they did. He said the committee had deemed it wiser to take up the woolen and the cotton schedules first because the iron and steel schedules had been cut in the Wilson, the Dingley, and the Payne bills—and wool and cotton had not been revised for many years. Mr. Kitchin, of North Carolina, corroborated what Underwood claimed; and Underwood further proved his case, explaining his connection with the iron and steel business—he is a stockholder in a company that makes pig iron—and having a telegram read from Mr. Bryan, dated April 23d, to Ollie James, in which Mr. Bryan asked James to convey his congratulations to Underwood.

"'Mr. Speaker,' said Underwood, 'Mr. Bryan did not say I was protectionizing the Democratic party when I brought in the free-list bill. Not until I differed with him on the woolen schedule did he have one word of criticism so far as my conduct was concerned. . . . I had to write

a woolen schedule that would protect the revenues of this Government, and because I did so and did not obey the command of the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr. Bryan, he is endeavoring to make the country believe I am not an honest Democrat in favor of an honest revenue tariff.'

"There was some more of the speech, but not much. It was delivered earnestly, but without heat and without an attempt at oratorical flourish. There was no frenzy of denial, no protesting of innocence, no beating about the bush. A sane young man made a sane denial—and proved his case. That was all there was to it—except this:

"When Underwood finished that statement and sat down, amid the applause of the House, the State of Alabama had a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. Underwood didn't know it; nor was it the fact that he had assailed Mr. Bryan that made him a candidate. What gave the State of Alabama a Presidential candidate was this: Here was a man with the highest type of political courage—independence. Here was a man who did not attempt to palter with a situation, and a delicate one politically, but met it calmly and proved his contention. Here was a man who, as floor-leader of the House majority, was endeavoring to do what seemed best for the Democratic party and the country, and not for the benefit of any individual or the theories of any individual; and the country applauded."

Thus was the character of Oscar W. Underwood revealed to his countrymen. He had demonstrated his sagacity and effectiveness; here was a manifestation of sincerity and courage such as is seldom seen in public life. From that moment the leader of the House became and is to-day the distinctive embodiment of the chief issue of the Democratic party in its appeal to the country for restoration of full power. Mr. Underwood has defined that issue in these simple words:

"The true distinction between the two great parties of this country, to my mind, is the difference between a prohibitive tariff bill and a competitive tariff bill. The Republican party favors a tariff that will raise some revenue to support the Government, but at the same time will prohibit as much foreign merchandise as possible from coming into the country to raise revenue at all. Though the Republican party has repeatedly declared it favors a tariff to protect the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, in fact it favors a protection of the manufacturers' profits; and the Republican party has continually fixed the rates levied at the custom-house so greatly in excess of the difference in cost of production at home and abroad that in many cases the rate has become prohibitive, and no importation was allowed to enter at all. The Democratic party has always declared for a tariff for revenue only.

"It is true that any tariff taxes that are levied which allow some imports to enter the country would, in one sense, be a tariff for revenue; but I take it that the clear meaning of the declaration of the party in favor of a tariff for revenue means a competitive tariff—that is, a tariff

that allows sufficient imports from abroad to bring about fair and honest competition, hereby producing revenue and at the same time preventing the home producer from hiding behind a tariff wall that will enable him to establish monopolies and unduly increase the burdens of taxation resting upon the American people, without their receiving any benefit in return, either in the shape of revenue for the Government or in the development of the great industries of the country.

"It is an axiom which cannot be disputed that the moment any industry is allowed to create a monopoly its development along lines of best endeavor at once ceases. If there was a more general understanding that the tariff is a tax, in which private interests share the proceeds with the Government, there would be a more vigorous questioning of the various duties imposed by Congress than has yet been manifested. Protection is granted for the purpose of enabling new industries to establish themselves and to offset the difference in cost at home and abroad. If an industry cannot be strong and lusty in a reasonable time it shows it is developed by artificial means and is not justified—and the props should be taken away. Statistics conclusively show that most of our industries are able to stand alone. Our natural advantages, improved machinery, efficiency of American labor, and ocean freight rates in many instances overcome the differences in cost of labor at home and abroad.

"I recognize that false standards have been ingrafted on our industrial life, and that we cannot strike them all off in an hour or a day without serious danger. What I contend is that we turn our faces away from them and gradually and carefully adjust our laws to meet new conditions, without serious injury to either labor or capital, in order that we may reduce the cost of living at home and be prepared to dispose of more of our surplus products in the markets of the world, to the end that we may give constant employment to labor and maintain stable prices at home.

"The Democratic party does not intend to abandon the custom-houses, but favors a policy of levying customs duties for revenue purposes only, at rates that will not destroy fair and honest competition in the home market. This position will be accomplished by the reduction of tariff taxes provided for in the laws now on the statute-books, to a point where fair competition will bring about reasonable prices and destroy monopolistic tendencies caused by the high duties now levied at the custom-houses."

In the course of his long experience in Congress, Mr. Underwood has discussed all vital public questions. His position has been invariably that of his party. More need not be said. If Underwood has been in the wrong it follows irresistibly that the fundamental principles of Democracy are unsound. It suffices then, for the present purpose, to set forth the one great issue which is more distinctively his issue than that of any other Democrat. This has been done in his own words spoken with the calmness, moderation, and lucidity which characterize his every utterance. His claim to political preferment rests upon exceptional

ability, sound judgment, perfect poise, faithful service, and noteworthy achievement.

As between Champ Clark, Speaker, and Oscar W. Underwood, leader of the House, choice must be made by the representatives of their party in convention assembled. Conditions which then will have been created in the turbulent ranks of the opposition will be necessarily a large, if not indeed, a determining factor. Happily the integrity, the patriotism, and the Democracy of both are beyond the possibility of question. No Democrat could find excuse for refusing to vote for either. Whichever may be selected, no heartburn will aggravate the other. We record an episode which, though slight in itself, is indicative of personal traits.

When a certain maker of mischief decided to reverse the action of the Democratic caucus with respect to the woolen schedule he made a personal demand upon Speaker Clark that he lead the revolt. The Speaker courteously declined to interfere. But the disturber was persistent. Returning on the following day, he said in words such as these:

"I can now give you the reason why Underwood's programme must be broken."

The Speaker looked up inquiringly. The visitor continued:

"Do you know whom Underwood is for for President?"

"Why, no," said Mr. Clark, quietly; "I have no idea. We have been so busy trying to adjust differences among the members and to get the House into effective working order that we have discussed nothing else. No, the question of the Presidency has never arisen between us."

"Well, I can tell you," was the sharp and significant rejoinder, "he is for Harmon."

The Speaker looked at his interlocutor meditatively and then spoke with homely simplicity:

"Well, Harmon is a good man."

Then turning and gazing through the window-pane, he added, thoughtfully:

"If he wasn't, Underwood wouldn't be for him."

The conversation ended, but three tributes paid in a single sentence live—one to the distinguished Governor of Ohio, another to the capable leader of the House, and a third, unconscious but unmistakable, to the perfect simplicity, absolute honesty, and true magnanimity of the Speaker himself.

THE EDITOR.

# SAFETY AT SEA

BY GEORGE VON L. MEYER, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

It is within the power of all countries under whose flag ocean-going steamships sail or into whose ports they come to prescribe such rules and regulations to govern their equipment and navigation as would minimize the danger of such accidents as that which befell the White Star steamer *Titanic,* enlarge the possibilities of obtaining assistance, and render it possible to save the life of every person on board in the event of the sinking of the vessel. The loss of more than sixteen hundred lives in this great sea tragedy is a circumstance of which the mournful truth becomes an overpowering horror by the fact that practically every soul on board could have been saved had there been boats to carry them.

First and foremost, then, laws should be at once enacted prescribing that no passenger-steamer shall carry more persons on board, crew and passengers, than can be accommodated in the boats and on the life-rafts provided in the vessel's equipment.

The Congress of the United States unquestionably has the power to enact such laws as applying to vessels flying the American flag, and the further power to enact laws refusing clearance from any American port to any foreign vessel not complying with such laws. Federal inspection of all vessels would be necessary to see that the laws are enforced.

Every member of the crew and every passenger embarking in an ocean-going vessel should be assigned to a certain boat or raft and should be informed of his assignment; each passage ticket should designate the boat to which the holder is assigned, and there should be, in each stateroom, a diagram of the ship showing the location of the boat, the deck from which loaded, and the route by which it could be reached.

All boats and rafts should be provided with water, provisions, lanterns, and other needful equipment, and should be inspected by government inspectors before each sailing, as well as by the officers of the ship, to each of whom a boat should be assigned as his proper station and particular care.

Frequent drills of the crew in manning the boats should be made mandatory, these drills to include lowering the boats with loads equal to their passenger capacity a sufficient distance to make certain that the falls and blocks are in good condition.

Each vessel should carry a sufficient number of skilled wireless operators to insure one always being on duty. Messengers or other means of communication between the wireless operator and the officer of the watch should also be provided, so that it would be unnecessary for the operator to leave his station. The important point is that there should not be a moment of the day or night during which a distress call may be sent without its being recognized by all vessels within communicating distance.

The Government should prescribe regulations covering all wireless telegraph activities either by international agreement or by national legislation. On occasions of great disaster, such as the loss of the *Titanic,* the eagerness of irresponsible private operators to secure news interferes very seriously with the proper transmission of important messages and leads to all kinds of misinformation being sent broadcast over the world. This situation is so serious that no time should be lost in correcting it.

More than one source of power for the wireless telegraph should be installed. No apparatus of this kind, the efficiency of which may bear such a vital relation to the safety of the vessel, should be dependent on one source of power if an alternative source can be provided. In a sinking ship steam-driven dynamos stop when the water reaches the fires, but an oil-engine or storage batteries on an upper deck would operate the wireless as long as the operator could remain at the key.

The operating radius of the wireless installations of all large steamships should be increased to five hundred miles, not only for the protection of the vessel in case of disaster, but to warn other vessels of dangers to navigation.

The water-tight subdivision of steamships should be such as to afford every possible and reasonable assurance of their

safety in case of collision or grounding. The most effective structural protection against collisions on board ship consists in fitting bulkheads which are simply water-tight partitions to confine the flow of water which as a result of collision finds its way into a ship. Obviously the more numerous the bulkheads and decks, and the smaller the water-tight compartments into which a ship is divided, the greater the protection afforded. A large battle-ship will have three or even four skins on each side—the outer bottom, the inner bottom, and one or two longitudinal bulkheads.

In the mammoth ships recently constructed, too much space has been given to the unnecessary luxuries provided to attract patronage on account of the rivalry of competing lines. The space and weight devoted to swimming-tanks, tennis courts, gymnasiums, extra cafés, etc., would be better utilized in improved construction, additional boats and safety appliances, and in additional water-tight bulkheads.

A town of three thousand inhabitants requires a greater police force to protect the citizens than a village of two hundred, so also a steamer carrying thousands of passengers requires more officers and trained seamen than one formerly carrying only hundreds if equal safety to passengers in an emergency is to be secured. Such vessels should be required to carry for each boat at least one officer or efficient petty officer and six members of the crew skilled as boatmen.

The regulations in the United States Navy cover the following points: the exact location of each boat is known to every man assigned to it, and frequent drills are held in which the boats are manned, equipped, lowered, and sent away from the ship. Every boat is fitted with water, provisions, and equipment for navigating; one officer is placed in charge of each boat and is held responsible for its condition and readiness for service.

The Government owns and operates its own wireless telegraph sets, and on every vessel equipped with one there is an operator on duty and listening for calls during every minute of the day and night.

The water-tight subdivisions of United States naval vessels of recent construction are such that no ordinary accident can seriously endanger them; while at sea all doors and other openings in water-tight bulkheads are kept closed except such as must be open for the service of the ship; all these can be closed in a few seconds when the danger

signal is given; many can be closed from the bridge, others are closed by hand by men detailed for the purpose and frequently drilled in doing so.

Search-lights are carried by all men-of-war and are used in times of dangerous navigation.

United States naval vessels go at slow speed or steerage-way in a fog or in dangerous waters, and change course immediately to avoid danger.

After the *Bourgogne* disaster a large money prize was offered by certain people who had lost relatives or friends on board the ill-fated ship for the best device for saving large numbers of men in the event of the sinking of a vessel. The award of this prize was made by a committee during or just after the Paris Exposition in 1900. The device suggested consisted in making the bridge of the vessel in the form of a raft or cigar-shaped vessel which could be easily and surely detached from the ship itself when she sank, and which would support six or seven hundred passengers. A similar and perfectly practicable suggestion of having a detachable and floating deck-house to support several hundred passengers has also been made.

Either one of these two devices, had it been fitted to the *Titanic,* would doubtless have meant saving nearly all the lives of those on board. There is no inherent impossibility in fitting both of them should it be desired, and the provision of one or both would insure against a repetition of such accidents even should the sinking of the vessel be so rapid as to make it impossible to lower and fill all the boats.

After all has been done that can be done by laws and international agreement to reduce the dangers of the sea, human beings will take chances and will gamble with Fate; against the accidents that may result from indulgence of this human propensity, perhaps the surest safeguard is the one that the underwriters may set up by refusing insurance to a vessel not properly built and equipped or recklessly speeded or navigated in dangerous lanes.

George von L. Meyer.

# THE LESSON OF THE "TITANIC"

BY LEWIS NIXON

THE incontrovertible facts which stand out in the greatest sea tragedy the world has ever known are that the vessel was going too fast in a region of known danger and that there were not enough life-boats for all persons on board. Such indictments will not be made again, for stringent legislation will secure immediate remedies.

As a preliminary caution the transatlantic lines are all now advertising that the southern route will be used. To go more to the south for the east-bound vessels necessitates moving the west-bound track even farther south, which simply means a longer voyage, and this wise plan of keeping eastward and westward bound vessels in different tracks, thus greatly minimizing risk of collision on the North Atlantic, needs no argument. But whether great departure from the present routes of travel is brought about or not, we may rest secure in the assurance that when passing through the iceberg region far more care will be exercised than was in the case of the *Titanic,* where no special precautions seem to have been taken even after definite warnings.

It may be that the maritime nations will institute a patrol of vessels which at certain seasons will endeavor to keep track of the flow of bergs and ice-fields and warn vessels entering such fields by wireless. As a natural sequence all vessels carrying passengers will be required to install wireless equipment and to have operators in such number that one will always be on duty. The necessary current for wireless operation, while drawn from the generators below, will have to be supplemented by generators on the upper deck run by gas-engines or by storage batteries. Drastic legislation exacting penalties for failure to respond to calls for aid may be enacted, though of course this is very difficult unless the record of wireless operation is absolutely

distinct from the same influences that write the ship's log. The whole matter, however, resolves itself into the fact that those who go down to the sea in ships must take risks, and that while a vessel lying at a dock may seem an immense structure, when at sea she becomes a pygmy and the ocean's greatness overwhelming. So while outside influences may in some measure aid in safeguarding ship and passengers, the wisest provisions will be those devoted to making the vessel itself as secure as possible in operation and in perfecting efficiency of equipment.

Nothing so far has developed an argument against the large vessel. It is the writer's opinion that they will increase in size so long as harbor appliances can make room for them, as the larger vessel is economically a better vessel than the smaller one, and a designer can put more in safety, more in comfort, and more in profit in a large vessel than he can in a smaller one.

Just what opinion will prevail for its use on the vessels of the future, from the fact that the turbine-engine-driven boat cannot exert the same backing power that she does in going forward, is a matter of conjecture. When asked my opinion as to the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania* I very frankly said I should prefer three engines like those of the *Kaiser Wilhelm II.*—that is, one amidships and the other two having the usual twin-screw arrangement with the vessel built around the engines and the necessary boilers. This design is well adapted for a transatlantic steamer and one under perfect control at all times. Exactly the way the reciprocating engines of the *Titanic* worked I have not seen, but assume that certain by-pass valves were manipulated to reverse them. Yet this, it would seem, took up too much time, and besides afforded too little effect in backing. There was, of course, a safe speed at which, even with the necessary ripping of the double bottom from the impact, thus causing a dangerous loss of buoyancy, the vessel might not have been damaged seriously, but the tremendous momentum of such a mass, once it struck, would at almost any speed, unless capable of quick and powerful reversing of the engines, have caused fatal injury.

The results of such an accident so far as the ship is concerned are unavoidable. This being the case, the accident must be avoided, or, if this is not done, the life of those on board must be safeguarded as completely as possible.

There will probably be an extension of the double bottom up the sides, a lifting of transverse bulkheads, fewer water-tight doors, and a rearrangement of construction forward. But the general construction of the metal hull has been a matter of slow evolution, and no effort is spared in making it of ample strength.

Obviously, then, we must concern ourselves principally with the prevention of accident and the saving of life. The main causes of disaster are fire, which includes destruction by lightning; collisions with moving vessels, or with derelicts and icebergs; destruction by time-bombs; and doubtless ships have been destroyed by meteors. Fire on a vessel with numerous passengers is a calamity so frightful in its possible result that it is most carefully guarded against, and fortunately modern steel construction admits, in a degree, of confining the fire. Even now, though, there are not sufficient means to prevent the spread of fire along the upper decks, where the usefulness of water-tight doors is not so evident. Happily the chance of fire is small under present conditions of watchfulness, but nevertheless care should be taken, in the overhaul of laws now under international scrutiny, to look fully into fire prevention. For example, it is perfectly safe to smoke in certain prescribed parts of the vessel, but a whipping-post or stocks should be provided for the man who smokes in his stateroom or keeps matches about him. This may sound overdrawn, but the unburnable ship has no more been produced than the unsinkable ship.

It is claimed that we can receive warning of the presence of icebergs through the temperature of air and water, but with the great speeds of the present day such warning is not to be depended upon.

The eophone is an instrument used to locate objects in fog by echo from the whistle of the ship which carries it, the instrument pointing toward the object making the sound when heard the same in both ears. It was placed on several vessels, but seems not to be generally adopted, although a very efficient equipment. The submarine bell now on most vessels picks up and indicates the direction of sound originating under water. An extension of its use will be to locate bodies echoing sounds originating on the vessel carrying it. As an incentive to radio experts, I suggest a needle which will place itself in the line of waves radiating from another vessel and so point to it. It is probable, too, that a wireless

outfit of tension radically different from the main message outfit will be installed for feeling out in thick weather other vessels within a radius of twenty miles. Bells can doubtless be rung by wireless to warn of another vessel's approach.

Icebergs may be encountered quite far south, so that the present practice of adhering to certain lanes, depending upon the season of the year, will doubtless be continued. But vessels, when warned of the presence of ice or while in the ice region during certain seasons, will doubtless be required to slow down in heavy or very dark weather and will close water-tight doors in the principal bulkheads. But how much better to have no doors in them to close!

More attention will be paid to the lookout station in construction and location, and the obvious requirement is that two men be carried there at night and in thick weather, and that proper means be taken to insure that the men continue awake and alert.

The building of vessels of great size and speed calls attention to the fact that, apart from size, there is but little difference in appearance between the vessel of forty years ago and to-day. A radical recast of the above-water structure is necessary to better adapt vessels to great speed in heavy seas, and in such an evolution the safe launching of passengers will have to be given great consideration.

But it is to life-saving appliances on existing vessels that attention is now directed. It takes some knowledge of the sea and its ways to understand the boat question. In placing boats on sea-going vessels many things must be studied. The arrangement of the boats for lowering, the lifting of covers, the removal of the outer chocks upon which the boats rest, the disposition and lead of the falls, getting the passengers into the boats in safety, lowering and releasing, are all matters of first importance. When speaking of the "small boats" of a vessel it must be kept in mind that they are not small. Such boats not only require practice in getting ready to lower, but when lowered down the high sheer side of a liner the greatest skill is required, in breasting off, to keep the boats from smashing against the side and the greatest judgment demanded in releasing them. Boats are not lowered into the water, but are dropped when some distance above it, and if dropped at the wrong instant are apt to be thrown against the side. No boats should hereafter be carried on curved davits when stowed inboard. A

few boats for quick lowering may be carried on such davits already swung out, but davits of the Welin type should be required for the regular ship's boats. The *Titanic* went down in a quiet sea, but had there been even a moderate sea on the casualties would have been much greater. There should be boat and raft accommodation enough for every one on board, and that we may have this on existing ships many more boats must be carried. The unsinkable life-boat is the best where it can be carried all ready to lower. But the conditions of the *Titanic* accident may be seldom reproduced, and a list to one side, for example, would soon render lowering from the other side impossible. The collapsible type with substantial wooden bottom is a good emergency substitute when life-boats enough cannot be carried at davits. The life-rafts have great value, but they should be made much larger than at present. To stand fifty feet in the air and look down into cold, dark water tries the nerves in a way to deter many from jumping into the sea even with life-belts. This difficulty might be overcome if chutes were constructed running down the sides, something like the usual ship's gangway, which delivered those using them well clear of the vessel to be picked up. Such means would seem preferable to being lowered in a heavy sea. The handling of boats by power-derricks is not desirable, as the power supplied from below may fail. Large boats, housed over, in which passengers could be stowed away till the boat had been hoisted clear and dropped into the water would be safer if power-lifting could be depended upon, and these could have their own motive power, for it is a safe assertion that many more men can run an automobile engine than can pull an oar. Eventually all the ships' life-boats will be fitted as motor-boats. A short time ago a steamer plying on the Mediterranean fitted one of its life-boats with a standard motor and coupled the motor to a dynamo as well as to the screw, with a view to furnishing power for wireless work if the main plant gave out.

Of course there is no excuse if the boats are not properly fitted and all automata in perfect working order. There comes a time when the wooden life-boats may leak, and many vessels carry metal life-boats. The ordinary canvas folding-boat does not secure the confidence of sea-going men, though very good for inland water navigation.

In the confusion following an accident it is very hard to

get people into the proper boats. Many ways will be adopted before the best practice is secured. But we should, at any rate, begin with giving every passenger a card stating the number of his life-boat and a printed request that he take an early opportunity to inspect the boat. As soon as possible on the voyage there should be a boat drill, the passengers being urged to witness it and a few asked to take their places in the boats. While legislation will be drastic and compelling, it is to be hoped it will be general enough to encourage improvement in life-saving equipment.

In future it would be desirable if in large vessels a part of the vessel aft were built with metal top and bottom and so secured that it could be launched overboard as a floating pontoon or raft in case the vessel sinks. In such structure there could be a small wireless outfit and some provisions in a concentrated form.

Another means of safeguarding has been proposed—namely, the sailing of vessels in pairs—but this plan does not seem to have much to commend it. As a rule, lines do not add new vessels in such numbers as to render this possible, and to couple up an old vessel with a new one simply reduces the new to the level of the old.

Safety at sea will be greater as an outcome of the accident, but progress must not be barred as a result, and in connection with inland water navigation it is to be remembered that much is properly permitted which could not be allowed on the ocean.

We have in our battle-ships devices to show when water enters compartments, and by simple and economical devices it would be possible to have the depth to which water has risen indicated on the bridge, and on merchantmen as well as on our men-of-war search-lights should be carried.

Vessels will be made progressively better, stronger, safer, and speedier. Luxury and comfort are not in themselves bad, but travelers have a right to expect that they are added by the naval designer after providing every proper device for safety. We have had a sad awakening to the fact that, while we have applauded progress and improvement in ocean liners during this generation, laws affecting their management in the interest of the traveling public have not kept pace with advance in construction.

LEWIS NIXON.

# "THE GREAT ILLUSION"

## A REPLY TO REAR-ADMIRAL A. T. MAHAN

BY NORMAN ANGELL

In the March number of The North American Review, Rear-Admiral Mahan has stated the reasons which prompt him to regard the thesis I have elaborated and the conclusions drawn therefrom in *The Great Illusion* as erroneous. These conclusions are, briefly, that as between civilized nations it is impossible for one to achieve anything of material or moral worth by the exercise of physical force upon the other; that war as between such nations is futile in that the victor, even when completely successful, cannot by virtue of his victory advance his moral or material well-being; that we have passed out of that stage of development in which it is possible to settle the conflicts of civilized men—whether those conflicts are of an economic or moral origin—by means of military force.

Admiral Mahan dissents for two reasons—one major and the other minor. His major reason is that *The Great Illusion* "regards the world as governed by material self-interest."

> "The purpose of armaments in the minds of those maintaining them is not primarily economical advantage, in the sense of depriving a neighboring State of its own, or fear of such consequence to itself through the deliberate aggression of a rival having that particular end in view. . . . The fundamental proposition of the book is a mistake. Nations are under no illusion as to the unprofitableness of war in itself. . . . The entire conception of the work is itself an illusion based upon a profound misreading of human action. To regard the world as governed by self-interest only is to live in a non-existent world, an ideal world, a world possessed by an idea much less worthy than those which mankind, to do it bare justice, persistently entertains."

It is somewhat astonishing that a work as irrelevant as all this to the practical problems of international politics should have received from Admiral Mahan the very con-

siderable attention he has devoted to it. But is the economic motive as a factor of international struggle quite as unimportant and secondary as the foregoing passage would imply? How does Admiral Mahan reconcile the emphatic dogmatism of the foregoing passage as to the inoperative nature of self-interest in the struggle between nations with his own statement of the case which I take from one of his books hardly yet four years old—*The Interest of America in International Conditions*? He writes:

"It is as true now as when Washington penned the words, and will always be true, that it is vain to expect nations to act consistently from any motive other than that of interest. This under the name of Realism is the frankly avowed motive of German statecraft. It follows from this directly that the study of interests, international interests, is the one basis of sound, and provident, policy for statesmen. . . .

"The old predatory instinct, that he should take who has the power, survives, . . . and moral force is not sufficient to determine issues unless supported by physical. Governments are corporations, and corporations have not souls, . . . must put first the lawful interests, of their own wards, their own people. Such preeminence forces a nation to seek markets, and where possible to control them to its own advantage by preponderant force, the ultimate expression of which is possession, . . . an inevitable link in a chain of logical sequences: Industry, markets, control, navy, bases."

Admiral Mahan has, it is true, anticipated the presentation of this parallel by pleading the complex nature of human nature (which no one denies). "Bronze is copper and bronze is tin," he says. But he entirely overlooks the fact that if one withholds copper or one withholds tin it is no longer bronze. The author of *The Great Illusion* has never taken the ground that all international action can be explained in the terms of one narrow motive. He does take the ground that if you can profoundly modify the bearing of a constituent so important as that to which Admiral Mahan himself in his own work attributed great importance, you will profoundly modify the whole texture and character of international relations.

Even were it true, therefore, that the thesis in *The Great Illusion* is as narrowly economical as the criticism I have quoted would imply, it would nevertheless have on Admiral Mahan's own showing a very profound bearing on the problems of international statecraft.

But as a matter of simple fact the thesis in question does not postulate any such narrow conception of human motive.

Although the public seem to have centered their attention on that section of the book which deals with the financial and economical aspect, that aspect, even in sheer bulk, does not represent more than a third of it. It is not, as its critics would have us believe, a money-lender's gospel; it does not discredit moral effort, and, ineffective as it may be in execution, the intention was to show the bearing of warfare, not upon the interest of stock-brokers and money-lenders, but upon the interests of mankind. A general truth or principle may be stated in various terms, but you cannot separate a problem of interest from a problem of right or morality in the absolute fashion that Admiral Mahan would imply, because right and morality postulate the protection and promotion of the general interest.

A nation, a people, we are given to understand, have higher motives than money or "self-interest." What do we mean when we speak of the money of a nation or the self-interest of a community? We mean—and in such a discussion as this mean nothing else—better conditions for the great mass of the people; the fullest possible lives; the abolition or attenuation of poverty and destitution; not merely that the millions shall be better housed and clothed and fed, capable of provision for sickness and old age, with lives prolonged and cheered; not merely this, but also that they shall be better educated, with character disciplined by steady labor and a better use of leisure, a general social atmosphere which shall make possible family affection, individual dignity and courtesy and the graces of life, not alone among the few, but among the many.

Now, do these things constitute a worthy national policy, an inspiring aim of statesmanship, or not? Yet they are, speaking in terms of communities, pure self-interest—all bound up with economic problems, with money. Does Admiral Mahan mean us to take him at his word when he would attach to such efforts the same discredit that one implies in talking of a mercenary individual? Would he have us believe that the typical great movements of our times—Socialism, Trade Unionism, Syndicalism, Insurance Bills, Land Laws, Old-age Pensions, Charity Organization, Improved Education—bound up as they all are with economic problems, are not the sort of objects which more and more are absorbing the best activities of Christendom?

What are the activities which lie outside the range of

those things? Are they ever likely to constitute a cause of struggle between nations? Religion? Religion, it is true, was a motive drenching Europe with blood during some hundreds of years, but the last real war of religion in Europe ended with the Peace of Westphalia. A question of honor, the avenging of some "insult"? Yes, that may yet drive a nation into war because the code of morals which rules the relations of nations lags behind the code which dominates the relations of individuals, and for that reason the morality of the duel, long since abandoned as between individuals in the best type of human society, still obtains as between nations. Englishmen of the eighteenth century would have scorned the idea that a personal insult could ever have any other solution than the field of honor; to urge the contrary was to show oneself either craven or ignorant of human nature. Yet the duel has disappeared. "Honor," even that which cannot be taken to the courts, is just as well protected without it; and Anglo-Saxon civilization is not craven; it is not worse for the disappearance of the duel; it is better. International conduct will show a like development.

I have attempted in my book roughly to indicate the process at work in these developments, to show that in the changing character of men's ideals there is a distinct narrowing of the gulf which is supposed to separate ideal aims and those of self-interest. Early ideals, whether in the field of politics or religion, are generally disassociated from any aim of general well-being. In early politics ideals are concerned simply with personal allegiance to some dynastic chief, a feudal lord or a monarch. The well-being of a community does not enter into the matter at all. Later the chief must embody in his person that well-being or he does not achieve the allegiance of a community of any enlightenment; later the well-being of the community becomes the end in itself without being embodied in the person of any hereditary chief; the community realize that their efforts, instead of being directed to the protection of the individual interests of some chief, are, as a matter of fact, directed to the protection of their own interests, and their altruism has become self-interest, since self-sacrifice of a community for the sake of the community is a contradiction in terms. In the religious sphere a like development has been shown. Primitive religious ideals have no relation to the material

betterment of mankind. The early Christian thought it meritorious to live a sterile life at the top of a pillar eaten by vermin, as the Hindoo saint to-day thinks it meritorious to live an equally sterile life upon a bed of spikes. But as the early Christian ideal progressed, sacrifices having no purpose connected with the betterment of mankind lost their appeal. Our admiration now goes, not to the recluse who does nothing for mankind, but rather to the priest who would give his life to bring a ray of comfort to a leper settlement. The Christian saint who would allow the nails of his fingers to grow through the palms of his clasped hands would excite, not our admiration, but our revolt. More and more is religious effort being subjected to this test: Does it make for the improvement of society? If not it stands condemned. Political ideals will inevitably be more and more subjected to a like test. I am aware that very often at present they are not so subjected. Dominated, as our political thought is, by Roman and feudal imagery—hypnotized by symbols and analogues which the necessary development of organized society has rendered obsolete—the ideals even of democracies are still often pure abstractions, divorced from any purpose calculated to advance the moral or material betterment of mankind. The craze for sheer size of territory, simple extent of administrative area, is still deemed a thing deserving immense, incalculable sacrifices. Because a Roman province was in a true sense a " possession " of the central Roman state, because a population was in some real sense " owned " by a feudal chief, we still talk as though one self-governing community could " own " another self-governing community and that annexation in some unexplained way is an addition to the wealth of the annexing state—as though the wealth of a people depended upon the size of the administrative area which they happened to inhabit, as though the population of London were necessarily better off than the population of Philadelphia, because London is a bigger city; or as though Londoners would increase their wealth by " annexing " the County of Kent. And yet even these ideals, firmly set as they are in our language and tradition, are rapidly yielding to the necessary force of events. A generation ago it would have been inconceivable that a people or a monarch should calmly see part of its country secede and establish itself as a separate political entity without attempting to prevent it

by force of arms. Yet this is what happened but a year or two since in the Scandinavian peninsula. For forty years Germany has added to the difficulties of the European situation and to her own for the purpose of including Alsace and Lorraine in its federation, but even there, obeying the tendency which is world-wide, an attempt has been made at the creation of a constitutional and autonomous government. The history of the British Empire for fifty years has been a process of undoing the work of conquest. England, which for centuries has made such sacrifices to retain Ireland, is now making great sacrifices in order to make her secession workable. To all political arrangements, to all political ideals, this final test will be applied: Does it or does it not make for the widest interests of the mass of the people involved?

And it is to that test that I have subjected warfare as between nations. In applying it I have used terms that I thought would be most familiar to a busy and occupied world, largely those of the market-place, because those would make the essence of these problems understandable to the workaday mass to whom a problem set in purely moral terms might not appeal; not from any moral recalcitrance, but because the hard pressure of their working lives would make economic terms easier of comprehension.

It is possible that Admiral Mahan might rejoin with another distinction. He might urge that, though these questions all had more or less their origin in or were bound up with economic problems, the economic question becomes itself a moral question, a question of right: it was not the few pence of the ship tax that Hampden fought about, but the question of right which its payment involved. So with nations; war, ineffective to achieve an economic end, unprofitable in the sense that the cost involved in the defense of a given economic point exceeds its monetary value, will still be fought because a point trifling in the economic sense is all-important from the view of right.

That objection would be perfectly valid if the moral divisions of men, even those arising out of economic conflict, coincided with their political divisions; but they do not. The physical division of labor between nations due to the developed means of communication has set up not merely an economic interdependence, so cut athwart political frontiers as to render the great industrial nations, like Eng-

land and Germany, no longer economic units (Lancashire being economically far more a part of Louisiana, a section of a foreign State, than it is of Dorsetshire, a section of the same State), but out of that condition has grown an intellectual interdependence; nations are no longer moral and intellectual units. The moral divisions of men no longer coincide with the political and national divisions; so that national armies can no longer embody the moral rivalries. Religious wars came to an end because as religious differences came to intersect political frontiers there was produced a condition in which no state could be regarded as purely Catholic or purely Protestant, and we had a Catholic France allied with a Protestant Sweden. The struggle in the form of military rivalry between States was ridiculous and came to an end.

If there is any ideal motive prompting English hostility to Germany, that motive is in some way connected with English ideals of personal freedom and parliamentary government; but it would be impossible to advance those ideals by warfare, for the simple reason that the real fight for them must necessarily be carried on inside the German frontiers by Germans and can be advanced in no other way. For a foreign nation to challenge Germany on behalf of such ideals would compel Germans now fighting for such to abandon that fight and to fight as patriots against those in sympathy with them. The net result of such a war, however it might go, would be to set back the struggle now going on in Germany.

So much for Admiral Mahan's major objection. His minor objection appears to be roughly embodied in the following passage:

"Even on the ground of self-interest only, the argument appears overstrained. . . . I had occasion several years ago to look somewhat extensively into the economical and financial conditions of Great Britain toward the end of the Napoleonic wars. They were dismal; but it is true none the less that those of the Continent were so much worse that Great Britain owed the long start which she held and kept to this cause largely, of course not solely, for a single reason rarely accounts for all the phenomena of a social order.

"Great Britain owed her superiority then to the armed control of the sea, which had sheltered her commercial and industrial fabric from molestation by the enemy; while by the same means she crushed the prosperity of France, disabling her from utilizing her rich resources in the processes of commercial exchange. . . . As the result of the war between France and Germany in 1870, Germany acquired territory and

a huge indemnity. These were direct results. She received also the final impulse to national unity, consummated in the formal institution of the German Empire. . . . On the other hand, German national unity has assured, throughout the countries thus confederated into one empire, the development of an economical and industrial system which, among other effects, has resulted in reducing emigration from some 200,000, in 1879, to 25,000 yearly now; although, coincident with this diminution, the population is increasing by 800,000 annually."

Now I have attempted to show that the respective weight of the factors in international development have changed radically, not merely since the Napoleonic era, but since the days of the Franco-German War. Presumably Admiral Mahan rejects this part of my thesis, since he reverts to the facts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Not only does the foregoing passage imply that military power must play roughly the same rôle in commercial and industrial development now as then (otherwise it would be irrelevant to cite these historical facts), but that a nation is advantaged by damage to its neighbors or that a nation will be prepared to fight merely for the sake of seeing a neighbor suffer a worse loss than itself.

In attempting to sketch the progression away from the methods of physical force I indicated certain facts of historical development. The earliest form of overseas enterprise— of "sea-power"—was simple piracy, like that of the Northmen, whose only notion of deriving profit from that power was to ravage an enemy's coast and to squeeze the population for danegeld. The struggle for colonial expansion after the discovery of the New World took a somewhat less crude form, but was still bound up with the exercise of sheer political and military force. And now industrial and commercial expansion has got beyond even that stage: that expansion is no longer dependent upon the political power of the particular people who may be seeking it. I have stated the case thus:

"What was the problem confronting the merchant adventurer of the sixteenth century? Here were newly discovered lands containing, as he believed, precious metals and stones and spices, inhabited by savages or semi-savages. If other traders got those stones or precious metals, it was quite evident that he could not. His colonial policy therefore had to be directed to two ends: firstly, to such effective political occupation of the country as to keep the savage or semi-savage population in check; and, secondly, to prevent other nations from searching for this wealth and precious metals, since if they obtained it he could not. That is the story of the French and Dutch in India, of the Spanish in South America.

But as soon as there grew up in those countries an organized community living in the country itself the whole problem changed. The colonies then have a value to the mother-country mainly as a market and a source of food and raw material, and if their value in those respects is to be developed to the full, they inevitably become self-governing communities in a greater or lesser degree, and the mother-country exploits them just as she exploits any other community with which she may be in relation. Germany might acquire Canada, but it could no longer ever be a question of her taking Canada's wealth in precious metals or in any other form to the exclusion of other nations. If Germany 'owned' Canada, she would have to own it in the same way that the English do. The Germans would have to pay for every sack of wheat and for every pound of beef they might buy just as if Canada belonged to England or to anybody else. Germany could not have even the meager satisfaction of Germanizing those great communities, for every one knows that they are too firmly 'set.' Their language, law, morals, would have to remain; so that after conquest Germany would find that German Canada was pretty much the same Canada as it is now; a country where Germans are free to go and do go, which is now a field for Germany's expanding population and for Germany's overseas trade. As a matter of fact, Germany feeds her expanding population from territories like Canada and the United States without going there. The era of emigration for Germany has stopped because the compound steam-engine has rendered emigration largely unnecessary."

Admiral Mahan does not deal with the historical development I have indicated here except to imply that such development does not affect the field of practical politics because the events of 1911—the Franco-German conflict over Morocco, the accentuation of the Anglo-German conflict, the invasion of Tripoli by Italy—show that the old factors of international conflict are still operative.

These events show nothing at all except that political opinion in Europe is still dominated by the old conceptions; that the public opinion which gives the motive force to the action of governments is still carried along on the momentum of old ideas—which it was the object of my book to show. At the bottom of the whole struggle of 1911—not merely the diplomatic struggle in which France, England, and Germany were engaged, but the actual military conflict which has been precipitated as between Italy and Turkey—was the European contest for African territory. That contest has not only provoked one war, but brought war for three other great nations within measurable distance. Whatever be the outcome, one thing is certain: immense burdens will be added to the already heavy one carried by the five or six nations concerned; for two or three hundred millions of people in Europe life with all its problems of high prices,

labor wars, unsolved social difficulties will be made harder still. One would assume, therefore, that this struggle for African territory was bound up with the "primordial needs" of the three or four hundred millions concerned. Well, the simple truth is that it misses those needs altogether, as the history of the last twenty or thirty years most plainly shows.

The national future and welfare of France would not have suffered one whit had Morocco passed under the administration of Germany; Germany's real expansion, the activities by which her people gain their livelihood, have not in the past and will not in the future depend upon the acquisition of tropical colonies. The prosperity of Italy, if the experience of France, the most successful African colonizer in Europe, is any guide, will not be advanced by the conquest of Tripoli; it is likely to be diminished.

Dogmatic as these assertions may sound, they are borne out by facts from which there is no escape. Both Italy and Germany are trying to follow in the African footsteps of France. Let us see exactly what that sort of national development means, as illustrated to us in the case of Tunis, one of the most successful instances of the sort of development about which the whole conflict of 1911 raged. I have summarized that history elsewhere as follows:

"In thirty years, at a cost of many million sterling (it is part of successful colonial administration in France never to let it be known what the colonies really cost), France has founded in Tunis a colony, in which to-day there are, excluding soldiers and officials, about 25,000 genuine French colonists: just the number by which the French population in France—the real France—is diminishing every six months! And the value of Tunis as a market does not even amount to the sum which France spends directly on its occupation and administration, to say nothing of the indirect extension of military burden which its conquest involved; and, of course, the market which it represents would still exist in some form, though England—or even Germany—administered the country.

"In other words, France loses twice every year in her home population a colony equivalent to Tunis—if we measure colonies in terms of communities made up of the race which has sprung from the mother-country. And yet, if once in a generation her rulers and diplomats can point out to 25,000 Frenchmen living artificially and exotically under conditions which must in the long run be inimical to their race, it is pointed to as 'expansion' and as evidence that France is maintaining her position as a Great Power. A few years, as history goes, unless there is some complete change of tendencies which at present seem as strong as ever, the French race as we now know it will have ceased to exist,

swamped without the firing, maybe, of a single shot, by the Germans, Belgians, English, Italians, and Jews. There are to-day in France more Germans than there are Frenchmen in all the colonies that France has acquired in the last half-century, and German trade with France outweighs enormously the trade of France with all French colonies. France is to-day a better colony for the Germans than they could make of any exotic colony which France owns.

"'They *tell* me,' said a French deputy recently (in a not quite original *mot*), 'that the Germans are at Agadir. I *know* they are in the Champs-Elysées.' Which, of course, is in reality a much more serious matter.

"And on the other side we are to assume that Germany has during the period of France's expansion—since the war—not expanded at all. That she has been throttled and cramped—that she has not had her place in the sun; and that is why she must fight for it and endanger the security of her neighbors.

"Well, I put it to you that all this in reality is false: that Germany has not been cramped or throttled; that, on the contrary, as we recognize when we get away from the mirage of the map, her expansion has been the wonder of the world. She has added 20,000,000 to her population—one-half the present population of France—during a period in which the French population has actually diminished. Of all the nations in Europe, she has cut the biggest swath in the development of world trade, industry, and influence. Despite the fact that she has not 'expanded' in the sense of mere political dominion, a proportion of her population, equivalent to the white population of the whole colonial British Empire, make their living, or the best part of it, from the development and exploitation of territory outside her borders. These facts are not new; they have been made the text of thousands of political sermons preached in England itself during the last few years; but one side of their significance seems to have been missed.

"We get, then, this: On the one side a nation extending enormously its political dominion and yet diminishing in national force, if by national force we mean the growth of a sturdy, enterprising, vigorous people. (I am not denying that France is both wealthy and comfortable, to a greater degree it may be than her rival; but she has not her colonies to thank for it—quite the contrary.) On the other side, we get immense expansion expressed in terms of those things—a growing and vigorous population and the possibility of feeding them—and yet the political dominion, speaking practically, has hardly been extended at all.

"Such a condition of things, if the common jargon of high politics means anything, is preposterous. It takes nearly all meaning out of most that we hear about 'primordial needs' and the rest of it.

"As a matter of fact, we touch here one of the vital confusions, which is at the bottom of most of the present political trouble between nations, and shows the power of the old ideas and the old phraseology.

"In the days of the sailing-ship and the lumbering wagon dragging slowly over all but impassable roads, for one country to derive any considerable profit from another, it had practically to administer it politically. But the compound steam-engine, the railway, the telegraph, have profoundly modified the elements of the whole problem. In the modern world political dominion is playing a more and more effaced rôle as a

factor in commerce; the non-political factors have in practice made it all but inoperative. It is the case with every modern nation actually that the outside territories which it exploits most successfully are precisely those of which it does not 'own' a foot. Even with the most characteristically colonial of all—Great Britain—the greater part of her oversea trade is done with countries which she makes no attempt to 'own,' control, coerce, or dominate—and incidentally she has ceased to do any of those things with her colonies.

"Millions of Germans in Prussia and Westphalia derive profit or make their living out of countries to which their political dominion in no way extends. The modern German exploits South America by remaining at home. Where, forsaking this principle, he attempts to work through political power, he approaches futility. German colonies are colonies *'pour rire.'* The Government has to bribe Germans to go to them; her trade with them is microscopic; and if the twenty millions who have been added to Germany's population since the war had had to depend on their country's political conquest, they would have had to starve. What feeds them are countries which Germany has never 'owned' and never hopes to 'own': Brazil, Argentina, the United States, India, Australia, Canada, Russia, France, and England. (Germany, which never spent a mark on its political conquest, to-day draws more tribute from South America than does Spain, which has poured out mountains of treasure and oceans of blood in its conquest.) These are Germany's real colonies. Yet the immense interests which they represent, of really primordial concern to Germany, without which so many of her people would be actually without food, are for the diplomats and the soldiers quite secondary ones; the immense trade which they represent owes nothing to the diplomat, to Agadir incidents, to Dreadnoughts; it is the unaided work of the merchant and the manufacturer. All this diplomatic and military conflict and rivalry, the waste of wealth, the unspeakable foulness which Tripoli is revealing, are reserved for things which both sides to the quarrel could sacrifice, not merely without loss, but with profit."

As a matter of fact, it is a very superficial reading of the events of 1911 which would prompt the conclusion that the facts of the world are not bringing home to peoples and governments the changing character of the relations of nations.

It is perfectly true that the Napoleonic policy was directed at crushing England, England's at crushing France, just as France in 1870, fearing the development of Germany, tried to prevent it and was successfully challenged. After the war German policy was directed at crippling France, not merely as a political, but as an economic factor in international struggle. But the law of progression in these matters is illustrated by this fact: Bismarck was nearer to being able to apply the methods of Attila, nearly 1,500 years removed from him, than was Bismarck's successor, Herr von

Kiderlen Waechter, to being able to apply the methods of Bismarck from whom only forty years separated him. Where Bismarck could have bled France white with a certain satisfaction without any immediate danger being involved to his own country, Herr von Kiderlen Waechter learned that to bleed white this relatively feeble France of 1911 would be to plunge this great and powerful Germany into dire economic distress. What American cotton had been to Lancashire in 1865, French money, and all that it directly and indirectly represents, was to German industry in 1911. He learned that of the twenty million souls added to the German population since 1870 nearly all of them were dependent upon foreign food, and gained their livelihood from industries dependent to a large extent upon foreign capital, most of it French and English capital; and that if by some magic the ultimate Bismarckian dream of wiping France economically from the map of Europe could be realized, he would have been prevented and, indeed, was prevented from so doing, not by any consideration for French welfare, but by the very pressing necessities of German industry and by the direct influence of German financiers and German business men. Not only has the work of the German people unintentionally brought to naught the carefully laid plans of the statesman, but modern Germany would have been impossible unless those plans had miscarried. It was Bismarck's declared policy from first to last to check, by every possible means, the economic development of France. She was to be blotted out as an economic factor in Europe. Well, if she had been, the wonderful development of German commerce in the last twenty years would have been impossible.

That commerce is largely with such countries as South America, the Near East, Russia, and the recent development of those countries which makes the large German trade possible is due mainly to French and English capital. If German statesmen had really been able to wipe out Germany's rivals, this development of German trade would have been impossible.

And all the efforts of French statesmen to control these currents have on their side been just as futile. French policy was aimed at fortifying Russia to counterbalance Germany, and with that purpose an alliance with Russia was formed, an integral part of the understanding being that

a portion of the immense free capital of France should be available for Russia. The capital was given with the result that German trade in Russia, thanks to development due in no small measure to this French capital, has gone up from about fifteen to forty-five per cent., and Germany may be said to-day commercially to dominate Russia. It is one of the great outlets for German industrial and commercial activity—thanks to the very policy which was aimed against Germany.

And note this: that with the freedom of communication in every sense that now exists in the world, it has become a material impossibility to prevent French money aiding German trade in one form or another. So long as France, with a stationary population and large amounts of free capital, desires interest on her money, so long as the French father desires to give to his daughter a *dot,* so long, in other words, as France achieves in some measure those aims for which mainly the state exists at all, her money will go to the help of German trade.

The true inwardness of Admiral Mahan's criticism of *The Great Illusion* is to be found, not so much perhaps in the article which he devotes directly to the book, as in the preceding articles in this REVIEW, in which he deals with "The Place of Force in International Relations," and his discussion of this subject is marked by exactly the sort of limitation which generally marks it in the case of militarist writers. A problem involving necessarily two parties and two groups of factors—defense and attack—is made in terms of one party and one group of factors, that of the defense. Thus in the passage which I have quoted Admiral Mahan argues that Great Britain's superiority of armaments sheltered her commercial and industrial fabric from molestation by the enemy, giving her security of development. Therefore, he argues, military force is economically advantageous. The argument is, of course, fallacious: it is not military force which gave her the advantage, but the fact that she was able to prevent the employment of military force against her.

If there had been no military force at all in the case, if Europe had not believed in force as a means of achieving the ends of men, England would have been more secure still and all her neighbors would have enjoyed a like security. In attempting to test the practical value of any principle of

this kind we must note its total result when applied by all the parties involved, and if that simple test is applied all Admiral Mahan's elaborate arguments in favor of force fall to the ground.

The problem before us, the question out of which *The Great Illusion* and this whole discussion has grown, is this: "What ought the nations of Europe to do in the matter of the employment of force the one against the other?" And if the question is put in that form, the only form in which it can be put when we are talking as we are with reference to principles applicable generally to European civilization, it is evident that the plea in favor of force even in the Napoleonic era cannot be maintained. If the general tradition of Europe had been against the employment of force, and such tradition had dominated its policy, not only would the security of England and her freedom in industrial and commercial development have been greater even than it was, and the like security of her neighbors greater, but the whole European race, instead of being weakened by the destruction of some three million of its best selected lives, leaving the stock to be perpetuated by its worst elements, would have been infinitely better than it is, with a greater capacity for improvement; and the incalculable amount of life and wealth and energy that has gone into mutual destruction would have gone into making good that improvement. The world would have been a better place, inhabited by a racially better people.

Without force, argues Admiral Mahan, the purpose of the Holy Alliance could not have been defeated; Napoleon III. could not have been expelled from Mexico, Spain from Cuba, nor the encroachment of Russia resisted in the Far East. Again, of course, the real argument should be: If Spain had not believed in just those doctrines against which *The Great Illusion* is a protest—believed, that is, that the use of force against distant communities for the purposes of spoliation was better than the free co-operation of independent communities—the Spanish colonies would have approximated more to the English type and there would have been no need either of the Monroe doctrine or of the Spanish-American War. Russia would be devoting her energies to internal development instead of sterile territorial expansion, and the patriotism of the Japanese, not called into existence by the need of defense, would have been diverted more to internal development and less to a military pride which menaces bet-

ter civilizations. And the only way to prevent that is this: for the nations of Europe to realize that they are a community, and that a community can only exist by virtue of the units composing it surrendering the use of force the one as against the other. And the necessary precedent of such realization is the mutual conception of the superiority of co-operation to conflict, the existence of that "communal sense" which is the necessary precedent of civilization in any sphere, national or international.

You cannot get communal sense enough even in the pirate crew unless they surrender the use of force as between themselves, act by agreement, and co-operate against their victim, their prey. The prey of civilization is Nature, the Planet, and unless the units which make up, or ought to make up, the community of Europe give up preying the one upon the other, and co-operate in the attack upon their prey, that attack will by so much suffer.

Inside the political frontiers this general recognition that the exercise of force as between the individuals composing the community must, in the individual's own interest, be surrendered, is now fairly achieved. The next step of human progress is to render the application of that principle complete.

Admiral Mahan retorts that the individuals within the frontier have surrendered the use of force by compulsion of the police; but he skips an essential step—indeed, he skips several essential steps—in the creation of the police. The police exist by virtue of the fact that the individuals of the community have so far surrendered force as to agree upon the creation of a police and upon the fashion in which and the purpose for which, it should be employed; and until you get this suspension of individual conflict in favor of common action the police is an impossibility. If each individual had said: "I do not want the judgment of the community: it may be wrong; I will depend upon my personal strength to vindicate my right; I know more of my affairs than does the community; I will not co-operate with the community to form the police," there would never have been a police—indeed, there would have been no organized society.

And Admiral Mahan, if not directly, at least by implication, encourages the individual—the individual nation, that is—so to stand out and so take that attitude because, he says, the interests and ideals of the individual are in conflict.

Not merely does Admiral Mahan ignore the fact that the very difficulties which he mentions as being only solvable by force have arisen by the blind faith of men in force, but he writes as though the force provoked in reply to force had succeeded where reason had failed. But force answers no questions and solves no problems. Its outcome is an accident. It is irrelevant to the question of right, and there is no guarantee that might shall always or generally be on the side of right. It takes the cynicism of Napoleon to declare that "Providence is always on the side of the strong battalions." Force is even more accidental than that—fortuitous circumstance might place it on the side of the weak battalions. Thus: I am in conflict with some one, we lose our tempers and have a duel, and because my eyesight is better than that of my opponent I kill him with a pistol-shot. Who was right in the original dispute? What has the result proved except that my eyesight is better? The most magnificent and marvelous exhibition of force in history, that of Napoleon, broke down; and in its failure I believe the biographer of Nelson rejoices. If this wonderful instance of the exercise of force teaches anything at all, it is that force is necessarily futile; and that one lesson it teaches badly, because the psychological result of the employment of force is generally to swamp reason in favor of temper in those against whom it is employed and to distort the character of its rôle in human relationship. Europe did not draw the lesson from that episode that Napoleonic aims and methods were fundamentally wrong, that the unification of Europe—if that was Napoleon's aim—can only come by the free co-operation of the units composing it. On the contrary, the outcome is an attempt to repeat the Napoleonic display of force in a slightly different form. Napoleon's aggression started Germany on the road to militarism, the full fruits of which Europe is now beginning to gather. Prussianism now threatens Europe somewhat in the same way that Napoleonism threatened it in the past.* Germany is to take "the leadership of Europe" by military predominance, as France was to have done a hundred years

* This general tendency has received suggestive expression in General von Bernhardi's book—*Deutschland und der nachste Krieg*. One of his chapters is headed "The Duty to Make War." He describes the peace movement in Germany as "poisonous," and proclaims the doctrine that the duties and tasks of the German people cannot be accomplished save by the sword. "The duty of self-assertion is by no means ex-

ago; and Europe will presumably reply by force; and then some other nation will aspire to the "leadership of Europe," and the old obsession will dominate the mind and absorb the energies between civilization and savagery. The fact of organized society is standing proof that individuals do not sacrifice their interests when they surrender their right to the use of force the one against the other in favor of common action to be determined by reason and agreement between them. Men's interests are not sacrificed by co-operation; they are advanced by it, and if this principle is true in the case of individual men, it gains in force a hundredfold in the case of nations. And if Admiral Mahan retorts that it is not a question of conflicting interests between nations, but of conflicting ideals, I would reply that ideals which survive by the accident of force are not likely to be superior to those which survive through the process of reason and discussion.

Admiral Mahan says:

"The great objection to law, however, is not merely that it is inadequate, but that in most of the cases it inequitably perpetuates injustice by sanctioning outworn conditions or inapplicable principles."

But exactly the same objection could be applied to the municipal, the internal law of nations. Such have often in the past been monstrous, and they were improved by discussion, agitation, education, the recognition of the general advantage—a recognition arrived at through the free play of the thousand and one factors which make for the real progress of men, not by a resort to force, by having the

hausted in the mere repelling of hostile attacks. It includes the needs of securing to the whole people which the state embraces the possibility of existence and development." It is desirable, declares the author, that conquest shall be effected by war, and not by peaceful means; Silesia would not have had the same value for Prussia if Frederick the Great had obtained it from an Arbitration Court. The attempt to abolish war is, declares the author, not only immoral and unworthy of a community, "it is an attempt to deprive man of his highest possession—the right to stake physical life for ideal ends. The German people must learn to see that the maintenance of peace cannot and must never be the goal of policy."

The armament party in England is urging that the only possible reply to this sort of thing is the increase of armaments. That exactly suits the Bernhardi school. That increase of armaments will be used by them to justify their theories and to discredit all opponents to it. The real reply is to find means of creating an enlightened opinion in Europe which shall see the sophistry and danger of this philosophy of force.

individuals who suffer by a bad law fight out their differences by physical combat—that is a step from civilization to anarchy, and in the case of the community within the frontier universally recognized as such.

Admiral Mahan may say it is not a question of what might be best, but of what exists, and I would reply: What exists depends on us—upon the action of each individual. What exists in this matter is not something fixed outside our acts and our volition, it is the reflection of those acts, and without those individual acts there can be no salvation.

What prompts those individual acts, of course, is a realization, however imperfect, on the part of the individual of the advantages which he gains by co-operation with his fellows; of the superiority of such a method to conflict, the creation, in other words, of a "communal sense" by a growing understanding of the real nature of human relationship. And until you have this in however feeble a degree you cannot get communal action: you could not even get two cannibals to agree to co-operate against a third instead of fighting each other until they see the advantages of so doing, which is a process of reason and discussion. And reason and understanding must precede international co-operation: international politics must embody more and more the general realization of certain principles, or corporate progress is not possible. Those principles I have tried to enunciate. But Admiral Mahan, if he does not deprecate, at least does not encourage, that attitude which would make the individual—the individual nation, that is—part of a community. He urges that the community of nations will in some wonderful way reverse the process which has produced the communities of men; that the isolation of units employing force the one against the other is a safer road of progress than that of a completer co-operation which looks to the abandoning of force in favor of agreement and a common end determined by reason and discussion. And this, with whatever sophistry or eloquence it may be urged, is the doctrine of savagery.

NORMAN ANGELL.

# LETTERS OF SAMUEL MORSE—1812

BY EDWARD L. MORSE

## I

We shall celebrate in this month of June the one-hundredth anniversary of the declaration of the War of 1812. Much will be written about it and many celebrations will be held commemorative of the American heroes of that war, the last, let us hope, between the two great English-speaking nations. It may, therefore, not be amiss to record the impressions of a young American who was during all that troubled time pursuing his studies in the peaceful art of painting in London; impressions expressed at great length and in forceful language to his parents and friends on this side.

He was a young man of great strength of character, impulsive, and yet of remarkable self-control; enthusiastic in the advocacy of any cause which appealed to his heart and brain, but withal courteous and brave enough to acknowledge his errors when convinced that he had been in the wrong.

While at that time his opinions had no special weight and no influence whatever on the trend of events, they are of interest now as reflecting the convictions of those who really were influential in the political arena of both countries and as having been expressed by a man who in after-years became famous, whose name is now a household word in every corner of the globe.

This young man was Samuel F. B. Morse, one of the best of the American painters of the first half of the nineteenth century, but known wherever the electric spark conveys intelligence as the Inventor of the Telegraph.

Born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and brought up in a New England hotbed of Federalism, he had gone to England in 1811 thoroughly convinced that the Federalists were the true patriots, and that the administration at Washington under President Madison was all wrong. It did not take him long, however, after his arrival in England, to

make up his mind that he, in common with other New-Englanders, had been in error, and he warmly espoused the cause of the administration and pleaded with his father, who remained a Federalist through the war, to look at things from a broader point of view.

His father, a Congregational clergyman of lofty character, and most of the friends of the young man begged him to leave politics alone and devote himself to his art, fearing for his safety in the enemy's country; but he could not resist the temptation to write many pages, which now have a singular interest, and he seems to have conducted himself otherwise with discretion, for he was in no way molested during his stay in England.

I shall give, with but little or no comment, only such extracts from his letters as have a direct bearing on the events leading up to the war and on the war itself.

The first is from a letter written to a friend in New York on September 17, 1811, and shows him still a good Federalist:

"The accounts lately received from America look rather gloomy; they are thought here to wear a more threatening aspect than they have heretofore done. From my own observation and opportunity of hearing the opinion of the people generally they are extremely desirous of an amicable adjustment of differences, and seem as much opposed to the idea of war as the *better part* of the American people."

The next three extracts are from letters to his parents:

"*November 25th, 1811.*—Distresses are increasing in this country, and disturbances, riots, and so forth, have commenced, as you will see by the papers which accompany this. They are considered very alarming."

"*December 20th, 1811.*—This country appears to me to be in a very bad state. I judge from the increasing disturbances at Nottingham, and more especially from the shocking murders lately committed in this city. A few mornings since was published an account of the murder of a family consisting of four persons, and this moment there is another account of the murder of one consisting of three persons, making the twelfth murder committed in that part of the city within three months, and not one of the murderers as yet has been discovered, although a reward of more than £700, or near $4,000, has been offered for the discovery. The inhabitants are very much alarmed, and hereafter I shall

sleep with pistols at the head of my bed, although there is little to apprehend in this part of the city; still, as I find many of my acquaintances adopting that plan, I choose rather to be on the safe side and join with them."

"*January 30th, 1812.*—In my next I shall give you some account of politics here and as it respects America. The Federalists are certainly wrong in very many things."

Again writing to his friend in New York on March 15, 1812, he says:

"With respect to politics I know very little, my time being occupied on much pleasanter subjects; I, however, can answer your question whether party spirit is conducted with such virulence here as in America. It is by no means the case; for, although it is in some few instances very violent, still, for the most part, their debates are conducted with great coolness.

"As to the Prince Regent, you have perhaps heard how unpopular he has made himself. He has disappointed the expectations of very many. Among the most unpopular of his measures may be placed the retention of the Orders in Council, which orders, notwithstanding the declaration of Mr. Perceval [the Prime Minister] and others in the ministry to the contrary, are fast, very fast, reducing this country to ruin.

"It is the opinion of some of the best politicians in this country that should the United States either persist in the Non-intercourse Law or declare war this country would be reduced to the lowest extremity. Bankruptcies are daily increasing and petitions from all parts of the kingdom praying for the repeal of the Orders in Council have been presented to the Prince, but he has declined hearing any of them."

Orders in Council were issued by the Sovereign with the advice of the Privy Council in periods of emergency, trusting to their future ratification by Parliament. In this case, while promulgated as a retaliatory measure against Bonaparte's Continental System, they bore heavily upon the commerce of the United States.

The next letters were written to his parents.

"*April 21st, 1812.*—With respect to politics, they appear gloomy on both sides. Since I have been here I have a more favorable opinion of the measures of our Government than I had in America. This country has injured us more than the

Federal papers wish to believe. The Orders in Council are in full operation, and the commercial departments of the papers are filled with names of American vessels *detained* or captured under those orders, while licenses are granted every day to carry on *that trade* direct from this country to France, for which our vessels are seized. This is a fact too well known in this country to be denied and occasions a great outcry against the ministry. You may depend on it England has injured us sorely and our Non-intercourse is a just retaliation for those wrongs.

"Perhaps you will believe what is said in some of the Federal papers, that that measure has no effect on this country. You may be assured the effects are great and severe; I am myself an eye-witness to the effects. The country is in a state of rebellion from literal starvation; accounts are daily received, which grow more and more alarming, from the great manufacturing towns; troops are in motion all over the country, and but last week measures were adopted by Parliament to prevent this metropolis from rising in rebellion by ordering troops to be stationed round the city to be ready at a moment's warning. This I call an alarming period; everybody thinks so and Mr. Perceval himself is frightened and a committee is appointed to take into consideration the Orders in Council.

"Now when you consider that I came to this country prejudiced against our Government and its measures, and that I can have no bad motive in telling you these facts, you will not think hard of me when I say that I hope our Non-intercourse Law will be enforced with all its rigor, as I firmly believe it is the only way to bring this country to terms, and that if persisted in, will certainly bring them to terms. I know it must make some misery at home, but it will be followed by a corresponding happiness after it.

"Some of you at home will call me a Democrat, but facts are stubborn things and I can't deny the truth of what I see every day before my eyes. A man, to judge properly of his country, must, like judging of a picture, view it at a distance.

"In the papers you will probably see before this reaches you the declaration of the Prince Regent, in which he promises the repeal of the Orders in Council as soon as Bonaparte shall repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees *expressly and unconditionally*. Recollect the word *unconditionally*. Those

decrees in this way will never be repealed, so that it is but an artifice with the Prince to gain popularity, *which he very much wants.*"

"*May 12th, 1812.*—I write in great haste just to inform you of a dreadful event which happened here last evening and rumors of which will probably reach you before this. Not to keep you in suspense, it is no less than the *assassination of Mr. Perceval,* the Prime Minister of Great Britain. As he was entering the House of Commons last evening a little past five o'clock he was shot directly through the heart by a man from behind the door. He staggered forward and fell and expired in about ten minutes.

"This mention of this shocking affair is but to remove any doubts you might have of the fact. I heard of it last evening about three hours after it was perpetrated, but could not believe it until the particulars were related in the morning papers and *my own eyes* confirmed it. I have just returned from the House of Commons. There was an immense crowd assembled and very riotous. In the hall was written in large letters, '*Peace, or the head of the Regent.*'

"This country is in a very alarming state, and there is no doubt but great quantities of blood will be spilled before it is restored to order. Even while I am writing a party of Life Guards is patrolling the streets. London must soon be the scene of dreadful events.

"Last night I had an opportunity of studying the public mind; it was at the theater; the play was 'Venice Preserved; or, The Plot Discovered.' If you will take the trouble just to read the first act you will see what relation it has to the present state of affairs. When Pierre says to Jaffier, '*Canst thou kill a Senator?*' there were three cheers; and so through the whole. Whenever anything was said concerning conspiracy and in favor of it the audience applauded, and when anything was said against it they hissed. When Pierre asked the conspirators if *Brutus was not a good man* the audience were in a great uproar, applauding so as to prevent for some minutes the progress of the performance. This, I think, shows the public mind to be in great agitation.

"The play of 'Venice Preserved' is not a moral play, and I should not ask you to read any part of it if I could better explain to you the feelings of the public. You must not feel anxious respecting me; I can take care of myself;

for, although London will probably be the scene of much bloodshed, I hope I shall have prudence enough to keep clear from danger. If I follow my pursuits without meddling with the affairs of others I shall remain unmolested. So don't feel anxious."

In a letter to his brothers of May 17, 1812, after describing in more detail the assassination, he says:

"The assassin, Bellingham, was immediately taken into custody. He was tried on Friday and condemned to be executed to-morrow morning (Monday, 18th). I shall go to the place to see the concourse of people, for to see him executed I know I could not bear, but the crowd will be immense and you must expect to hear of many lives lost. I should not be surprised if an attempt was made to rescue him. The people are very riotous and this country is in a very troubled state. I will leave a place at the end of this to finish to-morrow after his execution and will then tell you what happened at it. . . . Monday morning, 18th. I went this morning to the execution. A very violent rain prevented so great a crowd as was expected. A few minutes before eight o'clock Bellingham ascended the scaffold. He was very genteelly dressed; he bowed to the crowd, who cried out, 'God bless you!' repeatedly. I saw him draw the cap over his face and shake hands with the clergyman. I stayed no longer, but immediately turned my back and was returning home. I had taken but a few steps before the clock struck eight, and on turning back I saw the crowd beginning to disperse. I have felt the effects of this sight all day and shall probably not get over it for weeks. It was a dreadful sight. There were no accidents."

During all these troubled times Morse was diligently pursuing his studies under Washington Allston, but he again and again, in his long letters to his parents, reverts to matters political, although urged by them not to do so as they cannot agree with him.

"*May 25th, 1812.*—The price of provisions in this country at the present time is enormous; it requires the greatest economy to live in it. The poor are greatly distressed for bread, which is growing dearer and dearer every day. I don't know what will be the consequence if our embargo continues much longer; it distresses the people here six times as much as it does you in America.

"Since Mr. Perceval's assassination there has been no

administration; they are hard put to it to form a new one. It is generally thought and universally wished that the first measure of the new administration will remove the Orders in Council. If so peace will be restored and America, I think, should not make peace with this country on any other terms.

"From the late papers from America I find that the aspect of affairs looks more gloomy than ever, and that the prospect of war is more and more certain. If war should break out I should try and get to France, for, although I might obtain permission to stay in this country, I should suffer so much and be obliged to hear so much against my native country that I am sure I should retaliate upon them. My friends here shall all be consulted, however, before I take such a step."

"*June 16th.*—The administration is at length formed and, to the great sorrow of everybody, the old ministers are re-elected. The Orders in Council are the subject of debate at the House of Commons this evening. It is an important crisis, though there is scarcely any hope of their repeal. If they are not, I sincerely hope that America will declare war.

"What Lord Castlereagh said at a public meeting a few days ago ought to be known in America. Respecting the Orders in Council, when some one said, unless they were repealed war with America must be the consequence, he replied that *if the people would but support the ministry in those measures for a short time America would be compelled to submit, for she was not able to go to war.* But I say, and so does every American here who sees how things are going with this country, that, should America but declare war, before hostilities commenced Great Britain would sue for peace on any terms. Great Britain is jealous of us and would trample on us if she could, and I feel ashamed when I see her supported through everything by some of the Federal editors. I wish they could be here a few months and they would be ashamed of themselves. They are injuring their country, for it is *their* violence that induces this Government to persist in their measures by holding out hope that the parties will change and that then they can compel America to do anything. If America loses in this contest and softens her measures toward this country she never need expect to hold up her head again.

"You mustn't blame me for being free on this subject or think I have turned Democrat; I am not of the sentiments I was in America, for I have come to the knowledge of too many truths since I have been here to be any longer of those partial feelings toward this country. I am of no party, but an American, and as such I feel for my country, and am mortified to find so much paper, ink, and breath thrown away for nothing, or, rather, worse than nothing, in supporting the pride of party. If you could be at this distance and see how they appear here you would throw off all party feelings and be neither Democrat nor Federalist, but an American. . . . I write these sentiments the more freely as this letter goes by Mr. Hurd, and of course cannot be in any danger of being intercepted. I should not dare to write this through the post-office."

On June 18, 1812, Congress formally declared war. On the 23d, and before this declaration was received in England, the English Government withdrew the odious Orders in Council, but it was too late now to restore peace, although earnest efforts were made to that end.

"*August 6th, 1812.*—Our political affairs, it seems, have come to a crisis, which I sincerely hope will turn to the advantage of America; it certainly will not to this country. War is an evil which no man ought to think lightly of, but if it ever was just it now is. The English acknowledge it, and what can be more convincing proof than the confession of an enemy?

"I was sorry to hear of the riotous proceedings in Boston. If they knew what an injury they were doing their country, in the opinion of foreign nations, they certainly would refrain from them. I assert (because I have proof) that the Federalists (as they call themselves) in the Northern States have done more injury to their country, by their violent opposition measures, than even a French alliance could. Their proceedings are copied into the English papers, read before Parliament and circulated through the country; and what do they say of them? Do they say the Federalists are patriots and are firm in asserting the rights of their country? No, they call them *cowards*, a *base set,* say they are *traitors to their country,* and ought to be hanged like traitors. These things I have heard and read, and therefore must believe them.

"I wish I could have a talk with you, papa. I am sure I

could convince you that neither Federalists nor Democrats were Americans, that war with this country is just, and that the present administration of our country has acted with perfect justice in all their proceedings against this country.

"You will, perhaps, wonder at my writing in this strain and may think some persons have put these sentiments into my head, but I assure you they have not, for it would have been as easy for a Democrat to convince a Federalist in America as for me to be changed when I first came. I only wish you and all those who are warm Federalists could come and stay in London a month or two. If their party enthusiasm was not in that time a little cooled I would engage to forfeit my right hand. To observe the contempt with which America is spoken of, and the epithets of *a nation of cheats, sprung from convicts, pusillanimous, cowardly,* and such like; these, I think, are sufficient to make any true American's blood boil. These are not used by individuals only, but on the floor of the House of Commons.

"The good effects of our declaration of war begin to be perceived already; the tone of their public prints here is a little softer and more submissive. Not one has called in question the justice of the declaration of war; all say, 'We are in the wrong and we shall do well to get out of it as soon as possible.' I have had conversations with strangers who have not known I was an American; they put on long faces and say 'We are a ruined nation; America has been too lightly treated by our Government. Unless America will retract after the receipt of our revocation of those foolish Orders in Council, I do not see a single hope for us.' I always acquiesce.

"I could tell you volumes, but I have not time and it would, perhaps, be impolitic in the present state of affairs. But I only wish that among the infatuated party men I may not find my father, and I hope that he will be neutral, rather than oppose the war measure. For if he will believe a son who loves him and his country (more) the longer and farther he is from them this war will re-establish that character for honor and spirit which our country has lost through the proceedings of Federalists."

This strong appeal had no effect on the opinions of the father and friends at home, and the early disasters to the American arms on land only served to confirm them in their opposition to the war and to the Madison administration.

When this information, coupled with entreaties and almost commands to leave politics alone and devote himself solely to his art, were conveyed to the young man he answers still more vigorously on November 1, 1812:

"Mr. Plummer, of Boston, has just called on me and informs me he is going home in a day or two. By him I send this in answer to four which I have received from you lately. The last was of October 2d, *via* Halifax, accompanying your sermon on Fast Day. The letter gave me great pleasure, but I must confess that the sentiments in the sermon appeared very *strange* to me, knowing what I, as well as every American here does, respecting the causes of the present war. I am sorry that Federalists make so much opposition to it when every one here, Englishmen as well as Americans, not only know that the war is just on our part, but confess it. The only persons *in the world* who assert the contrary are the Federal party in America. A proof of this is that no English publication, to my knowledge, has dared to justify this Government or accuse ours of injustice in declaring war. On the contrary, they throw all the blame on the administration here and say the Americans could not, in *justice* or *honor*, have done otherwise. What can be a clearer proof than the acknowledgment of an enemy as to this fact. *I* do not merely assert this; every American here knows it.

"The Federalists generally, as a party, I believe, mean well toward their country, and if they knew the facts would certainly join heart and hand in this war. They are too much blinded by the zeal of party spirit and too much led away by wilful misstatements in the violent party papers to act coolly and weigh matters before they decide. Can they say this Government has not injured us when the Orders in Council were such a flagrant proof of it, by virtue of which they debarred us from trade with France and her dependencies, under pretense that we supplied them with articles of war, while they granted, by means of *licenses,* that same trade with France to their own merchantmen; and not only that, but cloth was made here for the express purpose of exporting to France for the clothing of French soldiers? This is a fact brought before Parliament, so it cannot be denied. This circumstance alone is a sufficient cause for war or we cease to be an independent nation.

"A great noise appears to be made in America respecting an apprehended alliance with France. It is a bugbear

conjured up by the Federalists, and the inflammatory pieces in the Federal papers have been copied into the English till they almost begin to think there is a foundation for it. I have often blushed for my countrymen on reading some of those violent party essays, and to see how men, for the sake of party, will justify, or rather attempt to justify, this Government through all their base and unwarrantable proceedings. I would ask, because England is at war with France, is it not possible to chastise England for injustice toward us without uniting ourselves with France? Must England treat us worse than her own subjects? Shall she dictate laws to us, and shall we obey for fear of having it said by a few selfish, interested men, engaged mostly in commercial pursuits, that we are uniting with the great tyrant of Europe to destroy the only remaining spot of liberty in the Old World? The object of France is to annihilate this country, that of America to obtain redress from her. Can we not obtain redress without annihilating this country? Great Britain would be very glad to come to our terms long before she was in danger of annihilation.

"You ask in your sermon, 'How can a Christian pray for success against the only Christian nation besides ourselves?' I answer, When the administration of this Government act as becomes Christians toward us and 'do to others as they would be done unto,' then it will be time for a Christian to ask that question; but while they act in direct contradiction to this divine precept, while they do to others what they would *on no consideration* suffer to be done to them, they deserve no consideration as a Christian nation. The few Christians among them should not screen them from punishment, nor justify them in that overbearing spirit which they uniformly manifest toward every nation with whom they deal.

"The question, I think, might be asked with great propriety if it was the object of our war to pull down the Christian religion. No one will dare to say this is the object. If the majority of this country are unprincipled and are uninfluenced by the laws of justice in their dealings with other nations, and by their unjust measures they provoke a country to war, is that war leveled at the Christian religion? The case, I believe, is plain.

"I could write a volume in favor of this war to show the good effects which will result from it, but I shall only

relate the visible effects of it on this country of which I am an eye and ear witness.

"1. It has raised our country from the degradation it has long laid under in the opinion of Englishmen. Before the declaration of war America was spoken of with the utmost contempt; the papers teemed with abuse and insinuations against her courage. We were called cowards; sprung from a race of convicts; we were proverbial for a weak, inefficient race of beings; our navy they would sneer at as (to use their own expression) below the Chinese. We were called savages, dishonest in our dealings, and, in short, every epithet of opprobrium was exhausted upon us.

"The moment war was declared by us it seemed to come like an electric shock; all was silent in the papers for some weeks with respect to us. What! thought they, is this the cowardly, weak, inefficient race of men we have so often sneered at? They began a little to recover from the shock; some began to say, 'We never thought they would have declared war; it is a sad business; we have provoked them too far.' When they saw the President's proclamation every man read it and was dumb, or else, with eyes turned up and a deep sigh, exclaimed in a woful accent, 'Tis too true.' No comments have been made on it in any English paper that I have met with or an attempt made to refute a single charge.

"After a short time spent in this manner they began to resume their taunts, and most particularly against our navy. 'Poh!' said they, 'we shall soon see their frigates in our ports; we'll show them a little English thunder and lightning.' In the midst of these exultations came the news of the capture of the *Guerrière*. If ever a shock on the community was distinctly visible it was in this instance; it would have made a subject for a Hogarth to have seen the woful faces the day the news reached London.

"'Can it be true? What! Americans fight? This Chinese navy take an English frigate? No, it cannot be true.' It was then announced officially, and since that time what has been the tone of the English journals? Why, 'the Americans are like ourselves; they inherit the same spirit as Englishmen; they have acted like brave fellows; Captain Hull is a brave man; has behaved like a brave enemy; never was it known in the naval annals of England that a British frigate ever before struck to an American.' Are not these extorted words of respect?

" 'Tis the character of Englishmen to be haughty, proud, and overbearing. If this conduct meets with no resistance their treatment becomes more imperious, and the more submissive and conciliating is the object of their imperiousness the more tyrannical are they toward it. This has been their uniform treatment of us and this character pervades all ranks of society, whether in public or private life.

" The only way to please John Bull is to give him a good beating, and such is the singularity of his character that the more you beat him the greater is his respect for you and the more he will esteem you.

" 2. Another good effect of the war, I think, will be to convince ourselves that we ought to have a navy and from every consideration I think this will now be the case.

" We have seen that we have the courage, skill, and power to combat with the boasted *King of the Ocean,* and what power may we not infer we shall have from this superiority? We can then, and not till then, chastise France for her insolence toward us, the Danes, the Tripolitans and Algerines, and, in fact, every nation which can now, from our want of a navy, insult us and commit depredations on our commerce with impunity.

" England will feel it to her interest to be at peace with us, and will, no doubt, be glad to conciliate us, and what may not be expected from the coalition of two Christian powers united by all the ties of blood, congeniality of disposition, and equal courage and skill?

" 3. May it not be a means of uniting the two great contending parties in America? This is certainly a great desideratum, for until we have peace at home we can never expect to be powerful abroad. As it is in the human system, when the heart is diseased the extremities lose their capacity to perform their offices and become weak, so it is with the body politic of a country. If at home they are torn and disturbed by internecine quarrels and dissensions they are incapacitated to do anything efficient abroad. And here let me observe on the newspapers of our country, the corrupt fountains of more corrupt information. 'Tis these which keep alive the coals of dissension among us. Until these are reformed, until the editors of each party cease to irritate and inflame each other by continually overreaching each other in extravagant misrepresentation, and endeavoring, in fact, to outlie their opponents, until the sources of political

information become purer—in short, until there is a *third party* formed on the real principles of patriotism, I fear our country will long want a government of sufficient force either to demand obedience at home or command respect abroad.

"After all that I have now said you may perhaps call me a Democrat and say that coming to England has changed my sentiments. If you think from what has gone before and what is to come after that I deserve that name, then I must be content to bear it. My ear shall always be open to truth and my heart to conviction. If I see England abusing us and the Federalists bearing her out in it, when she dare not do it herself, so far I am not a Federalist. And when I see France injuring us and the Democrats endeavoring to hush it up, or to justify her or deny the charge, so far I am not a Democrat.

"The fact is I am of neither party; I have been in England long enough to see that the Federalists are not in the right, and I see Democratic papers from America which, by their gross libels on this country and their violent French spirit, show me they are wrong.

"As for the present war, for reasons which I have given you, I think it a just one and that it will be productive of good effects. As for its tending to destroy this country, I do not believe it and I am far from wishing it. On the contrary, England, next to America, is the country for which I would pray day and night that it might be prospered over all other nations. She is a country which I love with all her faults, and no Englishman would be more sorry to see her sink before any power on earth, for I well know that, were she to fall, not only Christianity, but liberty itself, would fall with her. But that she may be made to feel the injustice of her measures toward us I do sincerely hope, and that she may even be brought to the very verge of destruction unless she gives up the principles on which she laid her Orders in Council.

"England is a proud nation, and much of that pride must be sacrificed if she intends to hold up her head much longer among the nations of the earth.

"Your letters tell me not to meddle at all with politics, but attend wholly to my art. How is it possible for me to remain an unconcerned spectator of events which are happening every day so important to the interests of my coun-

try? My nature must be changed before I can see my countrymen led away by errors which are ruining their country, while I sit by and calmly see them go on and not even make an attempt to set them right. My motive in thus freely writing to you is to let you into the truth and prevent myself the mortification of seeing my relations involved in errors which are doing so much injury to our country. What I write comes from the heart. I feel the importance of this subject and I have long been waiting for an opportunity to write my opinions fully upon it. I have too much prudence to write such sentiments by post, and, unless I had so excellent an opportunity, I should have waited till I could see you. I give this letter into Mr. Plummer's hands and he is to give it into yours.

"If after all I have now written you still think this war is unjust and think it worth the trouble in order to ascertain the truth, I wish papa would take a trip across the Atlantic, and if he is not convinced of the truth of what I have written in less than two months I will agree to support myself all the time I am in England after this date and never be a farthing's more expense to you."

This is rather a remarkable letter to have been written by a young man of twenty-one. He shows himself, in the light of future events, to have been a keen observer and a true prophet, for the results of the war which he predicted were realized:

1. America did thereby gain the increased respect of the European powers.

2. The increase in efficiency of the American navy may be said to date from the War of 1812.

3. The contending parties in America were united for a long time as a result of the war.

The Federalist party achieved such unenviable notoriety because of its unpatriotic stand in this war that it became virtually extinct in the year 1816, when the electoral votes of only three States—Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware—were cast for the Federalist candidate, Rufus King, of New York; and in 1825 the name Federalist disappears from history and a new party appears, as predicted by Morse, the Whig, while the old party previously known as the Republican or Democratic-Republican soon took the name of Democratic.

EDWARD L. MORSE.

[TO BE CONCLUDED]

# THE HISTORICAL ASPECT OF HOME RULE

BY P. J. LENNOX

THE English conquest of Ireland, begun in 1169, formally acknowledged by many of the native chieftains in 1171-1172, and continued under the Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart dynasties, was productive of many evil results. Foremost among these was the setting up of two hostile races side by side in one small country. For centuries the English settlers were practically confined to a narrow strip of territory on the east of the island, called the Pale, but in virtue of grants from the English kings they frequently asserted rights to the soil in other districts, and this assertion, necessarily made by force of arms, led to obstinate resistance on the part of the original owners and to constant warfare, reprisals, and bloodshed.

It would have been a part of statesmanship to reconcile the discordant and conflicting elements and by equal laws fairly administered to weld conquerors and conquered into one solid and united nation. Many opportunities arose in the course of time for the carrying out of such a scheme, and the fact that the native Irish frequently petitioned to have English law extended to them would have facilitated a gradual fusion of races and interests. But by a crass stupidity unparalleled in history the English colonists were narrow-minded enough to oppose so wise and statesmanlike a policy, and were always sufficiently influential to prevent its adoption. The enactments that were actually made, such as the Statute of Kilkenny in 1367, had for object, in the words of Sir John Davies, "to create a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and the Irish, pretending, no doubt, that the English in the end should root out the Irish; which the English not being able to do did cause a perpetual war between the two nations."

In the lapse of ages, however, causes beyond the power of laws to render inoperative were at work to bring about a coalescence and a sentiment of common nationhood. The absorbent power of the Irish race was so great that many of the English settlers became in time, through intercourse, intermarriage, fosterage, and gossipred, more Irish than the Irish themselves—*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.* Almost from the beginning we find kindly neighborly feelings springing up here and there between colonist and native—feelings which received many an unpleasant jar, but which tended continually to be renewed. Were it not for the introduction of sectarian animosity at the time of the Reformation, and the consequent arousing of those fierce and fiery passions which the *odium theologicum* seems so well calculated to inspire, it is probable that a united Ireland would centuries ago have been evolved; but sectarianism, accentuating racial differences, maintained a cleavage which even to this day has not been wholly bridged.

One point around which common feelings of nationhood would in the long run have almost certainly converged in a unitel Ireland was an Irish parliament, however much of a misnomer the adjective may in reality be when applied to that legislative body as we know it from its history. A distinguishing characteristic of the pioneer English colonists is that wherever they have settled they have, as a rule, brought with them the traditions and set up the form of parliamentary—that is, of representative and deliberative—government. It was so in the North-American colonies; it has been so in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand; it is so now in South Africa; and Ireland was no exception.

The exact date of the first colonial parliament held in Ireland has not been ascertained. Matthew Paris, indeed, explicitly states that Henry II. held a parliament at Lismore in 1171; but if we remember the conditions then prevalent we shall be inclined to the opinion that if such an assembly was held it was more in the nature of a council than of a parliament. It has been further claimed that Henry, on his return to England in 1172, sent over a document entitled *Modus tenendi parliamentum,* but this statement, too, has been doubted, and the researches of such writers on archæological topics as Coke, Prynne, Selden, Molyneux, and Ware leave it an open question whether the *Modus* belongs to the reign of Henry II. or to the reign

of Edward III. But that a rudimentary parliament is traceable to a period soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion seems to be fairly well established. Its first shape was probably that of a more or less formal gathering of persons of position; but we have record that in 1295 the elective element was introduced by the admission of knights of the shire to represent the counties, and from that date the assembly took the name and character and discharged the functions of a parliament. To the knights of the shire burgesses were added in 1310. Thereafter we have frequent records of the meetings of parliament.

Of the constitution of the earlier Irish parliaments we have no precise information. How the Kilkenny parliament of 1367, to which reference has already been made, was composed we do not know, but it seems to have been largely attended. A parliament held in 1374 had only 20 members in the House of Commons and during the later Middle Ages the number of members in the Lower House did not much exceed 60. Elizabeth's first Irish parliament, held in 1560, had a roll-call of 98 in the House of Commons, but the tendency was upward, for we find 126 in 1585. By a wholesale creation of new boroughs James I. in 1613 increased the number to 232, and by 1639, in the reign of Charles I., this number had been still further increased to 274. After the revolution of 1688-1689 the House of Commons had 300 members and at that figure it remained until the dissolution of the Irish parliament in 1800. In the upper chamber the temporal peers were at first outnumbered by the bishops and mitered abbots. After the Reformation the Irish Protestant bishops became and for long remained the controlling power in the Irish House of Lords. The lay lords, however, continued to increase, while from the nature of the case the number of bishops remained stationary: in 1681 there were 141 peers, in 1781 there were 202, of whom a constant quantity of 22 were bishops or spiritual peers. It seems, however, to be well established that the bishops exercised a power and influence altogether disproportionate to their mere number.

It must be understood that for hundreds of years the Irish parliament represented only the territory known as the Pale: it was not until 1613 that the whole of the territory of Ireland was represented.

Another feature of the Irish parliament that needs to be

emphasized is that from the year 1536, in the reign of Henry VIII., it tended to be sectarian in character, and for almost the last hundred years of its existence was narrowly and even bitterly sectarian. In 1691 the English parliament enacted that only those who took the Oath of Supremacy and signed the Declaration against Transubstantiation could have seats in the Irish parliament. This move, willingly acquiesced in by the latter body, effectually barred the few Catholic members of both Houses who presented themselves at the opening of the session of the Irish parliament in October, 1692, for when the Oath and Declaration were tendered to them they of course refused both and were thereupon peremptorily excluded. But not Catholics alone were thus treated. In 1704 the Test Act was adopted by the Irish parliament. The effect of this was to exclude from membership all Protestant dissenters, and especially the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland, Scottish for the most part, for no loyal member of the Presbyterian Church could take the obnoxious test. Finally, in 1727, by enactment of the Irish parliament, Catholics were deprived of the parliamentary franchise, so that not only could they not be themselves members of Parliament, but they had even no voice in the selection of representatives. It was not until 1780 that the Test Act, which excluded the Presbyterians from Parliament, was repealed. The disabilities as to membership were never removed from the Catholics, and it was only in 1793 that the parliamentary franchise was restored to them. This is not the place to speak of the infamous penal code devised against Catholics from 1695 to 1745. Suffice it to say that, in the words of Edmund Burke, it was "as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a feeble people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

A body so constituted and so inclined is correctly enough described by Lecky as resembling rather an Irish Church Synod than an Irish National Parliament; but it contained at least the foundations of representative government, and the tolerant acts of its very latest years leave scarcely a doubt as to the inference that, with the spread of enlightenment, it would have eventually become broadly national, had its development not been prevented by the abrupt termination of its existence.

The powers possessed by the Irish parliament have been the subject of considerable controversy, in which many able writers have engaged without leaving us much the wiser. Hallam's opinion that English-made statutes were binding in Ireland for two centuries after the English occupation may possibly be correct; but the more generally received theory is based on Bolton's contention that there is no record for four hundred years to show that such statutes were valid in Ireland, unless they were afterward adopted by the Irish parliament, or unless they were merely declaratory of English common law. At later periods we have abundant evidence that the Irish parliament both considered itself independent and acted independently. Thus we find that in 1408 the Irish parliament declared English statutes to be of no force in Ireland "unless they were allowed and published in this Kingdom of Ireland." During the Wars of the Roses the bulk of the Anglo-Irish nobles and the Irish parliament were distinctly Yorkist in their proclivities, and when Richard, Duke of York, after his repulse at Ludlow in 1459, was attainted by the English Lancastrian parliament at Coventry he returned to Dublin, where as viceroy of Ireland he had been very popular. Here, by his authority as viceroy, he summoned a parliament, which decreed that the Irish parliament was independent of that of England, that no laws enacted in England could be enforced or were binding in Ireland except such as were freely accepted by the Irish parliament, and that no writs ran in Ireland except those passed under the Great Seal of Ireland. A separate coinage was established and for a brief period Ireland was practically a separate kingdom. Anglo-Ireland remained loyal to the Yorkist cause even after it had gone down in final and utter defeat at Bosworth in 1485, and accordingly gave an enthusiastic support to Lambert Simnel, the first of those Yorkist pretenders who laid claim to the crown of the Tudor Lancastrian Henry VII., and went to the extreme length of crowning him as king on May 24, 1487. Edward IV., as the new but bogus sovereign was called, issued writs for a parliament and caused penalties to be enacted against the Butlers and the few other Anglo-Irish who had not espoused his cause. Some support was also given to the second and more dangerous pretender, Perkin Warbeck, when he in turn landed in Ireland.

Too much independence had been shown by Parliament

and people, and Henry, with that subtlety which distinguished him, determined to render as innocuous as possible at least the parliament which had troubled him and his Lancastrian predecessor so sorely. In 1494 he sent over Sir Edward Poynings, an Englishman, as Lord Deputy. By him was held at Drogheda the parliament which, submitting to the influence and overawed by the presence of the English viceroy, performed a most astounding act of self-effacement and passed, in 1495, the famous Poynings' Law, the effect of which was to deprive the Irish parliament of all initiative and to make it absolutely dependent on England. It could not meet without a license under the Great Seal of England; all the acts intended to be passed should be first submitted to and approved by the Viceroy and Irish Privy Council and by them submitted for approval to the King and Privy Council of England; and all laws lately made in England should be valid in Ireland.

The proviso last mentioned proves that in theory as well as in practice the Irish parliament had been previously independent; and even after it had, as it seemed, been effectually muzzled by Poynings' Law, there were not wanting proofs that some semblance of self-assertion was still left. Thus the laws passed in England in the reign of Henry VIII. denying the Pope's spiritual supremacy were re-enacted by the Irish parliament and were not considered binding in Ireland until that had been done. Again, the parliament held in 1692 openly flouted the express wishes of King William III. by refusing to ratify the articles of the Treaty of Limerick, and in the same session declined to make a certain money grant on the high constitutional ground that the money bill had not originated with itself. Thirty years later when, without previous consultation with the Irish viceroy, privy council, or parliament, the Wolverhampton ironmonger, William Wood, was granted an English patent for the coinage of £108,000 worth of halfpennies and farthings for circulation in Ireland, the Irish parliament registered a vigorous protest. The point here made is that such a protest was entered; it would probably have availed but little as a practical preventive, for the coins were beginning to trickle in, had not Dean Swift intervened and by the merciless satire and logic of the *Drapier Letters* caused the patent to be recalled.

But these were only fitful flashes. The normal attitude

of the Irish parliament was that of acquiescence in English-made measures. For example, only one voice, that of William Molyneux, was raised in the Irish parliament against the adoption of the English Act of 1698, which destroyed the Irish woolen industry, and when Molyneux published as a protest against the system his well-known work, *The Case of Ireland being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated,* his book was declared by the English House of Commons to be a dangerous publication and had the distinction of being condemned to be burned by the common hangman.

Here we see plainly a disposition, on the part of the English Parliament, to assert the right to legislate for Ireland; nor was this an isolated case. Such an assertion underlies at least three other English Acts—namely, (1) that prohibiting the exportation of Irish cattle to England (1665); (2) that prescribing the Oath of Supremacy and the Declaration against Transubstantiation for members of the Irish parliament (1691); and (3) the Act of Resumption (1700), which declared void King William III.'s grants of land in Ireland and appropriated those lands to the public revenue. The climax was reached, and the last shreds of independence left to the Irish parliament were taken away, when, in 1719, the British Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, known as The Sixth of George I., which laid down in theory and settled by practice the principle that Ireland was "dependent on the Crown of England and that the King, with the advice of the Peers and Commons [of Great Britain], in Parliament assembled, had full power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, and that the House of Lords of Ireland had no jurisdiction to reverse any judgment made in any of the courts."

It was to free the Irish parliament from those restrictions and to make it an independent body that Grattan started his reform agitation in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century. He was materially aided in his exertions by outside world movements of the most momentous character. The revolt of the North American colonies in 1775 and the adhesion of France (1778) and of Spain (1779) to their cause had placed England in a position of extreme difficulty and even of danger. Ireland, stripped of troops needed elsewhere, lay exposed as an easy prey to foreign invasion. That this was no chimerical fear was proved when

Paul Jones in the *Ranger,* of eighteen guns, sailed into Carrickfergus Bay in April, 1778, and captured the *Drake* of twenty guns stationed there for the protection of his Britannic Majesty's subjects. The same intrepid mariner appeared the following year with a ship of the line and three frigates, and, though he did not attempt a descent on the Irish coast, his presence in the vicinity inspired new terror. The foe from without was rendered more dreadful by threatened national bankruptcy within, for the embargo on exports necessitated by the war had ruined Ireland's commercial prosperity. To make confusion worse confounded the Catholic population of the south was believed to be disaffected and to have leanings toward France. Amid these surroundings the Irish Volunteers sprang into existence. By the middle of June, 1779, they had reached the number of 4,000, by September they had increased to 40,000, and by the autumn of 1780 they were estimated to be between 80,000 and 100,000 strong. Backed by this citizen army, Grattan, in the Irish House of Commons, moved an amendment to the address (1779), declaring that it was by a free export that the nation was to be saved from impending ruin, and his motion was unanimously adopted. The British Parliament at first did nothing in connection with this expression of opinion, but ultimately under strong pressure yielded, and in 1780 granted Ireland the right to trade with the East and the West, with America and the Levant. The Nonconformists also by a special act of the Irish parliament were relieved of their long-standing grievance of the Test.

The Volunteers next began to agitate for an independent Irish parliament. At a convention held at Dungannon in February, 1782, their delegates denounced Poynings' Law and the Sixth of George I. With this strong force of opinion and armed men behind him, Grattan reintroduced for the last time (April 16, 1782) his celebrated Declaration of Independence which on two recent occasions had been defeated. Its tenor was that "no power on earth but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland is competent to make laws for Ireland." It was a great historic occasion. The Volunteers in their gorgeous uniforms lined the streets. Floor and gallery of the old house in College Green were crowded. The members were all excitement. The rafters rang with the impassioned eloquence of the orator as he pleaded the cause of Ireland a nation. The populace massed

in the streets outside took up and reverberated the cheers which greeted every sentence within. Grattan's peroration, hackneyed though it has become by quotation, was a fitting climax to his splendid speech. He said:

"I have spoken so often on the subject of your liberty that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what Heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance. I found Ireland on her knees. I watched over her with an eternal solicitude. I have traced her progress from injuries to arms and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift: spirit of Molyneux, your genius has prevailed. Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her: and bowing to her august presence I say, *Esto Perpetua.*"

The Declaration of Independence was unanimously voted; it was accepted by the British Parliament within a month and a day and the whole Irish demand was unconditionally conceded.

The constitution thus secured did not last: when closely scrutinized it is doubtful if it had in itself the elements of permanence. There were two fatal bars to its success. The parliament, unreformed, still continued to represent only the non-Catholic element of the country, thus leaving four-fifths of the people without a voice in its election or proceedings. Various attempts at parliamentary reform were made, but not until 1793 was the parliamentary vote given to Catholics, and even then they remained ineligible for actual membership of the assembly. Much had been accomplished toward toning down sectarian animosities, but they were very far indeed from being rooted out. The second flaw was that bills passed by the Irish parliament became statutes only when they had passed the Great Seal of England, and that seal could not be affixed by the King without the advice and consent of his English Councillors. It would thus appear that, much lauded as Grattan's constitutional success has been, and from many points of view deserves to be, his Irish parliament was neither wholly representative nor wholly free.

It has been the fashion to represent the first part of the period that followed the independence of the Irish parliament as a sort of golden age; but in reality many disturbing elements were at work. The debates on Pitt's Commercial Propositions — statesmanlike as these propositions appear to us now—revealed much jealousy of Ireland's prosperity on the part of English commercial centers. The French

Revolution soon came to reawaken to vigorous life those dormant ideas of liberty and republicanism which had been brought into existence by the Revolution in America and had been fostered by the Volunteers. Side by side with some agricultural and commercial prosperity there was grave political discontent. Sectarianism was again rampant. And always there was the land question, around which were arrayed in hostile camps the Peep o' Day Boys and the Defenders in the north, while in the other provinces it caused a recrudescence of Whiteboyism. The Society of United Irishmen, which sought in league with France to cut the Irish connection with England, grew up and for a time flourished. The peasantry in several counties, goaded to desperation by racial hatred, religious persecution, and unequal land laws, broke into fierce but hopeless rebellion in 1798.

All these things paved the way for the passage of the Union. The legislative union of the two countries was no new idea. It was envisaged for a long time. It had actually been brought to pass by Cromwell and the Long Parliament, and during the Protectorate thirty members from Ireland sat in the English House of Commons. The restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his father also restored a parliament to Ireland, but many thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—men like Sir William Petty, William Molyneux, Adam Smith, and Montesquieu—were found to advocate a legislative union of the two countries. The Irish parliament itself had prayed for such a union in 1703 and 1707. The course of events toward the end of the eighteenth century convinced Pitt and Castlereagh that the dual system of government was, as Lord Rosebery puts it, "a vulture gnawing at the vitals of the Empire," and they determined to bring it to an end.

Much eloquent vituperation has been directed against the methods employed to induce the Irish parliament to vote itself out of existence; and in truth it was, as Lord Cornwallis phrased it, dirty work. The two great features that make the Union wear a particularly black and sinister aspect are (1) that it was not submitted as an issue to the electorate of Ireland and (2) that it was carried by bribery and corruption on the most colossal scale.

The Union Bill was adopted by the Irish parliament in July, 1800; it had already passed the English parliament; it received the royal assent on August 2d; and it became

operative on January 1, 1801. It provided that the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland were to be henceforth one; that twenty-eight temporal peers elected for life by the whole Irish peerage, and four spiritual peers taken by rotation of sessions, should represent Ireland in the British House of Lords; that there should be one hundred representatives of Ireland in the British House of Commons; that the Irish Established Church should be continued forever and united with the Established Church of England; that all members should take an oath that no foreign power had, or ought to have, any pre-eminence, ecclesiastical or spiritual, and that certain principal doctrines of the Catholic Church were "idolatrous and superstitious"; that Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths to the general expenditure of the United Kingdom for twenty years, at the end of which period a new arrangement was to be made; that the public debt of Ireland—which had been only £4,000,000 in 1797, but in 1800 was £17,000,000—was to remain a separate charge on the revenue of Ireland till the debts of the two countries should be in the proportion of two to fifteen and their respective circumstances should admit of uniform taxation; and that the courts of justice were to remain in the same condition, there being a final appeal to the House of Lords.

Almost immediately after the passage of the Union, agitation began for its repeal. Those who at first wished to have it repealed belonged to the party of ascendency, for they began to feel the want of the loaves and fishes, the spoils of office, that had come their way under the old régime. This was the position until O'Connell, having won Catholic Emancipation in 1829, turned his attention to the repeal agitation. This action on his part at first damped the ardor of the old party of ascendency and finally—such was still the force of sectarianism—made them stanch supporters of the Union. O'Connell's agitation reached enormous dimensions, but it was foredoomed to failure, and he died in 1847, broken in spirit, with his purpose unfulfilled, and his great organization was scattered to the winds.

The period from 1847 to 1870 is in many respects one of the gloomiest in the annals of Ireland. It produced a famine (1847-1849) and two abortive insurrections (1848 and 1867). It produced evictions on a colossal scale and a consequent emigration, which, combined with the famine, re-

duced the population by over 3,000,000. It produced also in the fifties a set of political knaves and tricksters whose shameless self-seeking and betrayal of principle for place and pelf disgusted the people with parliamentary methods. Such questions as engaged the public mind had reference mainly to the tenure of land, to education, and to the affairs of the Catholic and Established churches—important subjects in themselves, which engrossed attention almost to the exclusion of everything else. Hence during those twenty-three years, except for an occasional voice crying in the wilderness, scarcely any one spoke on the burning question which from 1834 onward, and especially during the heyday of O'Connell in the forties, had occupied the minds of men—namely, the repeal of the Union.

The subject was not dead, however, but sleeping, and it was destined to a gradual but effective awakening. Rightly or wrongly, ever-increasing numbers of Irish people were becoming convinced that many of the ills from which Ireland was suffering were preventable and that they were in great part due to the absence of a native and sympathetic legislature. Hence there arose a new movement which had for object not simple repeal, as originally advocated by O'Connell, but the establishment of an Irish parliament with full control over domestic affairs, leaving purely imperial affairs to the imperial parliament. The leader was Isaac Butt, the son of a Protestant clergyman of the north of Ireland. Butt had been an Orange Tory and as such an old opponent of O'Connell, but the logic of events had brought him round to a change of view. His supporters were drawn from Catholic and non-Catholic ranks alike, and so were his opponents, and thus the movement had from the outset a non-sectarian character. The objects aimed at were crystallized in the two words "Home Rule," a phrase invented by a professor of Trinity College, Dublin, which, being short, handy, and concise, had vitality in it and has endured down to this day. The new movement, which had been brought into existence in 1870 by the Home Government Association and had been kept going in a very determined manner for over three years, was formally promulgated on broad lines at a national conference held at the Rotunda in Dublin on November 18, 1873.

The cause advocated seemed a hopeless one in the beginning, for, despite the great preponderance of sentiment

in Ireland for Home Rule, motions in its favor were voted down by overwhelming majorities in the imperial parliament. The first of these divisions showed 53 Irish votes for, 37 against; 6 British votes for, 421 against; and the unequal contest went on with little variation in the yearly results until Butt's death in 1879.

In the mean time there had entered Parliament a young Irish representative who was destined to be the means of lifting the cause of Home Rule out of the slough of despond and advancing it, as it was never advanced before, into the region of practical politics. At the age of twenty-nine Charles Stewart Parnell was elected on the Home Rule ticket as member for Meath. Of mixed English, Irish, and American ancestry, he showed more of the phlegm of the Saxon and more of the practical nature of the American than he did of those characteristics which are usually looked upon as distinctively Irish. In 1877 he became prominent in a policy of "obstruction," the essence of which, in its ultimate development, was that Irish members, departing from their former practice, were to take an active interest in British and imperial as well as in Irish affairs, and by debating them in and out of season waste parliamentary time. This policy, rendered possible by the then existing forms and procedure of the House of Commons and carried out in most exasperating fashion by Parnell and Biggar and five or six of their earlier associates, was resented beyond measure in England, but was hailed with the most enthusiastic exultation by the bulk of the people of Ireland. One of the results that flowed from it was that it effectually opened the eyes of British statesmen to the fact that the imperial parliament was unable, for want of time, to deal satisfactorily with local as well as with broad imperial issues.

Parnell, having thus made his mark and secured popularity, was in 1880, by a narrow majority, elected chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, over whose destinies he presided for eleven fateful years. He became in 1885 master of a solid parliamentary legion of 86 men, sitting, whatever British party was in power, in eternal opposition. An independent body of 86, counting 172 on a division, is a potent factor in an assembly of 670, which is mainly divided into two great opposing parties and in which in the last analysis nothing counts but votes. Parnell's aim had been to obtain the balance of power between the two great Eng-

lish parties. He had succeeded so well that after the general election of November-December, 1885, the numbers in the House of Commons stood thus: Liberals, 333; Conservatives, 251; Nationalists, 86; majority of Liberals over Conservatives, 82; majority of Conservatives and Nationalists over Liberals, 4. Under such circumstances "the completion of Irish reforms," as a radical English newspaper of the day put it, was "no longer a matter of benevolent choice, but of stern necessity."

Accordingly on April 8, 1886, Gladstone, in his third premiership, introduced the Government of Ireland Bill, whose essence was that it conceded the principle of a separate parliament for Ireland. He was not able, however, to carry all his party with him and the bill was defeated by a majority of 30—341 to 311—on June 8, 1886, and the decision was confirmed on a dissolution of parliament and an appeal to the electorate. A second Home Rule Bill for Ireland was introduced by Gladstone in his fourth premiership on February 13, 1893, and, after a long debate extending to September 1st, passed its third reading or final stage in the House of Commons by a small majority, but was incontinently rejected on September 9th by the House of Lords by the contemptuous vote of 419 to 41.

Since then no Home Rule Bill was introduced until the April of the present year, but the agitation has been continuous and has riveted international public attention on the question in a most remarkable degree. Parnell fell from power in 1890-1891, and the great party, which he had fused into a homogeneous whole and made into an unparalleled fighting political machine, was rent asunder for a time and all Ireland was straightway divided into warring camps. But such division was disastrous, and Parnell's death in 1891 having paved the way for a reunion, a reconciliation was at length effected, and John Redmond was chosen chairman of the united Nationalists. A very different type of man from Parnell, he has yet proved himself a capable chairman and he has led his party and his country to within sight of the goal. He has had some trouble with the Nationalists and not all of them acknowledge his leadership. He is, however, at the head of a compact body of Parliamentarians, some of whom are distinguished for great ability, and even those Nationalists who do not recognize his leadership are in favor of Home Rule. One of the main

objects of himself and his party has been to educate the British democracy up to the point of seeing the fairness of the Home Rule proposition and of realizing what it means not only to Ireland, but also to Great Britain, and for that purpose a vigorous propaganda has been in operation for several years. Such success has been achieved that a vast majority of the electors in Wales and Scotland and a sufficient number in England have given their votes to that British party which has Irish Home Rule for a principal plank in its platform. Sympathetic and practical interest for that policy has also been evoked in the United States and in several of the more important British colonial dependencies.

In Ireland itself there is opposed to Home Rule a small, but by no means negligible, minority, whose representatives in the House of Commons number 19 out of 103, and these figures represent fairly accurately the proportion of Unionists to Home Rulers in Ireland. This minority has raised the old sectarian cry, affirming that under an Irish parliament there would be a persecution of non-Catholics; but the supposition is *a priori* baseless, and the facts of public life as conducted in Ireland to-day in no way warrant it. The House of Lords is still probably as firmly opposed to Home Rule as it was when it threw out the Bill of 1893; but owing to the constitutional change adopted in the summer of 1911, it is now possible, under certain conditions, to put any measure through in spite of its opposition and over its protest. The signs are thus favorable for the successful passage either now or later of the Home Rule Bill of 1912.

Home Rule will not bring the millennium to Ireland; but there can scarcely be a doubt that, coming in the train of beneficent legislation on the tenure of land, on labor, and on agricultural, scientific, and university education, it will tend to promote the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the Irish people.

P. J. Lennox.

# AN ELECTORATE OF MEN AND WOMEN

BY FRANCIS H. BLACKWELL

In the year 1848 there was conceived in the United States the embryo of a movement which, naturally evolved by growing democracy, has since made its way into every legislative hall of our country; has more than once convulsed the British House of Parliament, and is to-day engaging the attention of all classes of people throughout the civilized world. The movement, now commonly known as woman suffrage, has brought about the great politico-social question whether the elective franchise should be granted to woman equally with man. The subject, related as it is to the home, the law, the government, industry, and the general welfare of mankind, is of greater importance, it would seem, than it is generally understood to be.

Woman suffrage is gradually spreading all over the world. In some dozen countries, provinces, or States full suffrage obtains. Eleven countries, provinces, or States have granted municipal suffrage. Woman suffrage is in practice in some form in Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Isle of Man, Pitcairn Island, Bosnia, England and Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Canada, France, Belgium, Russia, India, Austria, and China.

In the United States full suffrage to woman has been in force in Wyoming forty-two years, in Colorado eighteen years, in Utah fifteen years, in Idaho fifteen years. It was adopted in the State of Washington in 1910 and in California in 1911. Oregon and Nevada are almost within the fold; and Wisconsin and Kansas are said to be hanging in the balance. It is estimated that now more than one million women are eligible to vote their choice of President of the

United States in 1912. Municipal suffrage has been practised in Kansas twenty-four years, tax suffrage in Montana twenty-four years, in Iowa seventeen years, in Louisiana thirteen years, in New York ten years, in Kansas eight years, in Michigan three years. School suffrage prevails in about twenty-nine States.

None of the foreign countries where women are now taking an active part in government can serve as more than a criterion in a careful consideration of this subject from the view-point of an American. Nearly all of these countries are monarchies or dependencies of royalty practising under one or the other of the two usual forms of government. Our Government corresponds to neither of these forms, but is rather an admixture of them. The nation is not merely a league, but is itself a commonwealth as well as a union of commonwealths, for it commands directly the obedience of every citizen and acts immediately upon him through its courts and its executive officers. The States, too, possess authority not delegated by the central government, but older than the nation itself—a power exclusively their own over their every citizen. This system is founded upon a constitution unique in its plan and dissimilar in its workings to that of any other in the world, a system which has worked marvelously well for a heterogeneous race, but probably would not work at all in the countries referred to. Certain peculiar provisions in the United States Constitution will cause the extension of suffrage to have a different effect in the United States than it will have in countries where the central government is not so directly connected with the people.

Before proceeding to observe the result of woman suffrage where it has been tried in the United States, and to consider the effect such an important change may have upon our Government, let us examine some complications which arise as a result of misconception of the meaning and intended use of certain words and phrases found in the Constitution of the United States—*i. e.,* from the words "persons" and "citizens" and the phrase "privileges and immunities" as they are contained in the second section of Article IV. and the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Claims for suffrage as a right based upon the United States Constitution and its amendments are wholly un-

founded and ought never to be regarded when attempting to view the subject in its true light.

Our Supreme Courts have clearly and definitely settled that neither the Constitution of the United States nor any amendment thereto has prescribed or attempted to confer the right of suffrage upon any one primarily, but that it is and always has been left to the States to determine what classes of the people shall exercise the right to vote.

As early as 1825 the United States Circuit Court of Pennsylvania was called upon to decide what were the privileges and immunities of a *citizen of a State.* The right of a State to disqualify a voter was squarely before the Supreme Court of Maryland in 1865. Seven years later the United States Supreme Court was called upon to consider the privileges and immunities of a *citizen of the United States.* In 1874 a test case was made in the United States Supreme Court to decide whether a woman had the right to vote. In 1884 the United States Supreme Court passed upon the power of the Federal government to protect a voter against State discrimination.

These decisions of our courts have determined that the right to vote is not included primarily in the privileges and immunities of *State citizenship,* but may be when a citizen is within the requirements and qualifications which the State itself has determined; that the right to vote is not among the privileges and immunities of *Federal citizenship;* that a State may disqualify a voter if there is no discrimination within a class; that when a voter is qualified the Federal government will protect him in the exercise of his right.

But many intelligent people, among them prominent lawyers and statesmen, believed Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment did entitle women to vote, and recently a young lawyer offered services to the suffragists to prove that under the United States Constitution women have a right to vote.

Perhaps it will be helpful if we consider somewhat in detail the words " person " and " citizen " and the phrase " privileges and immunities." Some opponents of woman suffrage say that women do not vote because they are only members of the social body, not citizens under the Government. This is not the reason women have not been included generally among voters. A woman may be a citizen just as a man may be. The word " person " is inclusive of

women. A nation or State is a political community composed of people associated together for the promotion of their general welfare. It is necessary in such a society to give a name to the members, to designate by a title the person and the relation of the person to the nation. In republican countries the word "citizen" has been most commonly employed rather than the word "subject," and this title was adopted by nearly all of our States upon their separation from Great Britain and was used in the Articles of Confederation and repeated in the Constitution of the United States. This Constitution was ordained and established by "the people of the United States," and consequently any person who was one of the people of either of these States when the Constitution of the United States was adopted came within the meaning of the word "citizen" as used therein—became *ipso facto* a citizen, a member of the nation created by its adoption. Proof that women were included among such citizens may be found in the fact that from the inception of legislation upon this subject *alien* women could be *made* citizens by *naturalization*. This would not be if it were not understood that *native* women *were citizens* by birth. To admit alien women to citizenship and debar native women would be beyond all reason. Sex has never been an element of citizenship in our country. We use the word "citizen" in its general sense and understand it to include females as well as males, minors as well as adults, those who do not as well as those who do possess the privilege of the elective franchise. Hence the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to confer citizenship upon women—it was not needed for that purpose; under our practice they were citizens a century before its adoption.

This leads many into difficulty, for, it is urged, if woman is a citizen the right to vote is one of the privileges and immunities of her citizenship which the Fourteenth Amendment expressly guarantees and forbids the State to abridge. This presents again the inquiry whether suffrage is included in the privileges and immunities of citizenship — whether all citizens are necessarily voters. What are the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States has more than once, as we have seen, required judicial decision, and our United States Supreme Court itself has fully felt the difficulty of defining and enumerating all of them. The phrase "privileges and immunities," like many of the maxims and

phrases found in our State and national instruments, is a very old English expression and was used in the Preamble to the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, in the Articles of Con federation, in the Federal Constitution, and the Civil Rights Act. Among the privileges and immunities as commonly understood may be reckoned the right to be protected in life and liberty, to acquire and hold property, to establish family relations, to contract, to choose a lawful occupation, to have access to the courts, and equality in the benefits and burdens of government. It is safe to infer that Congress understood the privileges and immunities of citizens in general to be those rights which it was believed freemen should possess and enjoy—absolute rights and privileges, not privileges derivative and conventional. In a social compact, such as a body politic, certain members are chosen to administer the affairs of the government, are allotted higher duties according to their higher capacities; and certain other members of the whole body are chosen to express the will of the majority of the people. When the Federal Constitution was adopted all the States, excepting Rhode Island and Connecticut, had constitutions of their own. In none of those States were all citizens permitted to vote under their constitution. Each State determined for itself who should have that power. If it had been intended to make all citizens of the United States voters the framers of the Federal Constitution who were familiar with the practice and impressed with the needs of the people would have expressly declared, and not left to implication, so important a change in the condition of citizenship as it then actually existed.

Article IV., Section 2, reads:

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

In including in the Constitution this provision for privileges and immunities it was intended, as it had been in the Articles of Confederation, to secure intercourse among the people of thirteen colonies which were foreign and strange to each other and to confer a general citizenship with the right to hold property in the several States—to secure the citizens of one State from discrimination on the part of a stranger State into which they might go. It was not the purpose to create any new rights.

Article XIV. of the Amendments, Section 1, reads:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

This article was one of the three reconstruction amendments which grew out of the Civil War and was added primarily for the negro to secure him in the liberty which had been found to be incomplete. The purpose of the first clause was to put at rest the question whether colored persons were to be recognized as citizens, a question which had been considered adversely in the very noted case of Dred Scott *vs.* Sanford. It created no new rights and added nothing to the privileges and immunities existing and practised for a century before its adoption. Its purpose is to guarantee *equality,* not to establish *identity*—it is *protective* rather than *investive.*

Neither is the right to vote inherent in citizenship, as is persistently claimed. We have seen that women are citizens, but the right to vote is not inherent in any citizenship. "Inherent" means permanently united as an element or quality. The right of suffrage is not elementary in citizenship, but is a strictly civil right which a man may never possess or which may become separated from him after it attaches to him. The right to vote is not one of the elements that go to make up citizenship—is not original or inherent; it is conventional and derivative.

When women first made organized demand for the suffrage they entitled it "a right"; and writers and lecturers ever since continue to speak of it as if it were primarily a right of one kind or another. Sometimes it is claimed the elective franchise is based on a right founded upon a consideration of justice, and sometimes it is claimed on the ground that unenfranchised women are deprived of natural, inalienable, and indefeasible rights. There are many species of rights, among which may be mentioned moral, legal, civil, those that are natural and absolute, those that are organic and fundamental, and those that are established by custom. These take the form of passive and active rights. In social

and political affairs that is right which is consonant to the laws and customs of the country. Let us see what are natural, inalienable, and indefeasible rights. Alice Stone Blackwell, writing in *Objections Answered,* says: "It is hard to define just what a 'natural right' is." "Natural" means that which is fixed by nature and pertains to the constitution of mankind, that which is intrinsic or native rather than acquired or assumed. Natural rights are such as are inherent in birth. Can we say that a man is born with the right to vote? If so, can we deprive a minor of the right and has not a baby the right? Ida Husted Harper has devoted several pages to reprints of expressions of our early statesmen, and arguments to show that these high minds all designated the suffrage as an inalienable right. But they made no such mistake; they were speaking in each instance of the right of *representation,* not the right to *cast a ballot.* The word "inalienable" means something that is incapable of being transferred to another—that is inalienable which one cannot give away or dispose of even if one wishes to; that is indefeasible which one cannot be deprived of without one's consent. These words inalienable and indefeasible properly refer to things already acquired or possessed. If the right to vote is not a natural right it is not an inalienable right. The greater part of our rights are absolute rights; rights not determined by society nor derived from constitutions, but rights much older which were originally protected by the common law. The personal rights commonly enumerated as natural to man and inalienable are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The right to vote is not one of these; it is not a right founded upon either natural or positive law nor upon any consideration of custom; it is not such as belongs of right to all citizens and which has at all times been enjoyed by the citizens of all free governments. If the right of suffrage were a natural right it would pertain to every man and woman without regard to sex, age, education, residence, or naturalization, and no sovereignty could dictate, limit, or restrict it. It is manifest that this is not so. The right to vote is a privilege conferred, a privilege rather than a prerogative—always a special, exceptional, and artificial right. Whenever any person of a class brings himself within certain requirements he becomes clothed in the right. The right to vote is no more than one of the integral parts of

the order or system which experience has shown to be necessary to the successful conduct of the business—the government—of the great illimitable society of mankind. It is a right in possession, never otherwise.

Fallacious reasoning, on the one hand, and carping argument or sentiment without reason on the other, only serve as a hindrance to a clear understanding of woman suffrage. Nor can the subject be successfully discussed in rigmarole.

With this in mind, let us consider woman suffrage as we find it in our own country; its result, the effect which universal adoption of it in the United States may have, the expediency or necessity for such a change.

To ascertain first hand what has been the result of full suffrage to woman the writer addressed inquiry two years ago to certain prominent sources in the four of our States in which this so-called revolution has been long tried, sources selected without antecedent knowledge of the parties or their politics. The result was a strong indorsement of the practice. About the same time Julia Ward Howe circulated letters among the clergymen and editors of newspapers in the same States. The replies of the Episcopal clergy were favorable, more than two to one; those of the Baptist ministers seven to one, of the Congregational ministers nearly eight to one, and of the Presbyterians more than eleven to one. The editors, in the ratio of more than eight to one, gave favorable reports.

Space will not here permit of the many assurances that can be offered of the complete success of female suffrage where it has been tried in its fullest, but in the light of experience it would seem unnecessary. The weight of evidence is supplied by the whole people there—they have not withdrawn the suffrage. They not only adhere to and retain it, but they enlarge its scope. As against this preponderance of evidence the pro and con deductions of individual members are of little value. The cause is to be tried on its merits. The writer feels no hesitation in declaring that its favor far outweighs its faults and that it can be worked successfully in our country.

Proceeding on the hypothesis that woman suffrage can work successfully in the United States, let us consider the different species of the elective franchise with reference to the effect the change may have if it becomes universal. The most common form, school suffrage, carries with it no privi-

lege outside of the domain of education. Beyond this it has no immediate effect. The tax suffrage entitles women not merely to a voice, but to participation by electoral power in the laying of taxes and the direction of the expenditure. This is an important privilege, but does not have direct effect outside of its own sphere. The full suffrage carries the right to vote for all elective officers, national, State, and municipal. Under our Federal Constitution this must include the right in a woman to be the head of the nation, to hold the highest office within the gift of the people upon the same terms as a man may. The right to participate in the ballot for State officers makes the woman voter eligible to be the Governor. And the municipal suffrage entitles the enfranchised woman to fill the most important elective office in the city or town. For Americans would deem it the height of illogical reasoning to grant municipal suffrage to women and not allow a woman to be Mayor—to give women the right to vote at State elections, and consequently the right to vote for members of Congress, yet withhold from them the right to sit in either the State Legislature or in Congress—to give them a vote in the election of the President and yet disqualify a woman from the Presidency of the United States.

The effect of school suffrage is beneficial. Good results of it are acknowledged by opponents of the cause. No ill results may be expected from the tax suffrage. The woman property-owner, like the man, wishes for well-made, well-lighted, clean highways, adequate sewers, good water, efficient police and fire service, and all improvements which tend to enhance property. Women can lend assistance in matters of taxation which would probably be of benefit to all. They have more time to examine into a proposed measure, to investigate circumstances, and disseminate information tending to arrest attention and lead to wise determination of the question by both men and women. The universal adoption of the full suffrage will be far-reaching in its effect. It will, substantially, admit women to hold any elective office from the Surrogate to the President. It may subject women to jury service. And it will greatly increase the electorate. Doubtless no cause for alarm will ever arise from any of these conditions. If a woman is ever President of the United States it will be because some ten million men and women know of special ability possessed by the

incumbent. Our Constitution will not permit her to pass in by hereditary right; and unless the people want her to be their leader she never can be. As she may be perfectly competent to act as President, in the same measure will she be fit to fill any other elective office. Some inconveniences may arise from the existence of women jurors. Space will not permit full consideration of this condition. A panel of women jurors would be undesirable; a mixed jury may be quite an improvement. Such a change will probably never double the electorate, as some predict. Enlarging it will necessitate readjustment of precinct, ward, and State divisions and other changes, at much cost; but the additional expense will be met many fold by the saving of waste and misappropriation which will result if we produce an intelligent electorate. While it would be best if the electorate could be restricted to men and women on an educational basis or in some way limited within intelligence, this is quite impracticable and we must accept the alternative of an increase in size to obtain quality.

If government by a mixed electorate can work in our country, what reasons can be urged for a change that will affect and probably alter materially "the famous instrument of 1789 which summed up so much of what is best in the laws and customs of an ancient monarchy," as Mr. James Bryce said; under which the minds and temper of the American people have been formed, and the test of which has supplied to them stability and permanence of political arrangement; the noble charter of fundamental law, still rigid in the letter, but docile in the spirit, against which the people lean more and more as time moves and which many are more than ever reluctant to alter—what reasons can be urged for the change? It seems that something more than the restless impatience of a class or the clamor of a temporary majority cries out for a change—that it is now expedient and necessary that the suffrage should be extended to include woman to an active part in the affairs of our Government.

One of the potent factors in a change which seems predestined is the great growth in the industrial development of the world. The irresistible pressure of economic evolution, the marvelous development of industrial vigor, have brought to modern life a complexity far beyond the capacity of individual man. Little by little in the process many

of the increasing details in the work of life have shifted from the man to the woman, gradually changing her vocation, until these details have become so numerous and the whole so huge that both man and woman are crying out for the great hand of government to take up their burdens. The change from the one-time Jack-of-all-trades to the present-day special-part operative was made step by step. The advent of the machine hastened the movement and opened up and settled a new world. By the change woman has been thrust into industry. No longer is the woman of the home engaged in soap and candle making, in spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, and brewing. All these occupations have yielded to industrial advancement; they have gone from the home to the factory and women perforce have followed. More than this, innumerable occupations unknown to the Colonial dame, many, in fact, lately born, now engage women in employment. Our industrial development has transplaced a large proportion of women from the hearthstone into the market-place, until to-day not alone one, but many members go to and fro from the *ménage* to labor. So the duties of women, as well as those of men, have passed out of the rudimentary, from the simplex to the complex, until woman has by force become a factor in the evolution of mechanical and commercial industry. She has entered the professions—the ministry, medicine, and the law—and has won distinguishment in the sciences and the arts.

The indications are that there are few kinds of work from which the female sex is absolutely debarred either by nature or law or custom. There are about 5,000,000 female bread-winners in the United States above the age of sixteen years. Of the 303 occupations classified in the Twelfth Census women are represented in all but nine. It is surprising to note that they are found among pilots, baggagemen, brakemen, conductors, engineers, firemen, switchmen, yard-men, flag-men, ship carpenters, roofers, blacksmiths, machinists, boiler-makers, charcoal, coke and lime burners, slaters, and well-borers. This is a wonderful transmutation over which neither man nor woman has control.

In this evolution the ballot, which came as an absolute necessity to the husbandman, remained an absolute need of the labor man; indeed, he has been forced to the forum by the cruelties which have characterized industrial progress. If the ballot is a necessity for the protection and the best

interests of the working-man—and who will attempt to confute that it is?—can any logical reason be offered for the prediction that the working-woman will escape the same necessity? On the contrary, her need will be twofold. Men in labor ranks have evinced jealous apprehension of women competitors. If the male representatives of unionized labor are to have a part in framing the laws pertaining to labor, it is obvious that they will not extend the power of their vote to protect the enemy in their camp, the co-laborer whom they do not want and with whom they are not yet in sympathy and agreement. Self-interest and self-preservation will prevail over gallantry. Hence the twofold need of the woman at work—to be armed with the electoral power as a fortification against capital force and as an independent protection of her special interests. Women working under the same general economic conditions with men should have the same legal, civic, and moral resources. Having been moved into the field by the natural evolution, justice will award to woman a free competition in business, free enterprise in labor, and equal opportunity in industry.

In the first fifty years of the nineteenth century the population of the United States increased about 18,000,000, in the next thirty years about 27,000,000, and in the last thirty years 43,000,000.

This extraordinary growth and development has carried with it necessary complications which have resulted in the general complexity of modern life, one part of which is unprecedented expansion of government.

The times demand the strong arm of government—the cry is for paternal government. Our people lean more and more upon government, and not alone upon their State government but upon the great national body, upon which they increasingly depend to solve the great problems of the day. Even the vast increase in the business of Statehood is moderate, almost meager, compared with the enormous growth of Federal power—the growing tendency to centralization in our national government. This great ruler is now interesting itself in the eradication of disease and pests, in communication, conservation, manufacture, agriculture, and commerce; it interests itself in babies, in its people of all ages; it tells them how they shall live, what they may do, where they may work, how they may conduct business, how best to be educated; and it turns its searchlight into the dark

recesses of corporate and monopolistic corruption, and upon every evil which may threaten harm to its wards.

As the government comes closer to the individual, the vote becomes a greater factor and the responsibility on the elector increases. Thus multiple complications and the expansion of government have attached to a man's vote manifold and complex importance which now requires a change in the manner of expressing public opinion.

Although ours is considered to be government by public opinion, it may be said that we seldom ascertain what is the truly public opinion. Under the present conditions, it seems to be inexpressible and therefore indeterminable. Our political system has become so cumbersome, our balloting so numerous and intricate, that the voter is overwhelmed. The present long-ballot system, the need for the perplexing ready-made ticket, frequent elections, manifold elective offices, innumerable commissions and boards, have thrown upon the voter more duty than his time will permit of performing intelligently. Finally a large percentage of the citizens ignore politics altogether, cultivate a dull sense of responsibility, and sink into individual insignificance, leaving politics and the administration of government to the political specialist, the demagogue, the machine boss, and the clique. This will be seen later when we speak of the "stay-away vote."

In New York City nearly five hundred State, city, and county offices are to be filled every four years by popular vote. In Chicago the number is greater, and in Philadelphia still greater. Even in a small city in Massachusetts the voter is confronted with a ballot-sheet 15 x 16 inches containing some thirteen groups of offices, for which fifty-four men are named, from which eighteen are to be chosen. In addition, he may be asked to decide the question, "Shall an Act passed by the General Court in the year 1910, entitled 'An Act relative to the school committee of the city of . . .' be accepted?" How many citizens will know anything about these fifty-four men; and how many, confronted in the privacy of their booth with unintelligible inquiries, will know the purport of the Act upon which they are to decide? How is the voter competent to say whether his Yes or No will be best for the interest of himself and his fellow-citizens if he does not know the Act? The ballot for an English municipal election is no larger than half the size of our

ordinary envelope. Usually it contains the names of two candidates for one office, member of council for the ward.

It requires no ingenuity to cast the ballot, as some infer, but it may not be incorrect to say it requires a genius to cast an intelligent vote, and will until we learn to simplify our methods.

Notwithstanding that men have made great sacrifices for the free ballot and that some would still fight in an attempt to prevent its free bestowal, men are singularly deficient and negligent in the performance of the duty which the ballot casts upon them. So prevalent is this that some theorists propose that the privilege of the elective franchise shall carry with it a penal condition to compel its use.

This leads us to consider "the stay-away vote," a prominent feature in the absent public opinion. At the last national election 10,000,000 males of voting age took no part in the election of President. About 150,000 registered voters of Massachusetts cast no ballot for President. There are about 75,000 male legal voters in Massachusetts who do not register to vote. In a population of 670,585 there are only 110,677 male registered voters in Boston, Massachusetts. The city collector recently petitioned the Boston City Council to cancel $1,674,880 poll taxes, to collect which much effort and money had been expended. Out of about 11,000 assessed polls in Newton, Massachusetts, about 3,000 vote at a city election. Here is a striking example of the indifference of the citizens, in which regard Massachusetts is one of the most delinquent States in the Union.

Not only is the voting power—the very foundation of our democratic government—weakened by the citizens' atrophied disuse of it, but it is still further weakened by another element, the ignorant vote.

The revised statutes of the United States require that an alien to be naturalized must speak the English language, must have resided in the United States five years and have made application two years prior to being admitted to citizenship. But the privilege of naturalization and the right to vote are derived from distinct and different sources. The former is exclusively the gift of the Union, the latter exclusively the gift of the State. Hence the State government may permit persons to vote long before the national Government deems them qualified to be its citizens. In the exercise of their power to regulate the elective franchise,

eleven of our States permit aliens to vote, before they are naturalized, equally with native-born or naturalized citizens. In four of the States aliens who have declared their intention to become United States citizens may vote six months after landing; and there seems to be no definite requirement as to reading or writing.

About 2,000 aliens arrive in America each day. About 10,000,000 of the increase in population of the past ten years are foreigners and 7,000,000 native. Of the 25,000,000 males of voting age in the United States about 3,000,000 are illiterate.

Now the foreigner's vote is undesirable only in so far as it is an ignorant vote. If it is an intelligent vote it is valuable. But the immigrant usually is uneducated, unfamiliar with the foreign language, wholly unacquainted with the new form of government, and not in the slightest conversant with nor able to understand the needs of the country and what will best conserve the interests of the greatest number. They must needs fall an easy prey to the demagogue and the political hector. This is disastrous—it adds a force to corrupt politics which the limited intelligent vote exercised by the native may be insufficient to control or overthrow. Furthermore, our Constitution is so constructed that the ignorant State voter participates in the election of the head of the nation. Each vote of this class corralled by the political agent of the octopus employer to be used for the election of a silver-standard ruler, or for any destructive folly, counts equally against the vote of the intelligent citizen who knows such a choice would be ruinous.

Too much stress cannot be placed upon the importance of intelligence in the electorate to offset the twofold evil of the indifference of native citizens and the injection of ignorant voters. It would be well if the elective franchise could be regulated by civil examination, but it would seem that this is wholly impracticable. As important as it is that educated and virtuous citizenship should be set against sordid, venal, and malevolent politics, it is more important that intelligent, independent thought and expression be offset against the illiterate and dependent ignorance of a large class of voters both native and foreign.

In conclusion let us observe what is taking place and why the question of woman suffrage is compelling such general attention.

The very numerous grants of the school suffrage indicate that the people have come quite generally to deem it meet and advisable that women shall take an active part in the educational branch of government.

The inclusion of women in a vote upon a question of taxation is an admission of them to participation in one of the basal and essential branches of all government; therefore, this latest form of suffrage is a further recognition that women under our present altered and advanced conditions are a component part of the political society.

The example given us by four of the States of our country furnishes clear proof that where suffrage has been extended to include women so that they can take an active part in the complete system of government—in other words, where woman suffrage has been tried in its fullest, the majority of the people consider it a success and an improvement. The irrefragable proof that this is the majority opinion is found in the fact that no attempt is made in any of these States to withdraw the franchise from women and adopt the usual method of government.

Further evidence is offered by the acts of the people of a fifth and a sixth State, neighborhood States so situated as likely to be conversant with the practice in their sister States, in the adoption of an amendment to their constitution admitting women to active participation in the government.

How illogical, then, in the face of present conditions, is the argument that women are not competent to express an opinion in the affairs of government by a vote. To say they are not competent and yet admit them to take part and advise in matters of education, the motive power of our present intellectual development and expansion, the very solar light which reflects the intimate relation between intelligence and democracy. To say they are not competent and yet admit them to participation in the great subject of taxation, one of the main arteries of the body politic, a serious subject in every government. To deem them incompetent in the face of the determined success they have made of their work where their co-operation in all affairs of the government has been long tried and tested.

But some people fear that to admit women to the full elective franchise will upset the social and political poise and revolutionize our government.

No system of government as it stands is quite the masterpiece of human wisdom. Time was when men considered that the best form of government was a wise and benevolent despotism. Since, however, people have grown to a capacity for self-government experience has shown that the most complete popular government is the best — that form of government in which the citizens have, in addition to their passive rights, active right of participation in the government. We wish to practise the true democracy. We believe in individualism, in the *spirit* of triumphant democracy. But if in our *practice* we place improper restraints or limitations in the way of any class of members, we are looking at our system through the mirage of a false democracy. The existence in a country of an elemental class ruled without voice may be a weak spot in the body politic. Government is instituted for the common good. The value of a constitution may be measured by its fitness to the needs of the people at any given time. If an institution, custom, or practice falls behind progress, the system affected may be come a purely arbitrary and artificial form. Do you know that with us misgovernment is continuous and universal, that maladministration prevails? Millions upon millions of dollars are wasted and misapplied annually in cities, States, and nation. Yet we practise under one of the best forms of government.

Now it is probable that nothing will mitigate the vigor of growing government. We are in the midst of a condition, not a theory. Amelioration from some source is necessary. The American man appears to be too much engrossed in the intricate affairs of the modern life to be able to attentively and carefully look after the kaleidoscopic duties now comprised in the political labyrinth. At any rate, he is neglecting to do so. The voters constitute the broad base of the structure of government. The structure has grown in its highest parts, it requires a larger pedestal. It is to be regretted that the needed strength cannot be supplied in quality without increasing quantity. If it cannot there appears to be nothing to do but to broaden the base. It would seem that the time had come when woman must take her place by the side of man and participate in his labor in government as she has in his labor in the home and in industry

Francis H. Blackwell.

# REALISM IN FICTION

BY ARTHUR C. BENSON

THERE are periods in the world's history when a great wave of thought and impulse comes rolling in from the unknown deeps. It is common enough to attribute such movements of the world-spirit, whatever it be, to the influence of some personality or group of personalities; but we are learning to perceive that this is not the case, and that though men of prophetic spirit may be the first to recognize and proclaim the new tendency, yet it is only that they are the first to be consciously affected, and that the same impulse is making itself felt, however blindly and dumbly, in all thinking and feeling minds.

The last century has seen the rise of the scientific spirit; and though it is no part of my business here to trace its general manifestations, one can see its effect in our imaginative literature as clearly as in any other department of human life.

The essence of the scientific spirit is to observe, to analyze, to accumulate evidence, to look closer into life, to mistrust generalization, to record, and to represent. This need not necessarily be done with a philosophical motive; it may just manifest itself in an impatience of old conclusions and conventions, in a determination to see everything in a clear light, without hurried inference or traditional prejudice, to make sure of the ground, to neglect nothing, to distort nothing.

This tendency is making itself felt very surely and distinctly in our present-day fiction. The old inclination of the tellers of tales obeying, no doubt, a similar inclination on the part of listeners, was to brush aside all the vulgar, obvious, and commonplace elements of life, to represent character at its highest and most heroic, and at the same time, in order to make the background darker and blacker by way of con-

trast, to intensify the uglier and more evil elements, that the nobler types of temperament might be more radiantly and emphatically outlined.

That was what romance, developing and broadening out of epic, tried to do. It is not necessary to censure or condemn this tendency in the name of art: as long as the aim is clearly realized and apprehended, it is a perfectly legitimate and natural form of art.

But imaginative writers in these later days have wearied of all that. They have begun to perceive that life itself is far more wonderful and abundant than any arbitrary reconstruction of it; that the interest of life lies in the very fact that we cannot, as the poet says, "remold it nearer to our heart's desire," but that it is an infinitely mysterious and complex thing, which we can only criticize by studying; and that we must not be afraid of looking closely at its baser sides, its failures, its contradictions; because it is in them that the very secret of life lies. The imaginative spirit has grown to perceive that truth is a far more interesting thing than any private fancy, and it has learned, too, that the imaginative faculty can be just as nobly used in selection and firm representation as it was used in discarding and remodeling.

It is this, then, that we call Realism: a determination, not necessarily with any scientific purpose, to present life as it is, and to recognize that so viewed it has a higher sort of beauty in it than any vague imported beauty won by suppression and contempt of what appears to be commonplace.

Now it is first necessary to say that this method, the realistic method, must be a spontaneous and authentic one. It wholly fails of its aim if it is a merely irritable protest against the old sweetness and solemnity. It must include romance and not defy it. It must realize that the world does produce heroic spirits of inspired quality. There is in humanity a deep spring of nobility, which leaps into the air at times of crisis and revolt; and there is also a lofty equanimity, a high and silent patience, which manifests itself, though it sometimes eludes observation, in the dreariest and dullest of surroundings. Realism must frankly recognize this, and must not forbid the heroic subject. It may be as minute as possible, but it need not, therefore, be mean—all that it can do is to abstain from the accumulation of melodramatic elements, from overfortunate coincidences,

from caricatures of heroism, from absurd elongation and fantastic emphasis; it is, of course, a much more difficult business to indicate heroic qualities subject to all the shadows of circumstance, the unpleasant obstacles, the feeble lapses, the languors and fatigues of life. There must be no *Deus ex machinâ,* no magic weapons which no human armor can withstand, no seven-leagued boots, none of the miraculous apparatus lavished by old romance upon its central figures. Perhaps the worst feature of the old epic was the intolerable complacency of the hero, the way in which he boasted and bragged of his exploits, the self-conscious dramatization of his whole career. The realistic hero need not be forbidden to do great, patient, courageous things, but he must do them unemotionally and naturally, not for the sake of their effect, but because they seem to him the obvious and simple thing to do.

But the main business of the realist will be this, not simply to invent situations in which all his characters will be enabled to display their salient qualities, but to observe the sort of situations which actually do occur in life, and to face the fact that most people are very strangely compounded of excellence and meanness, that the processes of improvement and disintegration are alike slow and gradual, with many an ebb and flow; and that there is in all human life a strange chemical power of assimilation and combination, so that good and evil are alike delicately evoked and fostered and obliterated by human relations and admixtures.

Again, the realist must make it his aim to suppress as far as possible all bias and prejudice: he must not maintain a thesis or take a side: he must not personify his own hopes and fears, his likes and dislikes. He must clearly perceive that the trade or occupation or interests or powers of his characters matter very little, and amount to hardly more than difference of vesture and accent, and that men bring the same characteristics to whatever they do. He must realize that the main interests of mankind do not now reside in combat or even in love-making; that the old romances dealt largely in such things because it is in these regions that the most ardent and eager excitements of humanity are experienced, but that apart from these sublimated moments property, work, health, social intercourse, religion, politics, education, and many other things, thoughtlessly and trivially held to be unromantic and unpoetical, do really

make up for crowds of intelligent and vigorous people the solid substance of life quite apart from any idealization or sentimentality.

Indeed, it is of sentiment that the realist must mainly beware, because the great danger of the romancer is sentiment. It is a thing which most people value highly, and none the less because it is more rare than is supposed. Long tracts of life have to be lived without it, and it is a special gift like all other gifts. But just because it has an ineffable sweetness and fragrance, and because it is evoked very emphatically of certain periods and crises of life, there is a great demand for its importation; a writer who can evoke the appropriate sentiment for an occasion is warmly welcomed by people whose desire is greater than their emotion; and so the temptation of the romancer is to load every rift with sentiment, to make persons thrill responsively to every possibility of it. Yet what is the case in real life? Is it not every one's experience to look forward with intense anticipation to the visit of a friend, and then, instead of a luxury of emotion, to find the friend dull or preoccupied, or oneself cold and tongue-tied? One revisits some old and familiar scene, and expects a perfect symphony of memory and haunted echoes; and some dreary fact of life intervenes, some discomfort, the presence of a pert and unsympathetic person, some prosaic anxiety; and the scene is as hollow and meaningless as the painted background of the stage seen in leaden daylight. The pleasure which most of us feel in romance is in the deliberate suppression of intrusive flatness, in the rehabilitation of life on a sublime plane, in the concentration of ideal effects. And if this is the case with the deep and luxurious emotions of life, it is equally so when the romancer is dealing with tragic passions, with vices, with harsh and trenchant faults. How common it is in real life to find the fierce and malevolent person acting with unexpected mildness and generosity! How poignant situations collapse! How unexpectedly reasonable the impatient and aggressive show themselves! In a word, how unexpected life is in its transformations and its developments! How perfectly normal it is for two perfectly incongruous faults to be found side by side in the same person —large generosity with petty meanness; fiery irascibility with maudlin tenderness! The realist has to grasp and express the fact that many people are wholly inconsistent,

and that it is next to impossible to generalize—that, in fact, every individual is unique, not true to sample, not to be depended upon for good or for evil. And one of the subtlest things of all is the strange phenomenon of combination, the magnetic effect which some people have over others, so that in the presence of the magnetist the person affected is wholly, though temporarily, transformed. Any schoolmaster knows that a collection of boys is not a mere sum of individuals, but that there is a sort of chemical influence resulting from juxtaposition which has to be reckoned with as a very potent and vivid force indeed, rousing slumbering qualities and emphasizing inconvenient tastes.

Here, too, is one of the immense difficulties of realistic portraiture of life, that it is lived in the mysterious region we call *the present,* which is gone the moment we are able to recollect it and regard it mentally, and that it resides in that terrible thing called motion, and motion which cannot be arrested; and yet we know that just as the electric current is a totally different thing from the incandescent point at which we see it, through which it flows, at that one fragment of space made visible and tangible, so life is itself a wholly different thing from its manifestation in present deed and word. This is the overwhelming problem for the artist of life, that he has somehow got to convey the impression of the current itself, of the permeating essence which is so vastly different from its perceptible collision and glow. In real life people do not and cannot say what they mean; the emotion is so infinitely larger a thing than any possible expression of it; what can be momentarily felt might take an hour to describe; and yet the essence of the thought is the simultaneous blending of strains felt but not consciously or rationally expressed, which if analyzed lose their quality, as the spectrum loses the quality and effect of the total ray. Emotion is a thing which communicates itself quite independently of speech, by glance, by gesture, and by actual fusion of vital currents too swift for the brain to formulate them. The melodramatist, the romancer is condemned to try to express these literally, to make people say what they leave unsaid, to put into clumsy word what really lies hidden as a glowing and flashing thought.

Now the realist is here in a dilemma. If he describes a scene as it occurs, it is often principally remarkable for the entire suppression of all visible and audible emotion.

And it is certainly my experience, and I should imagine the experience of every one, in England, at all events, that in tragic scenes and situations where the atmosphere is tense with emotion, the most amazing fact is the incredibly commonplace things which people say and do. In the most tragic scene which I can call to mind the conversation was mainly about the weather; it was an intense relief to every one present that any one should have been sensible enough to introduce the subject. But the realist has got to express the emotion somehow, and to catch, if he can, without lengthy analysis, that extraordinary fusion which comes at moments of intensely vivid emotion of indignation, grief, memory, anguish, regret, mingled at the same time with the most inconsequent and trivial thought and observation. It is the lightning rapidity of thought which is the problem, and the realist has somehow to give the impression of this boiling cauldron of feeling with all its incongruous impediments. The supreme triumph of the art of Mr. Wells is in his wonderful power of rendering a confused and complex frame of mind. Tolstoy again in a less definitely intellectual region has a matchless gift for producing the effect, by characteristic selection, of the aimless reveries of the mind.

But we are most of us very much at the mercy of convention and tradition and association. Our impressions of things as they happen are largely amplified by recollection and inference. We are in the position of the naval captain who objected to a picture of Turner's that there were no port-holes visible in a ship. Turner took him out-of-doors and showed him by ocular demonstration that in a ship at that distance the port-holes were not visible. The fact was that the captain knew they were there; and in representations of life we often demand that things should be depicted which we know to be there, even though in actual fact they are invisible. And that is the difficulty of dealing with books; we have hitherto lived so much with romance, the essence of which is to represent life as it is not, amassing coincidences, emphasizing salient points, exaggerating, suppressing, making people say what they do not say but only dimly think, that we have got to demand a treatment of life which is not actual, and even to believe that it is actual. If realism is to prevail, as I have little doubt it will prevail, we have to be educated out of our convention, we have got to dispense with many convenient symbols and learn a new

code of signals. The old emotions have somehow to be expressed and indicated, but it will require far more art to treat them and far more observation to clothe them.

We must never forget, in art, that we are dealing with symbols and not with actual things. When a great draughtsman sets on paper in a few lines, with a bit of chalk, the outline of a beautiful face—those first five lines which, as Ruskin said, do more to present the subject than any of the thousands of strokes made afterward, he is only using a code of signals. A face is not in the least like that, a face has not a black bounding line and a dead white surface; but we have got used by long practice to seeing the thing conceived inside the hard outline; but the outline is not itself beautiful: there is no intrinsic beauty in black lines on white paper; it is the beautiful thought, the beautiful vision in the artist's mind, which is affecting us. The sketch is like the wire which holds the swift electric current, like a track across the void, over which our spirit can go to meet and greet his spirit. He enables us by signals thus used, by hints and whispers, to guess at what he has perceived; we can clothe the outline with the vesture of humanity, tinge the pale space with the hue of pulsing blood, supply the crystalline depth of the wide eye, body forth the wave-like ripple of the curling hair. The effect, then, depends upon three conditions: the perfect visualization of the thought in the artist's brain, the suggestiveness of the line he traces, and the power in ourselves, whatever that be, to reproduce by insight and sympathy the artist's image.

Now the realist and the romancer are alike in this, that they are both trying to make their conception as clear and as suggestive as they can. The end of all art is to produce the idea as swiftly, as clearly, and as economically as it can. So far as the setting of the picture goes—the scene, the background—both are working on the same lines; but while the art of the romancer is directed to what is impressive, trenchant, rich, resonant, while he exaggerates and emphasizes, the art of the realist is directed to recovering, as far as he can, what the perceptive human being does actually retain and observe of a scene. Thus if the romancer is dealing with a tragic episode, he colors all his picture with salient ornament, he works up his details so as to give it all a fateful and stupendous air—he treats his subject, in fact, as a painter of historical pictures treats his subject;

he studies accessories, he is careful about the contemporary accuracy of his robes and weapons, he makes his setting gorgeous and elaborate; but the realist will set himself rather to imagine what the human being in a moment of tragic emotion does actually see and observe; and he will, therefore, tend to minimize and hint his detail, and concentrate his powers upon the actual and vivid emotions of the scene. We may observe how in a romance the detail is generally equally distributed all along the line; as the story proceeds, each episode is treated with the same richness and expansiveness, and the setting is as carefully worked out. But what, as a matter of fact, does the reader of a breathless romance actually do? If one takes the trouble to look critically through a romance which one has read with absorbed interest, one infallibly finds that one has a much clearer memory of the initial detail than of the subsequent detail. The later descriptions, if one has been really interested in the emotional progress of the story, will be found to have left but little mark upon the mind; if one has not actually skipped them, one has made one's way through them impatiently, like a man struggling through a copse to the open daylight. And one finds that it is much the same with the rhetoric employed. When, in the later scenes of a romance, hero and heroine speak as elaborately as ever, deal in leisurely metaphors, expand the thought into well-balanced parentheses, one finds that one has scampered through them in one's eagerness to tear the heart out of the scene; one neglects the deftness of the strokes in one's anxiety to arrive at the issue of the game.

The realist works on quite a different method; and one finds in all good realistic books that the accessory detail gets more and more economized toward the end; there is often a lavish use of it at the beginning to assist the mind to form a literal conception of the scene; but this is more and more sparingly employed, while the attention is more and more concentrated on the action, the interplay of emotion, the dramatic vigor of the situation. The more that the mind becomes concentrated on the personalities, the more that the subject takes shape, so much the swifter do the details flash by and leave the mind at leisure to apprehend the central emotion. Everything is discarded which does not bear poignantly and naturally upon the emotion. The truth is that the romancer is giving shape to his own im-

agination, and luxuriously indulging it, while the realist is thinking all the time how the scene is viewed through the eyes of human beings, who are absorbed in the progress of their own emotions. It is not that one method is better than the other. They are both being pursued instinctively and intentionally, only with different aims. The romancer is taken up with the equable progress of his scene, and he starts with the assumption that he is not presenting life as it enacts itself, but as it might appear to an observer who is more intent upon the pageant than upon the interplay of human qualities. But the realist is in and behind every one of his characters, losing himself in their fears and hopes, their desires and their perplexities; and his aim is not to present something formal, stately, decorous, majestic, but to reflect the breathlessness, the indecision, the swift mental changes, the ebb and flow of the mood. He does not say to himself, "How can this be largely and deliberately represented?" but he is trying to discern the clash of weapons, the unexpected thrust, the agonized parry, the heat and terror of the conflict. He subordinates everything, not to the solemn mood of the actor who says, "How can I give this thought the fullest and most distinct impression?" but to the hurried mood of the man who has to do the best he can, and often does much worse than he could have done if he had but had the time to reflect. Time does not wait for us in life, as it waits for us in romances. We have to play an unrehearsed part, we have to speak and act extempore. The romancer is the man who plans the scene beforehand, and can assign to his antagonist the precise mode of his attack; or he is the man who recalls a scene, and invents the telling repartee, the effective statement, that he might have made if he had not been so bewildered by the onset. But the realist thinks rather of the courage which suddenly plays one false, of the stupefaction caused by the unexpected event, of the sudden flaring up and dying down of impulse, of the way in which a bodily desire instantaneously shatters a philosophical programme, of the incredible dualism of humanity. The pleasure of romance is that it is life highly planned, pleasantly rearranged, deliberately lived; the force of the realist rather lies in the truth of the thing, the overpowering vagueness of emotion, the treacherous slip, the fatuous lapse, the tendency of humanity to be unequal to a situation with due regard to the possibility of

being strangely and splendidly, on great occasions, surprised by readiness and inventiveness and unanticipated nobility.

The romancer follows reason in his method, the realist follows instinct. And as a matter of fact we most of us actually live by instinct, and find reasons to justify us as soon as we conveniently can.

Then there is another great difficulty which besets realism: The difficulty in dealing with life as it is, is that it so largely consists in long, dreary, subdued, monotonous tracts of vapid talk, unrelieved work, days of drab and sullen texture, infinite repetitions, dull delays. People tell the same stories, say the same things, think the same thoughts, wear the same clothes over and over again. These things gain a cumulative force from their dreadful iteration. There is a passage in one of Keats's letters written when he was on a walking tour with a precise and prosaic friend. Keats describes how every night the friend unpacks his writing-case, gets out his things in a certain order, first the blotting-paper, then the ink, then the paper, and last of all the pen. Keats describes the irritating effect of this, and says that he begs his friend in vain sometimes to get out the pen first. But that is a romantic frame of mind. If one loves life, one ought to be able to see with renewed and perennial delight the same ceremonious order preserved, and to be pleased that the clock strikes the hour so regularly.

The realist has got somehow or other to reproduce the effect of this iteration: he cannot do it by iteration, for then the world itself, as the writer of the Fourth Gospel naïvely says, could not contain the books that should be written. The realist must select as well as the romancer; but he must not select the glowing and sparkling events, he must select the characteristic ones; and he must give the effect of repetition without repeating himself. That is, perhaps, why realism is so late a growth, because writers despaired of producing the effect of length and continuity by brief phrases.

Miss Austen is, perhaps, the supreme exponent of this method. Take the case of Mr. Woodhouse in *Emma*. His biography as extracted from the book would fill a few pages —there is one long conversation, a few short ones, and a few directions about food and health. Yet the picture of the kindly, silly, timid, hospitable hypochondriac stands out with absolute firmness from the record. The thing is to

set the imagination at work, and to give the reader the power of creating the shadowed background permeated by the thin trickle of Mr. Woodhouse's medical hopes and fears. One never doubts that Mr. Woodhouse is somewhere alive at this moment, if one could but get his address, counter-ordering the carriage, praising the smallness of his eggs, begging that wine may be well qualified with water, happily anticipating his evening gruel, supremely contented in spite of his pitiful limitations.

Miss Austen is, in fact, the first instance in the literature of the century of the realistic method being applied to fiction. It was done quite instinctively, not with any idea of carrying out an artistic creed, but by the genius of a single mind, which saw life so, and found spontaneously and in isolation a perfect expression of the principle. The wonderful thing is that it was done when the air was all full of romance. Scott with his prodigal power was writing great romances, and interspersing them with passages of frank realism; but all the structures of his books were romantic, and his main motives are generally almost epical in character. The realism of Scott is a kind of admirable by-play, an importation into his story of traits and types which he had delightedly observed. Miss Austen has given an admirably concise and modest account of her own methods. She expressed no sort of rebellion against romantic methods. She chose her own method simply because it was the only method she felt capable of using and applying. The result is that all her characters and all her plots are conceived with marvelous delicacy on an actual plane; no figure in her books is ever consciously heroic, and the characters modify and affect each other's action and thought exactly as they do upon the stage of life. The wonder is that, though she had many admirers, she had no imitators. Minds used to romance not only demanded romance in fiction, but probably did not even discern that life was not romantic. And so from its very delicacy and fineness, from the subtle and charming humor which edges all the details with gold, the beautiful perfection of her art and method was overlooked, and the possibilities of such treatment neglected.

But after Miss Austen the waters of romance closed in over the head of realism. George Eliot did indeed attempt a more or less realistic treatment of romantic subjects, notably in *Middlemarch*. But in Mr. Thomas Hardy the

pendulum swung even farther back into a kind of epical solemnity and magnificence. In the art at last of Mr. George Moore, Mr. Wells, and Mr. Arnold Bennett, to mention but three outstanding figures, the new realism substantially develops, and seems certain to transmute our native fiction.

The realist, in working out his subject, must allow things to appear before their significance appears. He must not, like the writer of romance, give his readers the opportunity of perceiving at once what a hint or an accident is going to develop into, of chuckling in anticipation over results. He must not so much see things as they are, but as they become. There must be in his work a sense of the terror of the thing going on indistinctly at a distance; he must not interpret events too soon; he must never be hurried. The fact must loom up as a crag through mist, vast, imponderable, impalpable; it must not be too tangible or too decipherable; there must be no sense that the author is controlling events, or casting characters into the scales. He must seem to be analyzing, recording; the issue must seem to be as much a surprise to him, when it comes, as it is to the reader; the spectator may be able to see, after the event or the decision, that it was, after all, inevitable; but there must be in it the anxious anticipation of life, the sense of mystery, the inability to predict exactly how the different elements will affect each other when the time comes for them to be fused.

I suppose that it is certain, as we go deeper into psychology, that we shall come to have a far clearer idea of mental and emotional processes; but at present we are on the edge of an unexplored region, and know very little of the chemistry of the soul. Probably we shall come to see that the strange currents of public opinion, the vagaries of individuals, the forces which determine what we think and feel, the great irrational impulses which defy prudence and experience alike, are all the manifestations of a psychic force, which is to the spiritual world what electricity is to the material world. The realist is a scientific observer of that force, and any one who has once really embarked upon that sort of investigation will sicken of the old glib conventional romance, which played with forces as a child plays with bricks, and adjusted them to its trivial sense of triumph and success. In the region which I have described, triumph, success, comfort, prosperity, play a very secondary part. They are there indeed, pleasant and desirable things, sweet

as the honeycomb, warm as the sunshine. But it is experience of which we are in search. The romancer writes that the happy pair lived happily ever afterward, and signs his name with a flourish; but the realist looks past the marriage procession, and hears sounds behind the clash of bells. He sees the world pass on its way, strong and dreadful and adorable; but it can be adored no longer like a slim white statue in its alcove at the end of a vista through the trailing trellis roses. It is something larger; more uncouth, more monstrous than that. It moves heavily and solemnly forward, with sighs and groans. It is not satisfied, it is not content; everywhere the horizon is closed by the blank wall of death. It has its times of ease and security, even of ecstasy; but there is always something to come, something ahead that cannot be clearly discerned. The road narrows to a point in the distance, passes over the hill, is lost to view. The strong breaks down, the lover flags, the beloved grows old and sad, the laughing child becomes the dismal man; and the reverse too happens: the calamity enriches, the heedless become wise, the clouds break in blessings, the music comes upon the air. The real failure in life is to become dull, settled, conventional, comfort-loving; the success is to remain vivid, interested, hopeful.

And thus the realist has a great work before him; he can bring into his task all the vital forces and experiences of life; he need not sort and reject, though he must balance and economize. The immense, the portentous difficulty of his work is the delight of it as well, because he is dealing, not as the arithmetician with definite ciphers, but as the geometrician with all kinds of curves and infinities, true not in one precise and limited relation, but in all space and time. But all this has to be subjugated and interpreted by art; and the reason why it is so complex is because it is a sudden unrolling and unfolding of a vast range of subjects, which have all to be analyzed and concentrated into slender books and tiny squares of print. So that the realist is like the visionary in Tennyson who reads the magic book of charms, with the margins scribbled over with the condensed labors of many a solitary student—the book of life. And of that book it is true, as it was of the other magical volume, that—

> None could read the comment but himself
> And none could read the book; not even he.

Arthur C. Benson.

# WHAT IS BEHAISM?

BY JAMES T. BIXBY

One of the recent noteworthy events in the religious and philanthropic world has been the arrival in this country of the head of the Oriental religion which originated in Persia in the middle of the last century. Abbas Effendi or Abdul Beha, as he prefers to be called, is he whom the Behais reverently recognize as their Lord and Master; and he has come from his home in Akka in Syria to make an address upon International Peace at the Mohonk Conference and to dedicate in Chicago a temple to serve as a spiritual home and agency in that city for the disciples resident there.

This mission is very significant religiously. It is a public display of the addition to the list of missionary religions of a new and enterprising faith not restricted to any one nationality, but seeking proselytes from all existing races, countries, and religions. Its aspirations are world-wide and it sets forth remarkable claims to be better adapted to become a universal religion and to be a higher and fuller revelation of spiritual truth than any of its historic predecessors, such as Judaism, Muhammadanism, or Christianity. As an international ambassador of peace, the first one of the acknowledged primates of a considerable Church to exhibit public and conspicuous activity in opposing war, the presence of this head of the Behai faith to co-operate in the establishment of "the Most Great Peace," and the bringing together of all the nations in harmony, under treaty agreements, to submit their differences to the judicial decision of Arbitration Boards is both a notable and a helpful event. Although in China over two thousand years ago the founder of Taouism advocated non-resistance and the abolition of armies, yet in the centuries since then Asiatic hands have ever been quick to draw the sword and Asiatic voices, es-

pecially in the Muhammadan world, have been vigorous in vindicating the resort to military force. Such allies in the Peace Movement as the Behai community supplies are therefore very valuable.

Although originating less than a century ago, the Behais are believed to number some two million followers in Asia and several thousand adherents in the United States, chiefly residents of New York, Washington, and Chicago.

In the brief personal acquaintance with the head of the new faith, with which I have been honored, Abbas has impressed me as a man of great mental ability, tact, and persuasive power; friendly in disposition, affable in his manners, and amiable and progressive in his spirit. He is wisely putting the emphasis in the Behai community more and more on those great principles of international fellowship and friendly relations between diverse faiths and races that best realize the essence of the Christian spirit. Moreover, he has practically exemplified these principles in his own pacific conduct and charitable activities. The descriptions that visitors to Akka have given of his daily personal benefactions is, indeed, beautiful and impressive. The warm welcome and cordial greetings which he has received here have been most creditable to the breadth and kindliness of American Christianity.

The growing interest in this new religion, the very name of which a few years ago was quite unfamiliar to American ears, makes it interesting to turn back and review its origin and course of development.

Some recent writers and adherents have denied that this new Persian revelation is either a sect, a religion, or has had either ecclesiastical or political entanglements. But in its early stage, when it was known as Babiism, it bred alarming insurrections that were not subdued by the Persian Government for months. Beha'u'llah, after whom Behaism takes its name, was claimed by his followers and by himself to be the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible World and the highest Manifestation of God yet given to the world. The holy scriptures of this faith equal in their bulk and claims to sanctity the Quran, the Bible, and the Zand-Avesta. If any one, in the light of such facts, still doubts that the new Persian faith is properly called a religion and not a mere " movement " let him read that popular Behai hymn the " Tarkib-Band." In the adoring strains of this Persian

psalm, Beha is called "The Lord without Compare," "The Creator of Creation and Distributor of Provisions," "The Object of Man's Creation," "Free from Time and Eternity." No Christian bard has ever used more glowing and unqualified epithets in glorifying the Christ than the Behai worshipers have lavished on the Divine Manifestation who dwelt at Akka. Behaism is, therefore, rightly called a religion. Now to understand the source and nature of our own Christian religion there is no light so priceless as that which is supplied by studying at close range the rise and development of a new faith in our own age and among those Oriental peoples, where the Gospel of Christ originated.

Behaism, in its origin, was an outgrowth of Babiism. This preceding faith was a reformed Muhammadanism of a pronounced adventist and theophanic type. It developed from what has been called the Shaykhi School of Shiite Muhammadanism. Seventy years ago a specially intense spiritual unrest pervaded Persia. This was due to the expected return to the earth of the Imam-Mahdi, who a thousand years before had mysteriously disappeared and was now expected to come back and inaugurate a reign of universal blessedness.

It was in this atmosphere of religious expectation that the youth, afterward called the Bab, grew up. His proper name was Mirza Ali Muhammad. He was born in 1820 at Shiraz. He was a self-made business man, but was very devout and upright and found time to attend the lectures of the leader of the Shaykhi School, Seyyid Kazim. When this leader died, Mirza Ali Muhammad assumed the headship.

Although he had not long before been considered illiterate, he now astonished his fellow-members by improvising Arabic poems, which were regarded by them as so eloquent, subtle, and profound that they were regarded as inspired, and he was proclaimed to be the long-expected Bab, or Gateway of Revelation.

A crowd of ardent disciples gathered about him; and in the next year, 1844, the exact completion of the sacred cycle of a thousand years, Mirza Ali Muhammad went to Mecca and proclaimed himself to the throng of pilgrims there as the Forerunner of the Imam-Mahdi.

On returning to Persia the new Gospel was vigorously pushed. The vices, ignorance, and bigotry of the Moslem clergy were unsparingly denounced. A multitude of astonishing miracles were related to the people as having been per-

formed by the Bab or as having attended his steps—healings, prophecies, transfigurations in celestial glory, and exhibitions of marvelous knowledge. The commotion led to his imprisonment by the authorities. But he was allowed to write and communicate with his disciples, and during his imprisonment he elaborated an entirely new system of theology, morals, sociology, politics, and chronology.

The ardor and credulity of his disciples grew fast. Soon he was proclaimed as much more than the mere Gate of Revelation. Mirza Ali Muhammad was himself the long-expected Imam-Mahdi, "the Center of the Covenant" or "Goal of Revelation," the full manifestation of Allah. It was only from humility and prudence that at first his Divinity had been veiled and he had been content to call himself merely the *Bab,* or Gateway to the complete Divine Manifestation.

The Babis now began to explain away all the outward forms of Moslem religion—prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and alms-giving—as mere symbols, not things to be carried out practically. The Babis began to put many of these reforms in practice. The tax-collectors were forcibly resisted; the Moslem clergy and officials began to repress the Babis with cruelty and force; the Babis retorted by assassinating the persecutors. Great insurrections broke out. The Babis resisted the Government troops with amazing heroism; and when arrested, tortured, and executed they endured martyrdom with the most pathetic fortitude. The heresy spread more and more. So the stupid Prime Minister thought to stamp it out for good and all by putting the Bab himself to death. Then a most dramatic thing happened, almost one of the great miracles of history. The Bab, after having endured the worst indignities and cruelties with Christ-like patience and fidelity, was at length hung up by ropes against the brick wall of the military barracks to be shot to death.

The second volley was fired at the Bab. When the smoke rolled away, wonder of wonders! The Bab had disappeared. The people cried, "He has gone up to heaven." The officers were beside themselves. Was it a trick or a miracle? At length they found him alive and calm in the guard-room, serenely writing on the wall a stanza breathing a spirit of dauntless courage. The soldiers ran a sword into him and then hung him up again on the wall, and by another volley ended his mortal life.

In 1852 three Babis tried to assassinate the Shah. Because of this, hundreds of innocent fellow-believers were condemned to death, which they met most nobly. The cruelties and tortures which the Babis suffered at this time are only paralleled by those inflicted on the early Christians in Nero's time; and the heroism and martyr faith and fortitude of the Babis were as lustrous as those of any Christian martyr.

Of course, none of these persecutions put an end to Babiism. It only grew more rapidly in secret. Long before the death of the Bab he had appointed his successor. This was Mirza Yahya, a young Persian noble—a man of great piety, courtesy, and scholarship, a fine poet and devout mystic. Under the title of Subh-i-Ezel—*i. e.*, "the Morning of Eternity," he was for some fourteen years the undisputed head of the Babi church. But Subh-i-Ezel was unequal to the situation. More a scholar and a devotee than a man of affairs as Subh-i-Ezel was, the interests of the Babi church suffered.

Now there was a half-brother of Subh-i-Ezel, whose name was Mirza Huseyn Ali. He was thirteen years older than his brother and was just the man for administering the affairs of the new church. Huseyn Ali was, indeed, not one of the "Letters of the Living"; but as the Primate's brother he might be the power behind the throne. A man of resolute spirit and great executive ability, he took up the administrative reins which the dreamy Subh-i-Ezel did not care to guide. But after having managed affairs for some fourteen years in Subh-i-Ezel's name, Huseyn Ali concluded that he might as well have the official position also.

The Bab himself originally had only claimed to be the "Gate," or Forerunner of the full Divine Manifestation. Now all the Babis agreed that the providential sign of "Him whom God should manifest" to complete the Babi religion and reveal the Perfect Divinity was "the improvisation of Arabic poetry." This was no difficult miracle; and so in 1866 or 1867, at Adrianople, whither the Babi leaders had removed, Mirza Huseyn Ali, the half-brother, improvised a quantity of religious verse and revealed sundry signs in fervid Arabic and Persian rhapsodies whereby he claimed to be himself the full "Point of Revelation" or "Center of the Covenant" to whom all the verses and prophecies of the Bab pointed. He took the name henceforth of Beha'u'llah—*i. e.*, "The Glory of God,"

and at other times called himself "The Supreme Perfection." The Bab was no longer to be looked upon as a veritable impersonation of the Divine, but as a mere precursor of "the Manifestation of God" which appeared in the person of Beha. Subh-i-Ezel, who for fourteen years at least had been regarded as the authoritative head of the Babi church, was branded as the "First Letter of Denial" unless he yielded to his elder brother. It was true that in 1861 or 1862 Beha had in his own writings (the Ikan) admitted the spiritual headship of Subh-i-Ezel and declared that "he [Beha] never sought supremacy over any one." Now Beha proclaimed himself "The Lord of the Divine Attributes," "The Point," or "Providential Goal of Revelation."

In the Sura-i-Heykel, or Discourse of the Divine Temple, Beha'u'llah relates how "an angel appeared and, addressing the heavenly hosts," declared Beha to be "the Beauty of God in their midst" and "God's authority among them"; "the mystery of God and His command"; "one hair of whom is more precious in God's sight than all things in heaven and earth"; that he has been appointed "a temple" to be "the source of life amid the new Creation."

This proclamation rent the Babi church asunder by the most bitter of schisms. The majority of the Babis, especially the younger, accepted Beha'u'llah as their master. The older leaders, who had been personal friends of the Bab and had exposed their lives in his behalf, stood stanchly by his nominee, the gentle visionary Subh-i-Ezel. But one by one they dropped away, not a few of them becoming victims of the unscrupulous violence of their rivals.

The author of the Hasht-Bihisht alleges that sixteen of the followers of Ezel were thus removed; and Subh-i-Ezel, in his statement to Captain Young, charges that altogether about twenty of his party were killed by the partisans of Beha. It is even charged in the Hasht-Bihisht that Beha-'u'llah was personally concerned in an attempt to poison his half-brother with a dish of poisoned rice. Beha and his daughter, Behaiah Khanum, in published accounts, agree that there was such an attempt at poisoning, but charge that it was Subh-i-Ezel who tried to poison Beha.

The lamentable thing in Beha's conduct at this time is, as his own writings show, that Beha regarded the assassinations of Subh-i-Ezel's followers, two of whom were among

the original Apostles, not with abhorrence, but as Divine judgments upon his foes. There is, however, no evidence that the assassins acted under orders from Beha.

At any rate, if the end justifies the means, the means were approved by the victory achieved. The assassinations were a success. The weak Subh-i-Ezel was deserted. The great majority joined Beha's party. The Turkish Government, to put a stop to the wrangling and disorders, exiled Subh-i-Ezel to Famagusta in Cyprus, where he lived many years in obscurity; and Beha was sent to Akka in Syria, where he peacefully passed away in 1892. Before his death he had worked a momentous revolution in Babiism. As soon as he was established in his authority he began to exercise the privilege which all the Babis recognized as belonging to the final "Point of Revelation"—*viz.*, to abrogate, change, develop, and supersede the earlier revelations. He discouraged the visionary speculations of his followers, made the religion more moral and less metaphysical, and abolished many useless and impractical regulations; especially he did everything he could to conciliate the temporal authorities, even the Shah of Persia, whom the older Babis were accustomed to curse as the Nero of their faith. Believing that the new faith could grow better by assimilating the elements already estranged from the orthodox Mussulman Church, he strove steadily to diminish the ratio of Muhammadan thought in it and to seek a better understanding with the Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. In short, he tried to make Behaism henceforth a *universal* system suitable to all mankind. The older Babi scriptures and epistles, with their magniloquent rhapsodies, foggy mysticism, and wild visions of the return of the Imam-Mahdi and the millennial marvels of the new age, he allowed to fall into innocuous desuetude. The earlier history of the origin and rise of the Bab and his church was written over by Beha's adherents, in the book, *A Traveler's Narrative,* in an entirely new vein. The Bab was represented as a mere forerunner of Beha; Subh-i-Ezel was described as a coward and fugitive who went about in disguises; his earlier friends, Hazrat-i-Kuddus and the famous woman Apostle "Consolation of Eyes," were depreciated; and Beha'u'llah and his Neo-Babi doctrines were glorified, and every expression of detestation of the Shah which might interfere with Beha's new policy of conciliating the Persian Government was eliminated.

The effort thus radically to metamorphose the whole record of Babist history fortunately failed through the fact that many of the early documents had previously passed into European hands; but the effort to establish pacific relations with the Persian Government proved successful, and for forty years the Babis have been free from public persecution. By a secret propaganda they have greatly diffused their doctrines. Some writers even claim that there are now several millions of followers of the new religion.

Of Beha's life at Akka, where he remained over twenty years, there is little to relate. He remained most of the time in deep seclusion in a villa outside the city, supported by the Turkish Government and his presence carefully guarded from the approach of irreverent or curious people by his devoted followers.

Most of his time was spent in composing the sacred writings which now form the authoritative scriptures of the Behai faith. These comprise codes of laws, hygienic, ceremonial, and moral regulations, formulas for prayers to be said three times a day, explanations of prophecy and theological problems, and multitudes of tablets or religious epistles to believers. The best known, perhaps, are the famous epistles to the leading European monarchs containing his noted prophecies of the downfall of Abdul-Asiz and Napoleon III. Finding the Christians quite sympathetic, Beha now gave special attention to securing converts among them. In the year 1892, at the age of seventy-five, however, his supreme divinity failed any longer to protect Beha against the attacks of fleshly maladies, and, like any other mortal, he paid the usual debt to Nature.

Beha was succeeded in the office of authoritative head of the Behai church by his oldest son, Abbas, the "Greatest Branch." In this difficult position he has conducted himself with dignity, discretion, and breadth of mind. Soon after Beha's death a bitter quarrel broke out. Two half-brothers of Abbas and the aged secretary of Beha made serious charges against Abdul-Beha, and the adherents of Abdul-Beha made equally bitter charges in rebuttal. In the end Abbas and his party had a majority of the believers, and Abbas remains the acknowledged head of the church. The rebellious brothers have submitted to the authority of Abbas.

Just what is the spiritual rank or claim of Abbas is somewhat doubtful. Many of the faithful call him a "return"

or reincarnation of Christ, and apply to Abbas the Old Testament prophecies as to the Messiah and claim that they are fulfilled in him. The eminent Behai writer, Abul Fazl, whose book on the Behai proofs has been approved by Abbas, states that Beha conferred upon Abbas the titles of "The Mystery of God," "The Greatest Branch of God," and "The Center of the Covenant" (or cause of God). He is recognized by all Behais as the authoritative expounder of the Divine Book, the Kitab-i-Akdas, and the source and origin of the commands and prohibitions of the Heavenly Religion—*i. e.*, The Behai Faith. Abbas, however, prefers to call himself simply Abdul-Beha—*i. e.*, the servant of Beha. When, in 1900, the envoy from Akka sought to procure the submission of Dr. Kheiralla, who for many years had been the leading promoter of Behaism in America, Dr. Kheiralla was ordered to assent to a certain confession if he would be taken back into the Behai church. In brief, it was this:

"There is no God but Beha; and Kitab-i-Akdas is a book revealed by God: Abbas is my Lord and Master. He who turneth away from him hath turned away from God; and I beseech God not to associate us with him either in this world or the next."

What are the chief doctrines of Behaism? First, that of the Divine Unity, the Self-Existent One; from him both the worlds and humanity emanate. A favorite name by which the Behais call themselves is "The Unitarians." As men cannot know the Eternal Invisible Essence, there occur from time to time manifestations or mirrors of the Primal Will. All the great prophets and sages and their revelations were words of God. Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad were each successively more full of grace and truth than his predecessor. But each was an incomplete Manifestation. Beha fulfilled them with a higher and fuller Revelation of the Divine Unity not to be improved upon for thousands of years.

In Beha's own religious writings he speaks of himself in the most exalted terms. Beha entitles himself now as "The existent Root of things"—"The Lord of the Beginning and the End." Now as "The Beloved One who quickened the World and the Nations by the Waves of Revelation"; "The Divine Father whereof Israel gave you tidings and the Comforter whom the Spirit promised should come after him"; "Whosoever faces unto him hath faced unto God." "All preceding manifestations were ended in

this manifestation "—*i. e.*, Beha's: "This is a Divine Manifestation the like unto which shall manifest himself but once in five hundred thousand years."

Closely connected with the doctrine of Divine Manifestation is the doctrine of "The Return." The common people understand it as a doctrine of reincarnation of the soul in a second earthly life. But the Behai scholars and teachers say that this is an error.

The more subtle thinkers refine it into a mere identity in the archetypal idea of God or the Divine purpose. John the Baptist played the same rôle in the Divine purpose and thought as Elijah, and the Bab played the same rôle as Elijah.

As to the survival of the spirit Beha seems to have believed in a universal resurrection; but Abbas, according to the testimony brought back from Akka by Myron H. Phelps, teaches that for the great masses of humanity there is no hereafter: human consciousness does not survive the dissolution of the body. But where the mind is so developed that the Divine soul ray can form a complete union with it, then, that soul becomes a part of the Eternal Essence, man and God in one.

As to the Atonement, Abbas teaches that there is no Vicarious Atonement as held and taught by Christian theologians and churches. "Christ offered Himself as an *example.*"

As to the relation of the other faiths to Behaism, it is claimed that all other manifestations culminate in this Greatest Manifestation of Beha as the Glory of God, and "all preceding lights are merged in this horizon in which the sun of might and Glory hath dawned."

Why should one accept Behaism? Chief among the reasons that the Behais give is that it is more universal and full of divine truth and power than either Christianity or Muhammadanism. It is the promised light that should fulfil them. The popular proofs given for this are Apocalyptic—*i. e.*, drawn from the fulfilment of the prophecies in the Bible and the Quran by Beha, Abbas, and the Bab. Behaism claims to be a cosmopolitan faith in which all others shall be absorbed. It varies its proofs, therefore, with the nations to whom it presents itself. To the Jews it claims to fulfil the prophecies in the Old Testament and the Talmud; to the Christians it claims to accomplish the expecta-

tions of a Second Advent and realize the visions of the Apocalypse; to the Muhammadans the Bab is declared to be the Imam-Mahdi and Beha fulfils the longing of the faithful throughout Islam. The Behais constantly resort, therefore, to allegorical interpretation. All the ancient revelations are interpreted as pointing to the Persian masters. They quote with approbation the saying of one of the Imams: "We speak a word and we mean seventy meanings from it." In another place seven hundred meanings are affirmed.

Accordingly, the Behaists go through the Bible and the Quran and the Talmud, transforming days into years and names into numbers and numbers into types and symbols; and if they cannot succeed in hitting some date or other in the Bab's career or Beha's life or Abbas Effendi's existence that shows them to fulfil precisely the prophetic signs in one of the three great religions and disclose thus some mystical coincidence and deep celestial import, it is, indeed, lamentable. To find cogency in such proofs you must accept the equal inspiration of Bible, Quran, and Talmud, and be willing to interpret them neither literally nor critically nor historically, but allegorically.

Besides these popular proofs the Behai scholars appeal to the inspired writings of Beha, so manifold, excellent, and spontaneously produced; to the rapid diffusion of their religion, obtaining converts in so many different faiths and races; to the self-sacrificing devotion and fidelity of the Behais and to the fact that none of the religious Founders before Beha even claimed to be the Supreme Manifestation of the Self-Existent God. The Behais also adduce the practical good results of their faith in elevating the morals and purifying the character of their own disciples and also that of their neighbors. They declare that wherever it spreads it works wonders in assuaging religious feuds and racial and personal animosities, inspires ardent spiritual enthusiasm, and promotes knowledge, industry, and fraternity. As a general thing, I believe this is true. But Behaism does not have a monopoly to-day of such elevating influence.

Now as to laws and morals, what did Beha inculcate? In the main, he confirmed the precepts given by the Bab in the Beyan, but with many changes. The authoritative Book of Laws for Behais is the Kitab-i-Akdas, written by Beha himself. By his command it was lithographed in Bombay;

copies are in European libraries and translations of its substance have been published by European scholars.

In prayer the Behai believer is ordered to prostrate himself *nine* times daily with face turned toward the sacred city where Beha lived—*i. e.,* Akka (American believers, however, do not prostrate themselves, but only kneel). There is no congregational prayer. There are nineteen months of nineteen days each and five extra days kept as a holy festival. The last nineteen days before this festival are days of fasting which last from sunset to sunset. But American Behais have not yet attained to this height of self-restraint over their Occidental appetites. All self-mortifications, except the nineteen days' fast, are forbidden. Monkhood, beggary, and Sufiism are strongly prohibited.

A man caught a third time thieving is to be branded on the forehead. A husband cannot divorce a wife at once (as Muhammadan law allows), but must wait for a year for the chance of reconciliation. A second wife, while the first lives, is permitted, but not encouraged. Beha himself had two wives. All the wealthy must pay the head of the church nineteen per cent. of their income. Wine, opium, and praying in the streets and the carrying of arms except in time of war are prohibited, as also is slavery.

Criticisms and over-subtle explanations of the sacred code are banned, and any one who claims to have a new Mission or Divine Manifestation before the accomplishment of a thousand years is declared to be "a lying impostor."

The chief reforms of Beha were codified by him under fifteen heads called Good Tidings, which he promulgated in February, 1891. The first seven and the most important ones are in substance as follows:

1. Abolition of religious warfare. (No propagation of the faith by the sword.)

2. Permission of all sects and peoples to unite in friendly intercourse.

3. Permission to study foreign languages (which the Bab had prohibited), coupled with a recommendation that one language and one writing should be selected as a medium of international communication.

4. All the followers of El-Hak—*i. e.,* Beha—are bound loyally to serve and support any king who extends his protection to their faith.

5. All Beha's followers, in whatever land they dwell, must

cheerfully and ungrudgingly submit to the laws and conform to the customs of that country.

6. Promise of the "Most Great Peace"—*i. e.*, that all nations shall become one in faith and harmony, and wars cease.

7. All are permitted (subject to the dictates of decency and good taste) to follow their own inclinations as to dress and the wearing of the hair.

As to the future of this religion, it is difficult to say. The supersedure of the Bab and Babiism by Beha and his reformed system, and especially the ambition of Abbas to seek his converts rather from the Christian world than from the Moslem, introduce very uncertain elements. The dissensions that have arisen obstruct the growth of the religion. The personality of neither Beha nor Abbas seems so well adapted to quicken religious enthusiasm or bind men in personal loyalty as that of the Bab did.

For any man to subordinate Jesus Christ in the reverence and affections of the world to any modern man who is to be regarded as a higher manifestation of the Divine is something that grows every day increasingly difficult. The reporters and the biographers are too numerous and too inquisitive to allow that idealistic magnifying and embellishment, which transforms a mere man into a divinity, to work sufficiently undisturbed nowadays. Moreover, that which should be the seal of a prophetic mission and divine revealer and the guarantee of the prophet's sincerity—an heroic death—becomes daily more difficult of attainment. It is by no means easy for the most ambitious leader to get himself crucified, or even shot, nowadays. The Bab had the rare good fortune to have not only an obscure youth and an unquestioned simplicity and devotion, but also a series of romantic adventures and a martyr death, and his life was crowned at its close by a most dramatic incident which came near contributing to history one of the most astounding and best-accredited miracles in the annals of religion.

Beha lacked noticeably all those important elements of life and character requisite for the man who would center about himself, as a Divine Being, the veneration of any large portion of the human race. It was, therefore, a strategic error of the first magnitude when the Bab was subordinated as the Supreme Manifestation in this faith to the far less inspiring personality and much more vulnerable character

of Beha'u'llah. It is easy to see many things that naturally would lead a progressive Moslem to abandon Muhammad and the Quran for the Bab and the Beyan. But why should any Christian renounce the gospels and Jesus Christ for Beha and the turgid rhetoric of the Surat-ul-Heykel?

However, in expediency and administrative efficiency, for the time being, it was advantageous for the Babis to be turned by Beha's authority from their irreconcilable attitude against the State. They were led to abandon the open conflict with the Persian Government. It is pretty sure that the religion has grown faster thereby.

But is it not possible that the glowing faith which, in the devoted lives of the early Babis, courageously confronted the most frightful tortures and filled princes and prime ministers with dread of dire convulsions may, like the flame of Anabaptist zeal in Germany, cool down to tepid respectability, accommodate itself to the world, and simply add one more to the many obscure sects of the Orient?

On the other hand, we must remember the weakness of the Persian power and the activity of these dreamers of a new kingdom of heaven on earth.

The unhesitating faith, the heroic martyrdoms, and burning enthusiasm of the Babis were shared by all classes and common to young and old. Their fearless devotion inspired respect in the indifferent and struck terror even among their persecutors. If the Behais of to-day can maintain this fervid zeal and combine with it a practical prudence and wisdom that the Bab knew not, they may go far. It is possible even that some day there may be a manifestation and revolution, both religious and political, in that ancient land of Persia which will work as great a change as Muhammad in the seventh century wrought in Arabia and Syria.

But for Europe and America, it is difficult to see how the Behais can look forward to any great future. Surely they cannot expect to subordinate Christianity to Behaism as that higher faith in which the imperfect truth and grace of the Gospel is to be fulfilled. In European and American civilization, if religion survive at all, it will continue to reign under that sign of the cross above which Constantine read the inspiring motto, "In this symbol conquer."

James T. Bixby.

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION*

BY JOHN GRIER HIBBEN

In entering formally upon the duties of the high office of president of Princeton University, I wish to present in my inaugural address the essential principles of our philosophy of education. We believe that the chief end of an education is the making of a man. It is the process of developing a power within which enables the human being to dominate the instincts and habits of his animal nature, assert himself as a free personality, and direct his life according to the light of reason. While he is a part of the natural world, man belongs also to the world of mind and of spirit. The particular function of education is to give him the power of freedom and to make him sensible of the duties and worthy the privileges of a *person* in the midst of a universe of things.

Personality, however, is not mechanically formed from without, but must be evoked from within. The appeal of the teacher, therefore, is constantly directed to the inner spirit of the student, that spirit of life which informs the man and puts him into possession of his powers. The forces which find play in the activities of the mind are like the architectonic principle which is at work in the inner nature of a plant, fashioning it into the form of grace and beauty. Thus, with the emancipation of a free spirit at the sources of his being, the man within begins to develop both in power and in promise.

It is of the very nature of education, however, that it does not result in a complete and finished product, but rather in a progressive process. There is nothing final about it. Its achievements always mark new beginnings. It is the power of an endless life. To say that a man is educated signifies that he has finished merely the preliminary

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stages of a continuous and progressive development. Education, therefore, must always be defined in terms of life, of growth, of progress. Its peculiar function is the conservation of those great human forces which make for the advancement of knowledge and the civilization of the world. We hear much to-day of the conservation of our national resources, our forests, the treasures of our mines, and the vast material wealth of our land. But while we are emphasizing the necessity of a national economy we should not overlook the fact that the task of conserving and of developing the resources of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual power in our nation is the one supreme task. To conserve these powers, to cause them to develop and to prevail, to deliver free spirits from the bondage of ignorance and of material impulse, from the bondage of authority, of tradition, of public opinion, of passing fashion and of prejudice, and to direct these liberated human forces to the highest ends, that is the art of education.

There is a common phrase, "to *receive* an education," against which I would most emphatically protest. No one receives an education any more than he receives health or strength or life. It is the fruit of a firm and intelligent will. It is gained only by active effort, continuous and determined. An education is won by work; and the labors to be undertaken and the end to be attained may all be summed up in the command, *Be a person.* This is a command which is not merely the word of the teacher, but is essentially an inner compulsion possessing the solemn authority of self-legislation. It is the determination to be something more than a creature of circumstance; it is the purpose to realize in the full measure of one's possibilities the power and the dignity of humanity. While plant and animal develop according to the power which they may possess of adapting themselves to their environment, it is the distinctive characteristic of man that he progresses through his ability to adapt his environment to himself, and thus he determines the world in which he lives.

As freedom is the distinctive mark of a vigorous personality, all the processes of education must be directed to secure this essential end. Therefore, the ideal university education may be described as consisting of two phases—a phase in which every effort is directed to the attainment of freedom, and, secondly, a progressive phase of develop-

ment in which the freedom gained in the earlier stages finds for itself varied pursuits and pleasures in the fields of knowledge.

Hence it would seem essential that in the early years of one's university experience those studies should be pursued which are peculiarly conducive to the discipline and training of the mind, and eventually to the evolution of a self-determining and self-realizing will. They deserve the name of liberal studies so far as they may tend to free the mind from the natural and artificial obstacles to its progressive development.

One who is to maintain the health and growth of his intellectual life must come surely at some later period in his development to delight in the tasks of the intellect. To rejoice in the labors of the mind is not a prevailing characteristic of the natural man. As Aristotle has put it, "All men naturally desire knowledge, but not all men desire the labor of learning." It often happens, however, in intellectual discipline, as in the development of moral virility, that a course of action which is done for a time under the stress of a sense of obligation and as a grievous duty becomes after a time a pleasure and a joy. Just as it is possible to grow into an enthusiasm for that which is right and honorable and of good report, so also it is possible by the discipline of one's intellectual powers to develop an enthusiasm for the activities and pursuits of the mind.

The practical problem, therefore, for the teacher, and particularly for a faculty of teachers, is to choose that body of studies which will best produce a spirit of devotion to the cause of knowledge and of joy in its service. Any satisfactory solution of this problem must rest upon the basal principle that true intellectual freedom is gained only through discipline. If there is to be intellectual power in the world it must be the power of a free spirit; and the power of a free spirit in turn can arise only out of a spirit of docility. To this doctrine, however, there are many who would enter a most emphatic dissent. They very stoutly insist that there should be no body of required studies whatsoever in a university, but that each student should follow his own free choice in selecting the particular subjects he may be pleased to pursue and that such initial exercise of freedom is itself the best training for the wise uses of freedom in general. It is a very serious question

indeed, whether the freedom of an ignorant and undisciplined mind may not come to defeat its own ends and purposes.

In Princeton we have very positive convictions on this point. We believe that the teaching body of a university should select a consistent group of required studies for the express purpose of developing in the student to the highest degree of efficiency the free powers of his intellectual life. We believe that it is absolutely necessary to have a certain schooling in preparation for the responsibilities of freedom; and that the hit-and-miss choice of an immature mind in new and strange surroundings, the blind groping for truth by the process of trial and error, form a poor propædeutic to the serious tasks of free investigation, of original thought, and of practical efficiency. We believe, moreover, that the best preparation for the freedom of the life of reason is that group of studies whose very nature tends to the training of the powers of the mind, developing in a man both capability and resource, and at the same time giving him a knowledge of himself and of the world in which he lives.

Such studies are humanistic so far as they give a man a knowledge of the human setting of his life and create within his being a universal and sympathetic interest in humanity. They put him in possession of the race experience so that in his own mind he may hold the treasures of the world. Therefore, he must be so led in the way of knowledge that he will come to know something of the human world in which he lives, something also of the world of the past whose achievements are his heritage, something of the form and spirit of its classical languages and literature, something of its history, customs, manners, morals, and institutions—in a word, he must know the thought of the world which possesses universal meaning and universal significance. There are, indeed, certain fundamental ideas which we may securely reckon with as constant factors in the equation of life. I do not for a moment believe that the whole world of knowledge is composed of shifting and variable elements, so that we are constrained to acknowledge that whatever is true to-day may be false to-morrow. On the contrary, I would urge with all the emphasis of my deepest conviction that there is a body of universal truths, independent of age and of race, which vitally concern the ultimate values of life and which determine the possibilities

of human development. Such truths the scholar must command if he in any sense is to command the world in which he lives.

Not only the human world, but also the world of nature, must be a part of this general body of knowledge. In these first stages of education the study of science should form a very central and essential part of this prescribed course of study. Pure science is a liberal study; it belongs truly to the humanities, for it not merely gives knowledge of facts; it does more: it is a training in habits of precision, in accuracy of observation, in closely articulated modes of reasoning, in devices of experimentation, and in an appreciation of the valid grounds of proof and the logical basis of correct generalization. A study of scientific method, and of the history of scientific attainment is in itself a course in inductive logic which tends not merely to fill the mind with items of information, but to expand it as well by an increased demand upon its powers of judgment and of inference. Princeton has been at times misunderstood as regards her attitude to science, and upon this occasion particularly I wish to state distinctly and emphatically and in words which give no uncertain sound that we regard the study of science as essential to a liberal education. So firmly grounded is this conviction that we require every candidate for the Bachelor's degree to pursue some one course at least in science. Princeton, which has the distinction of being the first college in America to introduce the teaching of chemistry in its curriculum; Princeton, which has been the home of Henry, of Guyot, and of Young, hardly needs to defend her old-time and continued interest in scientific discovery and scientific attainment.

Within this same group of studies also there should be some provision for a training in the accurate and facile mode of giving expression to knowledge. The ability to put thought into appropriate and adequate form essentially characterizes a free spirit in the world of mind. To see, to think, to feel, and to remain dumb withal—is any bondage more intolerable? Certainly the educated man should be able to understand his own language with some appreciation of its power and beauty, be able also to speak it as to the manor born and not as a barbarian, and to express himself by the written word in such a manner as to reveal and not to obscure his thought and feeling. He alone can give

life to knowledge who has acquired the art of communicating it to others.

At this early stage there should be also some instruction in the beginnings of logic and psychology, at least to the extent of leading the student to understand the workings of his own mind and the laws which govern the processes of reason. In such a course there must emerge some comprehension of the philosophical methods employed in various fields of investigation, of the relation of universal laws to facts, and of the nature of those central correlating and constructive ideas which in every sphere of thought and in every complex situation give a key to the solution of difficult and perplexing problems. It is no little gain in the uses of knowledge to appreciate the significance of universal concepts and to grasp the import of that great logical idea that there may be a unity in variety and an identity in difference. In my own experience in the teaching of philosophy I have come to the firm conviction that it is of incalculable advantage to the ordinary student to know something of the nature and the range of the main philosophical problems, for they are indeed the problems of life which will inevitably confront him in his own thinking. If in these preliminary discussions at the threshold of philosophy the student can begin to develop for himself some interpretation of life as a whole he has gained immeasurably in the possession of ideas which will tend to unify his thought and ground his conviction through all the wide extent of his experience.

Such is a brief description of the body of studies which should engage the first years of a student in his university career. At a time when he himself is learning to put his own mind in order he is unconsciously reinforced in his efforts if he finds himself daily engaged with a consistent group of studies which themselves form a system. A systematic mind does not develop naturally out of a miscellany of intellectual interests and activities. The idea of system and of systematic organization and of the logical correlation of essential parts within a consistent and comprehensive whole should characterize any body of required studies which is capable of justifying itself. Familiarity with a logical group of studies is itself an unconscious schooling in logic.

After this early period of required studies, the liberty which is born of discipline can be wisely encouraged to

manifest itself in the free choices of study for the remaining years of the university course. It is in accordance with the Princeton programme that this freedom of choice is granted to every student at the beginning of the second half of his undergraduate course—at the opening of his Junior year; only the choice is not allowed to lose itself in a maze of unrelated subjects. Here again we believe that there rests upon the teaching body a peculiar obligation to prevent an unintelligent and indiscriminate choice of studies which will inevitably result in a corresponding dissipation of energy. No compulsion is laid upon the student in the upper years of his college course to enter any particular field of study or to engage in any particular pursuit, but when according to his own free will he decides upon the definite line of special work he wishes to undertake we believe that he should give himself to some systematic effort within a group of cognate subjects. We require him, therefore, to give a substantial part of his time to the courses of the particular department which he selects. Two courses, however, of the five required in each of the upper years may be chosen in any other fields particularly appealing to his interests. Freedom is thus secured without the danger of a loss of power in fruitless and confused activities.

While the student's work is centered in the region of his special interests, it must be taken up in a broad-minded spirit which transcends the utilitarian demands of any particular profession or technical pursuit. The university is not specifically designed for the purpose of fitting a man directly for the daily duties of his future work in life. It should not attempt to develop a particular talent for a particular task, but the whole man. No faculty of the mind can be satisfactorily trained in isolation. There must be a symmetrical growth of all faculties. The high potential of stored energy, moreover, acquired in the process of a fully rounded development of all a man's powers lends an increased momentum and driving force to the particular activities of his specialty and thus allows many lines of capability to meet in one point of practical efficiency. Methods of instruction should not narrow down to an anticipation of the customary procedure of the office and counting-room. The undergraduate education should not attempt to train specialists nor to drill the students in any definite routine or rules of practice. It is not rules of practice, but the

fundamental principles and governing laws of a subject which are of supreme value to one who would win his way to the heart of knowledge. Fit a man for the day's work, but at the same time equip him to meet the crisis and the emergency which the day's work will inevitably bring forth. He who has laid a broad and secure foundation will have no difficulty in erecting the superstructure. Whatever he builds, he will be able to build himself into the work of his hand and brain. Make a man and he will find his work.

At this stage of the developing mind every effort should be put forth to secure originality of thought. By originality of thought I do not mean an original contribution to the world of knowledge necessarily, but an individual appropriation of the truth which by such a process becomes peculiarly one's own—the independent ability to think oneself *into* and *through* a subject, to be the master of one's knowledge and not its slave, and to acquire a critical sense of appreciation that will nicely discriminate, in the face of the crucial situations and the significant problems of life, between the things essential and the things unessential, between that which has value and that which has no value. We should not require of our students mere acquisition, but a high order of reflective thinking which manifests itself in methodical habits of clear and efficient thinking, in breadth of vision, in an intellectual curiosity, in a tolerant spirit and an open mind. Let us not standardize either the teacher or the student, but allow the full play of fresh original impulse.

Among all of the forces which tend to develop the strength of personality one of the most efficient in our experience at Princeton has been the preceptorial method of instruction. This rests upon the principle that nothing develops personality so fully and so satisfactorily as personality itself. To bring the inquiring mind into daily contact with the knowledge, the art, and the enthusiasm of one who is skilled in his own special field of attainment—this is the supreme end of education. The most satisfactory results are gained when instruction becomes individual. It is only by individual care and guidance that the man of one talent can be developed as well as the man of ten talents. The university has also a responsibility in ministering to the needs of the average man and enabling him to raise his factor of efficiency to its highest power. To discover native ability, to guide it into proper channels, to quicken ambition,

to fire the imagination, to watch and attend at the birth of a soul—that is the highest privilege and most solemn function of the teacher.

The results which by the four years of training we hope and expect to produce may be characterized in a single sentence: It is a transformation of the school-boy into a man of the world—a man who can move freely and familiarly in the midst of the world's varied activities, who speaks its language, who is conversant with its manners, and who can interpret its thought. Do not misunderstand this meaning, however; it must be the world conceived in no narrow and limited sense of the term. The true man of the world is not confined to the knowledge merely of his own day and generation. He must know the world of the past as well as the world of the present. For if he knows the past he is more capable of serving the present. He must be free from provincialism not only as regards space, but also as regards time. His knowledge also should not be restricted to any particular class of pursuits or of interests, but should comprehend a cross section of all social strata and embrace in intelligent and sympathetic regard the man whose life is a fight for bare existence as well as the one whom he may seek as a companion and friend. The more profound and widely extended his knowledge of the world the more powerfully will he dominate it. Let the college man be a man of the world, but let his world be the world of all time, of all lands, and of all sorts and conditions of men.

After the four years of the strictly college course have been completed there should be satisfactory facilities offered in a university for the varied pursuits of advanced students, where all of the powers broadly and profoundly developing during the preparatory years may be concentrated upon some subject which is to become the absorbing work of life. This is the region where many lines of effort converge in one focal point of heat and light; where special scholars may be trained; where the spirit of productive labor may be fostered; where they who learn may become in turn teachers and masters in the school of thought; where the once faltering mind may finally speak in tones of authority in the great world of knowledge. The buildings of our new Graduate College, now in process of construction, for a home where our special scholars, through daily intercourse one with another, may broaden their friendships and interests

and at the same time find themselves stimulated in their zeal for the particular subjects which they are pursuing. There the communal life of those who have consecrated themselves to the sovereign decrees of truth should illustrate the devotion, the self-sacrifice, the austerity, and the enthusiasm of scholarship.

We hear much to-day of vocational studies. Princeton has ever recognized the value of vocational study, but we would reserve the privilege of interpreting the word vocational in its highest and most significant sense. We would give no meager nor secondary significance to this word. The truly vocational study, it would seem, is that which fits one to respond intelligently and with free conviction to the vocation of man—that high calling which is the summons to no particular pursuit nor profession, but which is a world-wide and common call to every man to take his place, to do his work, and to play his part in the community of his fellows. Whatever may be our special field of work, as men we are to live our lives within the great social organism of humanity. As Kant has splendidly put it, "Man's greatest concern is to know how he shall properly fill his place in the universe and correctly understand what he must be in order to be a man." The years of intellectual discipline should create in every one who is a sincere seeker after the truth a profound sense of human obligation, of an obligation which is the natural complement of the privileges which he has enjoyed. While our teaching must develop power, it must also develop a sense of responsibility for the use of that power; that sense of responsibility which makes the scholar peculiarly responsive to the claims of his less highly favored fellows. If there is an especially favored class in the world, it is the group of men who have profited by the privileges of an education. It is their duty to prove themselves worthy of recognition as an aristocracy—as an aristocracy, however, in the original meaning of that word. And their rule and influence in the community in which they live will show itself to be the best so far as it is determined by a wise purpose to devote the power of knowledge to the betterment of human conditions and to the satisfaction of human needs. It is in no sense a survival of the *fittest* if he who survives is content to survive alone. Our universities must teach to their students in season and out of season this lesson of life: With all their getting let them get under-

standing — that understanding of their station and their duties which will reveal to them this supreme law of privilege, that he who commands the sources of light must become a bearer of light to others. The perplexing political questions of the day arise largely out of strained and perverted social relations of man to man. If our social relations are to be satisfactorily adjusted, the privileged classes must give to their less favorably conditioned fellows some wise thought, some measure of sacrifice, some active sympathy and consideration, and thereby make success tributary to service. They who are coming more and more to be regarded as the natural leaders in this cause of humanity and they who are under compulsion to lead by example as well as by precept and suggestion are that very class of men who have come into possession of the highest of all privileges— the trained mind and the human heart.

The first President of our country and the first American received in Nassau Hall the grateful acknowledgments by Continental Congress for his service in establishing the freedom and independence of the United States. For a part of the year 1783, from June to November, Nassau Hall was the Capitol of the young Republic, and here Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and their distinguished colleagues sat in counsel. The love of country has been a central lesson in the teachings of our university. Naturally we cannot expect our students generally to attain to the high offices of public trust in our country, but we do expect every man who bears the Princeton mark and who is true to the Princeton traditions to serve his day and generation with fidelity and to bear upon his soul the burden of humanity.

This institution was not founded in the spirit of civil liberty alone, but in the spirit of religious liberty as well; in that Christian faith and hope which is our most treasured tradition. Our fathers learned the lesson of the Great Teacher that the law of life is a law of liberty—a liberty which finds expression, however, in a law of service and a law of sacrifice. Our hope and our prayer is that their sons who bear their names and who are of their breed and blood may keep faith with the past while moving forward to possess the new lands of promise and of plenty.

John Grier Hibben.

# NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil. By Jane Addams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Whatever Jane Addams writes is of value because she is a woman of vast experience, logical mind, and restrained emotions. Her quarter of a century of work in Hull House has put her in a position to speak more authoritatively on the subject of the conditions, lives, temptations of the underworld than any one else in our country. The present volume upon social evil is timely as furnishing a corrective to the rather brutally careless tone upon this subject adopted by Mr. William H. Allen in his very popular recent volume, *Woman's Part in Government, Whether She Votes or Not.* In contradiction to Mr. Allen's suggestion that "girls are unsafe in direct proportion to the largeness not to the smallness of their salary," Miss Addams cites numerous cases—indeed, one would say two-thirds of those on record—where an evil life was the final desperate resort of a woman either starving herself or watching others starve. The attitude of careless indifference in Mr. Allen's book made it one of the most harmful and dangerous of publications unless some corrective could be supplied with it. Doubtless he intended merely to urge preventive rather than remedial measures to be applied to the distressing situation, but his zeal led to most dangerous expressions of opinion. Miss Addams, on the contrary, is never hysterical or over-emphatic. She compares the present social evil to the conditions brought about by slave-trading and slave labor in the past. "The economist who for years insisted that slave labor continually and arbitrarily limited the wages of free labor," she says, "was a forerunner of the economist of to-day who points out the economic basis of the social evil, the connection between low wages and despair, between over-fatigue and the demand for reckless pleasure."

This volume considers merely the sexual commerce existing in every large city, usually in a segregated district. All modifications of legal codes regarding marriage and divorce, moral judgments concerning the entire group of questions centering about illicit affection between men and women, are not touched upon. But as against Mr. Allen's contention that it is impossible for the average person to inform himself upon these vital subjects without becoming morbid and vitiated, Miss Addams says, "human progress is deeply indebted to a study of imperfections, and the counsels of despair, if not full of seasoned wisdom, are, at least, fertile in suggestion and a desperate spur to action."

Miss Addams commends the work Bernard Shaw and Brieux have done in England and France by placing the simple truth before the public so that it becomes conscious of its own hypocrisy in regard to it,

and realizes that a veritable horror, simply because it was covered over and hidden, had come to seem inevitable and normal. Such writing as these men have done, says Jane Addams, "is the roll of the drum which announces the approach of the troops."

Miss Addams reviews in this book the recent legal enactments that concern the social evil; the amelioration of economic conditions (a subject with which Mr. Allen's book, *Woman's Part in Government*, is exclusively concerned); Moral Education and Legal Protection of Children; Philanthrophic Rescue and Prevention; and Increased Social Control. Her theories are substantiated by a large number of cases with which Miss Addams has come in personal contact, none more pathetic than that in which she tells how she visited a home for semi-delinquent girls against each of whom stood a grave charge involving the loss of chastity. Upon each of the little white beds or on the stiff chairs standing by was a doll belonging to the young delinquent. "I had come to the house prepared to lecture to its inmates," writes Miss Addams; "I remained to dress dolls with a handful of little girls who eagerly asked questions about the dolls I had once possessed."

Miss Addams's book is a book for every woman in the country to read and own and keep on hand to refer to. It is the outcome of a great brain and a greater heart and a life of more than self-abnegation—a life of self-dedication. If, as Miss Addams hopes, America bears a valiant part in the international crusade of the compassionate, enlisting under its banner not only those sensitive to the wrongs of others, but those conscious of the destruction of the race itself, who form the standing army of humanity's self-pity, it will owe the largest single debt of gratitude to Miss Addams herself, who has taught in life and in words what her great master Tolstoy lived to teach, namely, that "though we constantly think that there are circumstances in which a human being can be treated without affection, there are no such circumstances."

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LAUGHTER: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic. By HENRI BERGSON. Authorized translation by Cloudesley Brereton and Fred. Rothwell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911.

The English authoritative work upon the psychology of the comic is still George Meredith's famous essay *On the Comic*. Bergson's book is made up of three essays originally published in the *Revue de Paris*, and his treatment is quite simple and untechnical. The first essay treats of the general nature of the Comic; the second, of the Comic element in words and situations; and the third, of the Comic character.

The general and penetrative theory which Bergson tries to introduce is that the comic begins at the point where spirit ceases to enliven matter; at that point, namely, where matter acts mechanically and separately from the informing spirit. Involuntary action is one of the most usual excitants of laughter; wherever through absent-mindedness or lack of elasticity or physical obstinacy, as a result, in fact, of rigidity or momentum. The muscles continue to perform a movement when the circumstances call for readjustment. Again, along the same lines, a character is likely to be comic in proportion to its lack of self-knowledge. The comic person is comic just at the point where intelli-

gence stops short and the character is unconscious of its own real traits. Harpagon was a miser, but unconscious of his miserliness. This is again a form of automatism not unlike the simple physical awkwardness which excites laughter.

Life and society requiring of each of us a constantly alert attention to the outlines of the immediate situation, together with an elasticity of mind and body to enable us to adapt ourselves to it, we become comic when we lack them slightly, and tragic when we lack them entirely.

Bergson points out first that laughter is and must always point to *absence of feeling,* since emotion is the arch-enemy of laughter. The comic, he says, cannot produce its effect unless it fall upon a soul thoroughly calm and unruffled. It is at this point that one might well introduce the question as to why it is that while Socrates could go to a comedy and laugh heartily at a caricature of himself, no stretch of imagination will allow one to think of Christ as laughing at any caricature of a human being. He had the nobility and divinity of human nature too deeply at heart.

Secondly, Bergson makes it a point that all laughter is always laughter of a group and implies some subtle freemasonry or complicity. A man, asked why he did not weep when a whole congregation were shedding tears, replied, "I don't belong to the parish." His theory of tears is even more applicable to laughter. We have to be in the secret to see the fun.

With Meredith he agrees that the truly comic can only begin when society and the individual, freed from the worry of self-preservation, begin to regard themselves as works of art. To produce a comic poet, then, a high degree of civilization is required and a certain equality between the sexes. A simple bourgeois circle rarely furnishes wit. It is likely to be as inwardly dull as outwardly correct, as Meredith points out.

In the second essay Bergson says that a comic meaning is invariably obtained when an absurd idea is fitted into a well-established phrase form. This is a mode of wit used very largely by some of our best-known humorous writers; take, for example, E. S. Martin's essay on Women, in which he gravely discusses "those influences which tend to make a man of her"; or again the effect the same writer gets when he says of the sea: "The sea, to be sure, can stand all climates, is left out in all weathers, endures all atmospheric fluctuations, all kinds of sunlight, short rays, and blistering heat, and still survives. Survives! Yes, but with what vicissitudes of temper and behavior!"

If the misapplication of the conventional phrase is the form of wit we find most used by Lowell, Warner, and E. S. Martin, the whole of English wit consists in understating, another form which Bergson mentions as being as effective as exaggeration, which is the stock-in-trade of Mark Twain. All these various forms Bergson fits into his theory that the very essence of the comic is an exaggeration of a certain natural rigidity in things. Light comedy, he says, holds the same relation to actual life that a jointed doll does to a man. The comic character must be, says Bergson, deep rooted so as to furnish inexhaustible matter to comedy; superficial, in order that it may remain within the scope of comedy; invisible to its owner, as the comic always partakes of the nature of the unconscious; careful of itself, so it may be displayed without scruple;

troublesome to others, so that it may be repressed without pity; inseparable from social life and yet insufferable to society. These essays furnish the most thoroughgoing analysis of the sources and effects of laughter we have yet had.

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THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE. By JAMES W. LEE. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1912.

None who follow the fluctuations of religious thought can have failed to note the reaction in the last quarter of a century from materialistic philosophy. Not only has there been a renascence of wonder, a great revival of confidence in the mystic realities of experience, but a continuous growth toward a newer interpretation of age-old dogma which should bring it in line with the facts of the spiritual life. Of this latter attitude, James W. Lee is an eloquent exponent.

The author points out that religion is the only subject concerning which every person exercises the privileges of private interpretation. If a bank clerk were suspected of entertaining opinions about the multiplication table not held by the directors, says the author, he would be asked to resign his position. In all matters of verifiable and tangible fact this is naturally so, and the author would seem somewhat to overlook the difficulties of making a science of the subtle and secret relations of the soul to its Creator. Religion, he concedes, is the only important reality left unsystematized by the scientific method. He is disturbed that though we receive our theories of the stars from astronomers, and of the elements from chemists, we accept or reject the conclusions of theologians according as they tally with our private experience. The author believes, however, that it is possible to build a theological system large and comprehensive enough to contain universally valid knowledge of the realities of religion, and that the time to do so is at hand. Theology, he believes, if constructed in accordance with the principles of the scientific method, will become a science for religion, in the same way that astronomy is a science for the stars. Perhaps a spiritual truth can never be quite so static as a physical one. The wind of the spirit bloweth where it listeth, and spiritual facts, being of the very essence of life, are a continuous growth. The realities of religion, it is true, can never be settled by vote, as Bertrand Russell says the pragmatists settle philosophical truths, but must always be judged by their fecundity. By their fruits ye shall know them, and nothing will ever convince men of spiritual truth but the fruits of the spirit. A transformed life is a reality, and whenever any religion can show that it has power to transform human nature into divine nature, self-preservation into love and self-sacrifice, it will prevail.

The author explains that what he means by a science of religion is such an intellectual construction as will enable us to store our conceptions of spiritual realities in a house equal in style to the other buildings in the city of universally valid knowledge. What he means by the religion of science is Christianity, because he finds it to be a perfect expression and complete realization of the idea which students of religion tell us is at the bottom of all religions.

The most valuable contribution in the volume is the author's final plea in the last chapter for a race with unified interests.

"Nothing less than commercial, intellectual, ethical, and spiritual unity is to be the final outcome of man's career on earth, for the simple reason that unity is the essential, fundamental fact at the bottom of life."

This idea is in direct line with the great mass of modern speculation; with that noble conjecture of the judicious Hooker that "God is not only one, but very oneness." Is not Browning saying the same thing when he writes:

> "When all mankind is alike perfected,
> Equal in full-blown powers—then, not till then,
> I say begins man's general infancy.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Then shall his long triumphant march begin,
> Thence shall his being date."

Indeed, when all men bring forth the fruits of the spirit, which are love and self-sacrifice, we shall have a religion of science.

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St. Francis of Assisi. By Johannes Jorgensen. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

There are many lives of St. Francis, but nothing of modern date can quite bring to mind the wondrous personality of the great saint as do the old books—the *Life,* by St. Bonaventura, the *Legend of the Three Companions,* the two lives by Thomas of Celano, the *Little Flowers of St. Francis, The Mirror of Perfection,* and the *Sacrum Commercium.* All these books, except Thomas of Celano, come now in the handy little Temple edition. For English readers the definitive and final biography must still be that of Sabatier. Practically all the necessary sources were reached by him, and whatever details needed revising could easily have been done in foot-notes. Sabatier had every equipment for his task: a liberal mind, temperamental understanding, leisure, and supreme devotion. He gave thirteen years to his work, and when done it was the final authority on the subject.

As we open Jörgensen's book our taste is at once offended by the silly and sentimental picture of St. Francis by Spagnoletto, used as frontispiece. It is as unrepresentative a portrait as could have been chosen. There is a well-established tradition of St. Francis's features; a tradition followed by Giotto, Lippo Lippi, Fra Angelico, and Gozzoli. One of the most beautiful and perfect portraits of the saint is Lippo Lippi's, in the National Gallery picture entitled "St. John the Baptist and Six Saints." For some reason this portrait is never reproduced in Franciscan literature.

The disquieting error of taste that dictated the frontispiece is offensive also in the style of the book, with its pseudo-realistic details. On the first page one is assured that St. Francis, during his convalescence, "lay on one side of the wide bed while the other was made up for him." Evidently the author's experience of modern hospitals was greater than his medieval learning. He also supplies us with long imaginary conversations between Francis and his mother. The whole attempt to force vividness by inaccuracy is painful and annoying. The scholastic notes at the back of the book, while valuable to a Franciscan student, are cumbersome in form and awkward in setting.

The English into which the volume is translated is unscholarly; the

tense-sequence is badly handled. The volume bears the *Nihil Obstat* of the Catholic censor and the signature of Cardinal Farley. But without this it would still quite evidently be an attempt to produce a Catholic, popular *Life* which might displace Sabatier's. This one will never displace it for those who care to know the real St. Francis.

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Romance and Reality. By Holbrook Jackson. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912.

If this volume of essays is not a very praiseworthy production, it is because the *genre* makes such great demands. The essay is to prose what the sonnet is to poetry. It must not only be "of its own arduous fullness reverent," but it must be masterly in form. Arnold's essays and Pater's still remain supreme achievements, and all our American essayists and most of the living English essayists have perfection still to seek.

The best of the essays contained in the volume are the literary introductions to Maeterlinck, Chesterton, Wells, and Robert Blatchford. In these the author achieves swift condensations of essential points and a power of quite vivid portraiture. He gives the essence of Maeterlinck, whose acute sense of the reality of the soul came to his contemporaries almost as a new revelation, when he says of him, "Everything for him has spiritual significance, yet never for a moment does he pretend to revealed or superhuman knowledge; he is untiring in his watchfulness, but brings no news of final certainty."

The portrait of Chesterton, who lends himself so easily both to heroic portraiture and caricature, strikes a happy medium and is done to the life.

The *Essays Utopian,* which open the book, are ephemeral and belong of their nature to periodical literature and not to a bound book. The section "Peter—Pantheism" just misses the charm which the truly child-like nature captures. Barrie or William Canton could have taken these subjects and touched them with magic, but here it is lacking, and the material is too slight to last.

It is again the wizard's touch which is lacking to bring the section boldly called after George Meredith's *Readings of Earth* up to the point where it might claim the attention of a serious reader. Either strong emotion in the face of nature or exceptional powers of observation are the *sine qua non* of the nature-essay. The book contains essays above the average of those furnished us by the periodicals, but as a book the volume would hardly have a right to permanent shelf-room in the library of a literature-lover.

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Hadji Murad. The Light that Shines in Darkness. By Leo Tolstoy. Translated by Aylmer Maude. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1912.

Rarely has a great master fallen into such incompetent and unsympathetic hands as Tolstoy. As if his other-worldliness were of itself not enough to make nine-tenths of the world misunderstand him, he must have all his manuscripts handled by one who never misses an occasion to belittle. Aylmer Maude is neither an understanding commentator nor a good translator. "The foot-notes," he writes in the introduction to *Hadji Murad,* "are not a part of the original work, but belong to the

translation." The statement is unnecessary, as the foot-notes are mainly English equivalents of Russian words which the translator perversely retains in the text to disfigure the page and annoy the reader. Why such words as *kizyak, burka, aoul, naïb* should be retained when the English equivalents are at hand it is difficult to conceive. There are on the small, large-print pages sometimes as many as nine italicized Russian words, and then the work is called a translation! Whenever the conversation is in French, Aylmer Maude gives an English translation in the foot-notes. Any one who would, for the sake of getting at Tolstoy's thought, be willing to read the awkward, Russian-besprinkled English would be sure to know enough French to read these conversations.

The story of *Hadji Murad* was written by Tolstoy during his illness of 1901-02, and it is not one of his great stories. Done at a time when he was not at all well and unable to work on *What is Religion?*—a book that he really had at heart—the tale is bald and meager. Only one who made a special study of Tolstoy and wanted to know his mind in all its phases would find it readable. His point of view is there, his sincerity, his intensity, but very little of his literary art. The tale is really only a first draft or outline of a book.

In the introduction to *The Light that Shines in Darkness,* the biographer, a man who would have nothing to say and no power of saying it but for the great master upon whom he battens while he defames, again takes occasion to plead Countess Tolstoy's case. Hers is a case of simply being not large enough for her destiny. This is not a crime, and few women in the world would have been able to meet the situation. But if the persistent defamation of Tolstoy is continued with the Countess's consent and knowledge, the whole matter wears a different and a less pardonable aspect.

The play is an unfinished attempt to show once more the tortures a man must suffer who finds his life split in two by a double allegiance, a personal and a universal claim. The play is unfinished, and in the end Tolstoy sketches in two or three possible endings to the situation, none of them so dramatic and so tragic as the actual ending.

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What Tolstoy Taught. Edited by Bolton Hall. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1912.

The *raison d'être* of the present volume is the suggestion of the late Ernest Crosby to the author that people could not and would not read Tolstoy's religious books. Despite Tolstoy's wonderful power of handling material in his novels and romances, those religious utterances are full of wearisome repetition and incoherencies. The present author has therefore undertaken to make a coherent series of extracts from the volumes *What is Life? My Confession, My Religion,* and *What to Do.*

The book is divided into two parts; the first part, "On Life," containing such chapter-headings as The Separate Life, Delusions about Life, The True Law, Desire, Unity of Life, Pursuit of Happiness, etc. The second part, "On Action," deals with Church, School, Art, Women, etc. As a condensation of Tolstoy's religious life-doctrine, the book is excellent; clear, terse, to the point, and presented almost entirely in Tolstoy's own words by means of extracts from his works.

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